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ÍNDICE

Index

Diciembre 2019

December 2019

Volumen 9
Volume 9

Número 3
Issue 3

En el presente número especial, se encontraba colaborando como co-editor invitado y coautor en tres artículos, el Dr. Fons Van de Vijver quien inesperadamente falleció el 1º de Junio del presente año. Colega muy apreciado y excelente académico, quién fuera galardonado en 2013 con el premio internacional de la *American Psychological Association* (Asociación Americana de Psicología) por su contribución a la cooperación internacional y a los avances al conocimiento en psicología, y en 2014 con la beca de la *International Association of Applied Psychology* por sus contribuciones a la psicología aplicada. Fungió como editor del *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology* (Revista de Psicología Transcultural) y presidente de la División 2 (Valoración y evaluación) de la *International Association of Applied Psychology* (Asociación internacional de psicología aplicada), de la *European Association of Psychological Assessment* (Asociación Europea de Medición Psicológica), y presidente de la *International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology* (Asociación Internacional de Psicología Transcultural). El presente número especial incluye artículos con un énfasis en el papel que tiene la cultura y su impacto para las creencias, conceptuaciones y mediciones de los procesos y productos psicológicos. Precisamente por esto, este número especial es dedicado al Dr. Van de Vijver.

El artículo presentado por Swidrak y colaboradores explora el papel que tiene el proceso de aculturación de polacos en Noruega en sus niveles de satisfacción con la vida y de apego a su cultura. El artículo presentado por He y Van de Vijver retoma la idea de que los sesgos de respuestas son un estilo de comunicación mediado por la cultura; se presenta el desarrollo de una escala que resulta ser una prometedora propuesta de medida para contribuir a la clarificación de los sesgos y estilos de respuesta. El artículo de Tavitian y colaboradores presenta dos estudios experimentales en dónde se observa la emergencia de la identidad étnica en situaciones amenazantes. El estudio de García Cadena y colaboradores explora las creencias psicológicas y su vinculación en la ideología judeocristiana. El estudio realizado por Dutra-Thomé y Koller aborda el papel de la categorización socioeconómica en la caracterización de la adultez emergente. La propuesta de Bretaña y colaboradas explora en muestras de cuatro países los estilos de apego y su vinculación con la resolución de conflicto y satisfacción marital. El artículo de Fülöp y colaboradores presentan un interesante análisis de dos generaciones de húngaros respecto a sus conceptuaciones de ellos mismos. El estudio de Dominguez Espinosa y colaboradores, es un abordaje psicométrico para aportar evidencia de la conceptuación y uso de las estrategias de manejo de impresión en el contexto de México. El artículo presentado por Gutiérrez-Tapia y colaboradores presenta tres modelos de predicción del rendimiento académico de estudiantes de preparatoria en México, tomando en consideración la personalidad y la autoeficacia. Finalmente, el artículo de Celenk, van de Vijver y Alonso resalta el papel de la etnicidad en la resolución de los conflictos destructivos y el nivel de satisfacción en las relaciones de pareja tanto de nativos neerlandeses como inmigrantes en los Países Bajos.

Agradecemos a todos los autores por compartir su conocimiento en este número especial, difundiendo avances de la psicometría, psicología cultural y transcultural, que contribuyen a un mejor conocimiento de la psique humana y de las teorías psicológicas.

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PREFACE

In this special issue, I collaborated as a guest co-editor and co-author in three articles with Dr. Fons J. R. Van de Vijver. However, Dr. Fons Van de Vijver unexpectedly passed away on the 1st of June 2019. He was a highly regarded colleague and excellent academic. In 2013, he was awarded the International Award of the American Psychological Association (APA) for his contributions to international cooperation and advances in knowledge in psychology. In 2014, he was awarded a grant from the International Association of Applied Psychology (IAAP) for his contributions to applied psychology. He served as editor of the Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology and president of Division 2 (valuation and evaluation) of the IAAP. He was also president of the European Association of Psychological Assessment (EAPA) and the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP). This special issue includes articles with an emphasis on the role of culture and its impact on beliefs, conceptions and measurements of psychological processes and constructs. This is precisely why this special issue is dedicated to Dr. Van de Vijver.

The article presented by Swidrak and her colleagues explore the role of the Polish acculturation process in Norway in terms of levels of life satisfaction and attachment to culture. The article presented by He and Van de Vijver engages in the idea that response biases are a style of communication mediated by culture. These researchers develop a scale which represents a promising contribution to how we measure the clarification of biases and response styles. The article by Tavitian and her colleagues present two experimental studies that observe the emergence of ethnic identity in threatening situations. The study by García Cadena and his collaborators explore psychological beliefs and their relationship to Judeo-Christian ideology. The study conducted by Dutra-Thomé and Koller addresses the role of socio-economic categorization in the characterization of emerging adulthood. Bretaña and their collaborators explore attachment styles and their relationship with conflict resolution and marital satisfaction in samples from four different countries. The article by Fülöp and her colleagues present an interesting analysis of two generations of Hungarians regarding their self-concepts. The study of Dominguez Espinosa and her collaborators offer a psychometric approach to providing evidence on the conceptualisation and use of management strategies in Mexico. The article presented by Gutiérrez-Tapia and her collaborators present three models of prediction of the academic performance of high school students in Mexico, considering factors such as personality and self-efficacy. Finally, the article from Celenk, van de Vijver & Alonso highlights the role of ethnicity in destructive conflict resolution and couple satisfaction among Dutch people and immigrant groups in the Netherlands.

We thank all the authors for sharing their knowledge in this special issue, spreading advances in psychometrics, cultural and cross-cultural psychology, which helps contribute to a greater knowledge of the human psyche and psychological theories.

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ORIGINAL

Polish Honor and Norwegian Dignity: Life Satisfaction, Acculturation, and Self-Worth [1]

El Honor Polaco, La Dignidad Noruega: Satisfacción de Vida, Aculturación y Autoestima

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Abstract
Locus of self-worth shifts from internal in cultures of dignity to external in cultures of honor. It remains yet unknown whether it can be modified, for example, under an influence of important life events, as migration to a culture of a distinct logic. Our study aimed to analyse relationships between the locus of self-worth and the acculturation strategies on life satisfaction. We collected data from 60 heterosexual Polish couples living in Poland, 120 Polish migrant couples in Norway, and 60 Norwegian couples living in Norway. Groups differed from each other in life satisfaction and in locus of self-worth, with Norwegians valuating the self the most internally and Poles in Poland the most externally. Our results on locus of self-worth show that Polish culture fits in the classification of culture of honor, while Norwegians represent culture of dignity. Moreover, a series of hierarchical linear regressions demonstrated that both locus of self-worth and acculturation strategy are significant predictors of participants' life satisfaction, with a moderating role of migrants' attachment to Polish culture and adaptation to Norwegian society.

Keywords: Migration, Acculturation, Satisfaction of Life, Locus of Self, Honor and Dignity

Resumen
En las culturas de dignidad, que ocurren principalmente en los estados del norte de los Estados Unidos, Canadá y el noroeste de Europa, la autoestima es inalienable y se valora internamente. Esto significa que la autoestima se basa en los logros, las decisiones y los valores del individuo (Aslani et al., 2016). En las culturas de dignidad, nadie puede privar a los individuos de su valor, ya que su ubicación está en lo más profundo de la persona. Por el

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contrario, en culturas de honor, el valor de una persona se basa en cualidades internas y externas. El honor puede ser quitado, si una persona rompe las reglas de conducta social. El locus de la autoestima cambia de lo interno en las culturas de dignidad, a lo externo en las culturas de honor. Aún no es claro si se puede modificar, por ejemplo, bajo la influencia de eventos importantes de la vida, como la migración a una cultura de una lógica distinta. Este estudio tuvo como objetivo analizar las relaciones entre el locus de autoestima y las estrategias de aculturación sobre la satisfacción con la vida. Se levantaron datos de 60 parejas heterosexuales polacas que viven en Polonia, 120 parejas polacas de inmigrantes en Noruega y 60 parejas noruegas que viven en Noruega. Los grupos diferían entre sí en la satisfacción con la vida y en el locus de la autoestima, los noruegos valoraban el yo más internamente y los polacos en Polonia más externamente. Los resultados en el locus de la autoestima muestran que la cultura polaca encaja en la clasificación de la cultura del honor, mientras que los noruegos representan la cultura de la dignidad. Además, una serie de regresiones lineales jerárquicas mostraron que tanto el locus de la autoestima como la estrategia de aculturación son predictores significativos de la satisfacción con la vida, con un papel moderador del apego de los migrantes a la cultura polaca y la adaptación a la sociedad noruega.

Palabras clave: **Migración, Aculturación, Satisfacción del Vida, Locus de Autoestima, Dignidad, Honor, Psicología Cultural**

Between the years 2004 and 2015, the number of Polish migrants in Norway rose almost 10 times to over 90,000 individuals, becoming the biggest diaspora of all ethnic groups (Godzimirski, Stormowska, & Dudzińska, 2015). This occurred most likely due to the opening of the labour market for Polish citizens, which caused this dynamic growth after Poland had accessed the European Union. At first sight, Polish and Norwegian cultures might not seem very distant, compared for instance to Pakistani and Norwegian. Yet, European Social Survey's (2008) results yielded very visible discrepancies between the two countries, even in basic dimensions (Żadkowska, Kosakowska-Berezecka i Ryndyk, in press). Norway represents one of the societies that is most satisfied with life, while Poland is one of the most dissatisfied (European Social Survey, 2015). The latest wave of migration from Poland to Norway brings a unique opportunity to observe how migration may influence people's satisfaction with life.

Reviews of literature suggest that migration may have a complex influence on wellbeing, as some studies report positive, and other report negative relationships between wellbeing and migration (Lönnqvist, Leikast, Mähönen, & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2015). There are numerous factors related to migrants' life satisfaction in the host country (D'Isanto, Fouskas, & Verde, 2016; Mara & Landesmann, 2013) and the type of acculturation strategies they adopt (Abu-Rayya, 2009). Migrants have to overcome many difficulties and obstacles, such as cultural differences in terms of values, differences in self-construals (e.g. internal vs. external locus of self-worth), the language barrier, and potentially limited social support from their family and old friends (González & González, 2008; Neto, 1995). On the other hand, migration to a welfare state like Norway may bring many benefits, for instance financial stabilization, new employment and self-development opportunities (White, 2010). It is thus not obvious how the experience of moving from a country where satisfaction with life is low to another country where satisfaction of life is high may influence migrants' wellbeing. With our study, we aimed to offer new insights into the thus far understudied relationships between life satisfaction, locus of self-worth (internal vs external), and acculturation strategies of Polish migrants moving to Norway. The purpose of this paper is to document the meaning of locus of self-worth in acculturation processes. It does so by analysing the effects of locus of self-worth and adopted acculturation strategies on well-being of migrants. Therefore, this paper extends the current discussion on intercultural relations between hosting society and migrant groups.

Self-Worth in Dignity and Honor Cultures

Scholars have made various attempts to distinguish variables useful for classifying cultures. Although the most popular distinction is the individualism-collectivism of cultures (e.g., Hofstede, 1980), some suggest that we may need to pay more attention to other cultural dimensions (Bond, 2002). Such approach was presented by Leung and Cohen (2011), who introduced a new theoretical framework, organising cultures around three general logics of dignity, honor, and face. The core concept underlying this classification is the sense of internal vs. socially conferred personal worth. In "dignity cultures," occurring mostly in Northern states of the USA, Canada and North-Western Europe (In Lee, Leung, & Kim, 2014), self-worth is inalienable and valued internally. This means that self-worth is based on the individual's accomplishments, decisions, and values (Aslani et al., 2016). In dignity cultures nobody can deprive individuals of their worth, since its locus is deep inside the person. On the contrary, in "honor cultures," one's worth is based on both internal and external qualities. Honor can be taken away if a person breaks rules of social conduct. "Face cultures," finally, occur mostly in East Asian societies, where self-worth is derived externally from social relations. One focuses mostly on protecting his or her face by following social rules, hierarchy, or by having personal connections with prestigious others (In Lee, Leung, & Kim, 2014). In this study, the logics of dignity and honor are relevant; therefore, we focused only on these two.

Each of the cultures links distinct values and codes of conduct, affecting the way people perceive an individual and his or her place in society. Dignity cultures usually build egalitarian societies, where individuals are, at least theoretically, equal, while honor cultures arise in "lawless" environments, where a weak state does not guarantee acting upon the law by all members of the society (Henry, 2009); therefore, individuals in honor cultures use "payback" as a method of establishing social hierarchy and regulating interpersonal relationships.

Although the distinction between cultures of dignity, honor, and face seems clear and simple, in reality it is difficult to provide a "pure" example of each. Nevertheless, in most cultures one may distinguish some prevailing features determining to which type of culture – dignity, honor, or face– they belong. Following this approach, we hypothesised that Polish culture belongs to honor cultures (Krys, et al., 2016; Szmajke, 2008) and Norway to dignity cultures (Leung & Cohen, 2011). Migration from one culture to another may cause a culture clash, as values manifested by migrants can be opposite to values and norms existing in the host society (Sung, 1985; Winkelman, 1994). In our study, we thus analysed the change from honor culture to dignity culture among Polish migrants in Norway.

Acculturation Strategies

Migration forces people to answer two basic questions regarding the shape of their relationships with one's heritage culture and with the host culture. The first question concerns cultural maintenance: *Do I maintain heritage culture and identity*? The second is related to the cultural adaptation: *Do I adapt to the culture of the majority*? (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997). Having assorted these two variables, Berry (1997) introduced a concept of four acculturation strategies. The positive answer to both questions leads to the *integration* strategy, usually considered in the literature as the most beneficial for the individual (Zagefka & Brown, 2002). If one sheds his or her heritage identity and decides to accommodate to the new culture, one undertakes the *assimilation* strategy. Finally, *isolation* happens when one maintains close and vivid connections with the home culture and does not participate in the host society. The least understood is the *marginalisation* strategy; an individual rejects both host and home cultures and excludes herself from participation in the social life (Berry, 1997).

Since the integration strategy is usually the most beneficial for migrants (Zagefka & Brown, 2002), we expect it should be related to the highest life satisfaction. This strategy is the most likely to be chosen when cultural distance, understood as a subjective discrepancy between home and host culture, is the smallest. The better the person-culture fit, the higher the subjective wellbeing (Angelini, Casi, & Corazzini, 2015; Friedman, et al., 2010). When considering the internal vs external locus of self-worth (Gullestad, 2002), Polish migrants valuating their self-more internally, i.e. being closer to Norwegian culture, should experience higher life satisfaction, since this way they fit better in the host society. In our study we tried to answer two questions: 1) does the internal locus of self-worth assure higher life satisfaction? and 2) what is the relationship between the chosen acculturation strategy, locus of self-worth, and satisfaction of life of Polish migrants in Norway?

To provide a thorough analysis of the relationship between life satisfaction, acculturation strategies and locus of self-worth, we carried out a quantitative study on Polish couples living in Poland (PP), Polish migrant couples living in Norway (PN), and Norwegian couples living in Norway (NN).

We expected that a more internally valued self would result in more satisfied Polish migrants with their lives, but not Poles living in their homeland. We also expected that integration and assimilation strategies for migrants with an internal locus of self-worth would be related to higher life satisfaction than for those with a more externally valued self. In case of migrants choosing the isolation or marginalisation strategy, we hypothesized that the internal locus of self-worth would not be a significant predictor of their well-being.

Method

The study presented here was a part of the large interdisciplinary project – PAR Migration Navigator – aimed at the thorough description of processes facilitating smooth acculturation of individuals migrating from a less egalitarian to a more egalitarian society. The analysis presented here is based on selected data collected in a quantitative investigation designed to examine issues related to the work-life balance and gender equality among couples living in their home and host country.

Sample

We recruited Polish and Norwegian heterosexual couples aged 21 - 65 years. We aimed to collect data only from participants who lived with their partner, since being in a relationship or being single might have clearly affected the well-being and chosen acculturation strategies. The sample comprised 120 Polish (60 couples) living in Poland, 240 Polish migrants (120 couples) in Norway, and 120 Norwegians (60 couples) living in Norway; 52% of both Norwegian and Polish relationships were informal, the other couples were married. In all groups, the age structure was similar: the majority of respondents were between 25 and 35 years old and less than ¼ belonged to the young adults group (18 – 25 years old).

Procedure

Every participant was asked to individually fill in a questionnaire without consulting the answers with his or her partner. The questionnaire consisted of scales covering three general areas: work-life balance, acculturation, and gender equality. A complete set of scales totalled 201 questions in the longest version, which PN (Poles in Norway) completed, and 172 in the shortest version, which NN (Norwegians in Norway) filled in, since non-migrants did not fill in the acculturation scales. All scales lacking a Polish and/or Norwegian adaptation were translated and re-translated independently by two native speakers in order to construct two equivalent language versions (Brislin, 1970). Every participant responded in his or her native language.

Life satisfaction. We created a list of items related to private and professional life. Respondents were asked to judge using a visual analogue scale, how satisfied they were with each of the fifteen areas: amount of free time, self-development possibilities, division of house chores, work, relations with his/her partner, relations with supervisors, relations with co-workers, ways of spending free time, finances, performed tasks, salary, health, life in general, family life, and sexual life. We ran a factor analysis with Varimax rotation to test the factorial structure of the scale for each of the groups (PP, PN, NN) separately. The analysis displayed inconsistent structure across groups; hence, we decided to analyse further only items loading on the same factors in all three groups. As a result, we obtained two subscales: *private life satisfaction* and *work satisfaction*. Private Life Satisfaction (PLS) was calculated as a mean of four items: health, family life, sexual life and life in general. Work Satisfaction (WS) was calculated as the mean of three items: salary, finances, and performed tasks. Both subscales characterise satisfactory internal reliability: (1) for PLS: Cronbach's α_{PP}=.86, α_{PN}=.81, α_{NN}=.88, and (2) for WS: α_{PP}=.82, α_{PN}=.68, α_{NN}=.73.

Acculturation scale. To measure acculturation strategies (only for the group of migrants - PN) we chose the scale designed by Polek and Schoon (2008), used originally in studies of Polish migrants in the Netherlands. We tracked the tendency to maintain own traditions and customs with Polek and Schoon's subscale, the Own Culture Maintenance (OCM; e.g., *I am proud of being Polish*). We measured the tendency to acquire the host culture traditions and behaviours with the Adaptation to Host Culture (AHC) subscale (e.g., *I feel a member of the Norwegian society*). Each subscale contained five items and presented a satisfactory level of reliability: Cronbach's α_{OCM}= .76 and α_{AHC}=.82. The subscales turned out to be moderately inter-correlated (r = .32, p<.01), suggesting that although related, these two scales track different phenomena.

Internal Locus of Self-Worth (ILSW). We measured the inalienable versus socially conferred worth (i.e., internal vs. external locus of self-worth) with the scale originally proposed by Leung & Cohen (2011). It was built with four items (1) *how others treat me is irrelevant to my worth as a person, (2) how much I respect myself is far, far more important than how much others respect me, (3) no one (except me) can make me feel diminished,* and (4) *no one can take a person's self-respect away from him or her.* The scale proved high reliability with Cronbach's α> .92 in each group. A higher score means more internal locus of self-worth.

For all scales, participants were asked to mark a cross on a 100 mm visual analogue scale, from *I do not agree at all* (on the left) to *I agree completely* (on the right). Next, we scored the results from 0 to100, by calculating the distance from the beginning of the scale using 1 mm as 1 point. The numbers did not appear on the scale though, only the verbal endpoints' labels (Kawada & Yamada, 2012).

Results

As predicted, Norwegians (NN) turned out to be the most satisfied and the most internally valuating self, and on the contrary, Poles in their home country (PP) turned out to be the least satisfied and the most externally valuating self. Thus, in the first step, we used ANOVA to test if PP, PN, and NN differed in private life satisfaction, work satisfaction, and internal locus of self-worth. The level the three variables differed between Norwegians and Polish in Poland, while the Polish migrant group turned out to be in-between these two (Table 1). Furthermore, all groups were more satisfied with their private life than with their work.

Table 1
Descriptive Characteristics and Correlations for Internal Locus of Self-Worth, Work Satisfaction and Private Life Satisfaction in Three Analysed Samples

Group	N	Age	female	1. ILSW	2. WS	3. PLS.	$r_{ILSWxWS}$	$r_{ILSWxPLS}$	r_{WSxPLS}
		M (*SD*)	%	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)			
Poles in Poland (PP)	120	31.2 (7.0)	50	53.7_a (26.2)	48.8_a (20.7)	77.8_a (17.3)	.11	-.04	.42**
Poles in Norway (PN)	240	32.2 (7.9)	50	60.5_{ab} (33.3)	64.9_b (15.1)	81.9_a (15.8)	.12	.29**	.41**
Norwegians (NN)	120	31.2 (7.0)	50	65.2_b (22.7)	74.1_c (15.0)	88.4_b (13.5)	.11	-.08	.22*
F				4.7**	73.1***	14.0***			

Note. ILSW – internal locus of self-worth, WS – work satisfaction, PLS – private life satisfaction; r – correlation coefficient.
** p<0.01. *p<0.05.

In the second step, we calculated the correlation between internal locus of self-worth, private life satisfaction, and work satisfaction. As predicted, the correlation between the internal locus of self-worth and private life satisfaction was found only in the Polish migrant group (r_{PN}=.29, p< .05) but not for non-migrant groups rs< .08, ps> .40; for details see Table 1). Moreover, in the Polish migrants group, neither adaptation to host culture, nor own culture maintenance were correlated with internal locus of self-worth (both ps>.50).

In order to investigate more thoroughly the relationships between acculturation strategies, migrants' life satisfaction, and their locus of self-worth, we calculated a series of four regression analyses. In the first step, to test if acculturation strategies and internal locus of self-worth are predictors of higher life satisfaction, we performed two separate linear regression analyses, with work satisfaction as the dependent variable in one regression analysis, private life satisfaction in the other one, and locus of self-worth, adaptation to host culture, own culture maintenance, and the interaction between the last two as dependent variables in both analyses. We did not include demographic variables, since no significant correlation between them and work and private life satisfaction was found. We confirmed that all independent variables were significant predictors of private life satisfaction. For work satisfaction, however, all variables but the interaction were significant predictors (Table 2).

Table 2
Influence of Internal Locus of Self-Worth and Acculturation Strategies on Private Life and Work Satisfaction in Polish Migrants in Norway

	DV: private life satisfaction		**DV: work satisfaction**	
	r	***ß***	***r***	***ß***
ILSW	$.29^{**}$	$.27^{***}$	.12	$.13^{*}$
AHC	$.15^{*}$	-.02	$.16^{*}$	$.14^{*}$
OCM	$.33^{**}$	$.32^{***}$	.09	.01
AHC* OCM		$.20^{***}$		.03
adjusted R^2		.19		.03
F		15.6		2.5

Note: Linear regression. ILSW – internal locus of self-worth, AHC – Adaptation to Host Culture, OCM – Own Culture Maintenance; r-correlation coefficients, *ß* – standardized regression coefficients; *** p < .001

Therefore, in the next step, we analysed the acculturation (OCM vs AHC) interaction by testing their moderating effects on the private life satisfaction of Polish migrants. First, following the approach of Bedyńska and Książek (2012), we divided the sample into two groups based on the results on the OCM scale: (1) those characterised by a relatively strong attachment to Polish society (SAP), and (2) those characterised by a relatively weak attachment to Polish society (WAP); as a cut-off point we used the median of the OCM scale. Next, we ran again regression analyses, separately for SAP and WAP groups, with private life satisfaction as the dependent variable, and AHC and ILSW as predictors. In the SAP group, acculturation to Norwegian society positively predicted private life satisfaction. On the other hand, the result in the WAP group was the opposite – the weaker the acculturation to Norwegian society, the more satisfied were Polish migrants with their private life. In both groups, more internal locus of self-worth was related to higher private life satisfaction (Table 3).

To obtain a complete picture of the relations between the acculturation strategies, internal locus of self-worth, and life satisfaction, we calculated

Table 3
Moderation Effects of Acculturation Strategies on Life Satisfaction Analysed Separately for Own Culture Maintenance and Acculturation to Host Culture

OCM as moderator:		**SAP group**		**WAP group**	
		ß	***t***	***ß***	***t***
Model I	AHC	$.23^{*}$	2.62	-.12	1.25
Model II	AHC	$.22^{**}$	2.64	$-.17^{*}$	1.84
	ILSW	$.28^{**}$	3.34	$.31^{**}$	3.37
R square		.13		.11	
AHC as moderator:		SAN group		WAN group	
		ß	*t*	ß	*t*
Model I	OCM	$.19^{**}$	2.16	$.46^{***}$	5.36
Model II	OCM	.14	1.56	$.45^{***}$	5.41
	ILSW	$.29^{***}$	3.40	$.25^{***}$	2.96
R square		.12		.27	

Note: ILSW – internal locus of self-worth, AHC – Adaptation to Host Culture, OCM – Own Culture Maintenance, SAP – Strong Attachment to Polish culture, WAP – Weak Attachment to Polish Culture, SAN – Strong Attachment to Norwegian Culture, WAN –Weak Attachment to Norwegian Culture; *ß* – standardized regression coefficients*;* *t* –t value another linear regression separately for migrants with relatively strong attachment to Norwegian culture (SAN) and those relatively weakly attached (WAN). In the WAN group, the attachment to Polish culture predicted higher private life satisfaction, whereas in the SAN group we found no relation between attachment to Polish culture and private life satisfaction. In both groups, internal locus of self-worth turned out to be a significant predictor of higher private life satisfaction (Table 3).

Discussion

This study examined differences in life satisfaction between Polish couples in Poland, Polish migrant couples in Norway, and Norwegian couples in Norway. Our findings highlight the role of acculturation strategy and internal locus of self-worth in life satisfaction. We operationalised the acculturation strategies using two variables– the adaptation to host culture and own culture maintenance (Berry, 1997). As our results confirmed, Polish culture may be regarded as a culture of honor, while Norwegian culture is a rather good example of culture of dignity (Leung & Cohen, 2011). The core variable, on which the differentiation is based, is the internal vs. external locus of self-worth. Therefore, in the present research we focused on this variable as an important factor in acculturating Polish migrants to the Norwegian culture.

Our data confirmed that Poles valued their self relatively more externally and Norwegians relatively more internally. As predicted, Polish migrants in Norway valued their self-more internally than those who lived in Poland, but still not as internally as Norwegians did. We suggest two possible compatible explanations: having such a disposition as internal locus of self-worth might facilitate making the decision to migrate in general, but in particular, to choose Norway as a new land to live in, where this disposition seems to work as a strong asset/resource. The other explanation is that the experience of living in Norway and being exposed to Norwegian values trigger a shift in migrants' locus of self-worth. Future studies should shed light on which of these explanations is valid.

Our data stands in line with the results of the European Social Survey (2008): Poles are dissatisfied with their private lives, whereas Norwegians are highly satisfied. Polish migrants though are again in the middle. We assume that people coming to Norway benefit from the welfare state by obtaining higher income, better housing conditions, and social rights, although due to other factors they are unable to reach the same wellbeing level as hosts (Krys, Swidrak, Kwiatkowska, Kosakowska-Berezecka & Vedøy, in print). One of these factors is the chosen acculturation strategy: integration, assimilation, isolation, or marginalisation. Data support the hypothesis that different acculturation strategies influence migrants' private life satisfaction. Which strategy is optimal does not seem obvious though. In our study, locus of self-worth, Polish culture maintenance, and adaptation to Norwegian culture turned out as significant factors of private life satisfaction in the migrant group. Moreover, we found a significant interaction effect between both relationships with Poland and Norway, which yields the surprising conclusion that, in some cases, marginalisation strategy might be more adaptive than assimilation.

Again, we propose two interpretations of the abovementioned effect. Norwegian culture is usually described as an example of individualistic culture, but in fact local communities and familism play an important role in people's lives (Gullestad, 2002). Norwegian, horizontal individualism emphasizes sameness and equality between individuals and thus enables interactions between two persons equal to each other. Following this logic, one is more open to other, similar people, which creates room for cooperation between them (Komarraju & Cokley, 2008).This may hinder the blending in of newcomers into local social networks. Perhaps focusing on the relationship with one's partner, maintaining close rapports with family and friends in Poland, and rejecting any contacts with Norwegians, actually make it, paradoxically, easier to feel higher satisfaction in the Norwegian society.

On the other hand, the role of the internal locus of self-worth seems to play a crucial role in shaping private life satisfaction. We hypothesise that migrants who value their self-more internally report higher satisfaction of life because they do not base their happiness on the external circumstances of their life, since their happiness is rather valued internally. This would explain why people who choose the separation strategy and whose self-worth is located internally are satisfied with their private lives.

We noted several limitations in this study. To begin with, there is a possibility that the relationship between life satisfaction and acculturation strategy is bidirectional (González & González, 2008): perhaps people who are happy with their life in general adapt more easily to new environments (Scheier & Carver, 1992; Conversano, et al., 2010). Furthermore, it also seems possible that a third variable, such as resilience (Ying, 1992), uncontrolled for in this study, is responsible for both life satisfaction and better acculturation, understood here as a more internally valued self. It is also important to mention that our sample included heterosexual couples only. Non-heterosexual couples and single individuals may build their life satisfaction based on distinct factors than people in heterosexual relationships.

In the end, we would like to note that usually migrants report higher stress and must overcome difficulties unknown in their homeland. Nonetheless, migration to a welfare state like Norway may bring many benefits, called pull factors, including financial stabilization, new employment and self-development opportunities (Mara & Landesmann, 2013; Neto, 1995).

To summarize, both locus of self-worth and the chosen acculturation strategy play important roles in shaping migrants' life satisfaction, with a moderating role of attachment to home culture and adaptation to the host society.

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ORIGINAL

Assessment of the General Response Style: A Cross-Cultural Validation

Evaluación de Estilos Generales de Respuesta: Una Validación Transcultural

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Abstract
Surveys that use self-reports are susceptible to response styles. The assessment and validation of response styles would benefit from a brief measure that captures the general tendency of responding. Going beyond the traditional view that response styles amount to deliberate impression management or lying, we propose to assess and conducted a validation of brief general response style (GRS) scales which are conceptualized as a trait-like communication style preference, in multiple cultural contexts. With university student data on the GRS measure, indirect measures of GRS, and personality and values, we found that (1) this direct measure of GRS showed acceptable internal consistency and comparable factor structure across countries (metric invariance); (2) although it did not correlate strongly with the indirect measure of GRS, it showed similar mean difference patterning across countries, with a lower level of GRS in China than Mexico and the Netherlands, and (3) in line with the trait-like conceptualization, the direct GRS was associated with being extravert, open, and valuing self-enhancement. We discuss the potential usefulness of the direct GRS measure in surveys involving different groups.

Keywords: **General Response Style, Self-Reports, Values, Personality, Cross-Cultural**

Resumen
Las encuestas que utilizan el auto reporte siempre son sensibles a los estilos de respuesta. La evaluación y validación de los estilos de respuesta se vería beneficiada de una medida corta que capture la tendencia general de respuesta. Este artículo va más allá de la visión tradicional sobre los estilos de respuesta que de manera deliberada afectan la conducta de mentir y el manejo de impresiones, ya que se propuso evaluar y llevar a cabo la validación de la versión corta de las escalas de Estilo de Respuesta General (*General Response Style*, GRS, por sus siglas en inglés), lo cual se conceptualizó como una preferencia tipo rasgo hacia un estilo de comunicación,

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dentro de contextos culturales múltiples. Se aplicó una muestra de estudiantes, los datos en torno a la medida de GRS, una medida indirecta de GRS, personalidad y valores, se encontró que (1) la medida directa de GRS muestra consistencia interna aceptable y una composición factorial comparable a través de países (invarianza métrica); (2) a pesar de no correlacionar fuertemente con la medida indirecta de GRS, mostró patrones similares en diferencias de medias a través de los países, con un menor nivel de GRS en China que en México y los Países Bajos, y (3) en línea con la conceptuación tipo rasgo, el GRS directo se asoció con ser extrovertido, abierto, y valorar la autopromoción. Se discuten los usos potenciales de las medidas directas de GRS en encuestas que involucran diferentes grupos.

Palabras Clave: Estilos Generales de Respuesta, Auto-Reportes, Valores, Personalidad, Transcultural

Surveys that use self-reports are susceptible to response styles. Response styles refer to the systematic tendency to respond on some basis other than the targeted construct (Paulhus, 1991). The most common response styles include acquiescence, extremity, midpoint responding, and socially desirable responding. Early research integrated work on these specific response styles by showing that most of the variance in these styles is captured by a general underlying characteristic that was labeled the General Response Style (GRS) (e.g., He & van de Vijver, 2013, 2014). The previous research has garnered much attention, but the application of the approach is hampered by the lack of a simple, short measure of the GRS. The current paper extends this work by developing and validating short, simple measures for the GRS, which can be seen as novel, conceptually better-founded measures of response styles than those currently in use. We propose to assess and validate measures of general response style from different perspectives (i.e., behavioral response amplification, importance of response amplification, and suppression of expression) through measurement invariance testing of the scales, checking their convergence with indirect measures of response styles extracted from other Likert-scale responses, and linking them to self-reported personality traits and values in multiple cultural contexts.

Current Measures of Response Styles and Their Limitations

Previous research has integrated specific response styles to a general response style factor, with positive loadings of extremity (and social desirability), and negative loadings of acquiescence and midpoint responding (He & van de Vijver, 2013, 2014). This GRS factor represents the continuum of response moderation to response amplification. Its stability and usefulness to provide a theoretical framework in studying different response styles and to create consistency in findings in response styles have been confirmed (1) both at individual level and at country level, (2) in various ethnic groups in the Netherlands and various countries in large-scale surveys, and (3) using both indirect measures of acquiescence, extremity, and midpoint responding, and direct self-reported measures of acquiescence, extremity, midpoint responding, and social desirability (He et al., 2014, He & van de Vijver, 2015, He et al., 2017). The GRS not only helps to understand individual and cultural differences in communication styles, but can also be used to partial out the effects of scale usage difference in responses in order to enhance data comparability across respondents and groups.

However, there is no brief and validated measure for this construct, as previous studies assessed different specific response styles and/or extracted statistical procedures to identify the commonality of these styles. Limitations of that approach a (1) too many items are needed to directly assess response styles (we previously administered 45 items to derive the GRS); (2) indirect assessment (e.g., using counting procedures with available data to approximate response style behaviors) is dependent on data availability, item content, and response formats. A self-reported measure that directly targets the GRS is needed. Moreover, the most popular self-reported measures of response styles, namely social desirability, measured either in the Marlowe-Crowne scale (Crowne

& Marlowe, 1960) or the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (Paulhus, 2002) have been criticized as not targeting response bias but expression of honesty-humility (de Vries et al., 2013) and interpersonally oriented self-control (Uziel, 2010), thus a more direct assessment of communication styles may shed light on response style use. We propose such an assessment with adapted and refined items targeting communication styles with different operationalizations, and search for the most reliable and valid measure in different cultural contexts.

The Validation of the GRS

With a trait-like conceptualization, GRS can be measured with different item batteries (and response options). For instance, items tapping into the behavioral component (i.e., frequency of response style usage) without contextual cues can indicate stable response tendency, items targeting the attitudinal component (i.e., agreement on the importance of response amplification) can indicate the preference of GRS from the affective and cognitive perspective, whereas items about the likelihood of expressing opinions different to one's own in point to the suppression of expression. We term each of them behavioral GRS, attitudinal GRS, and suppression of GRS, respectively, and we explore their relevance to the reliably and validly measurement of GRS. Across cultures, we expect to find a similar structure and metric of each measure (i.e., metric invariance in measurement invariance testing). Scalar invariance may be difficult to find, given the different interpretations and scale usage preferences when responding to these measures.

Within cultures, respondents' self-reports of GRSs are expected to correlate positively with indirect measures of GRS (i.e., behavioral indicator of response amplification when responding to a heterogeneous set of Likert-scale items). Given the exploratory nature of the validation, we investigate the extent to which these three direct GRS measures show positive correlations with an indirect assessment of GRS.

For the nomological network of the GRS, previous research has shown that response amplification was related to various personality traits such as openness, intolerance of ambiguity, simplistic thinking, and decisiveness (e.g., Naemi, Beal, & Payne, 2009; Tsujimoto, 2003), and values such as self-enhancement (e.g., Uskul, Oyserman, & Schwarz, 2010). The GRS from integrated measures of acquiescence, extremity, midpoint response style and social desirability was found to be related to the "big one" factor of personality, which is the common variance of desirable traits (He & van de Vijver, 2013). We expect to find positive associations of the attitudinal, behavioral, and (reversed) suppression GRS with desirable personality traits (e.g., extraversion, openness in particular), and self-enhancement value and negative associations conservation value in different cultural contexts. The associations may differ for each direct GRS, and the empirical results are expected to shed light on the most reliable and valid GRS measure.

Method

Sample and Procedure

This validation study is part of a larger project on enhancing data comparability of Likert-scale value and personality data (He et al., 2017) with university student samples from 16 countries. We made use of direct responese on response style items to form our GRS measures, indirect measures of response styles, and personality and values in 12 countries (we excluded countries with a sample size smaller than 100). These 12 countries show vastly different preferences of communication styles (e.g., Smith, 2011) and they differ in affluence level and value dimensions such as collectivism and uncertainty avoidance, which are relevant for scale usage differences. Particularly, they exemplify honor, dignity, and face cultures that may moderate the survey response processes with culturally transmitted response style perferences (Uskul, Oyserman, & Schwarz, 2010), a validation of the GRS measure with such diverse contexts can lend robustness to our conclusions.

University students were invited to take part in the survey. Administration procedures were standardized with slight variations across countries, given local contextual differences. In countries where English is not the mother tongue or language of instruction in the university, the questionnaire was translated by two independent translators and convergence was sought to produce a final version. The demographics are presented in Table 1. Computerized assessment was employed in all countries but China, Indonesia, and Zambia where a paper and pencil survey was administered. There is evidence that mode effects are very small in self-reports of response styles (He et al., 2015); therefore, we treated the different modes as interchangeable. The participation of all students was voluntary.

Table 1
Demographics of Participants

Country	Sample Size	Mean Age *(SD)*	% of Males	Language
Canada	431	21.77 (2.54)	24.88	English
China	309	20.76 (1.01)	12.30	Chinese
Indonesia	403	22.32 (1.54)	30.02	English
Lithuania	259	23.07 (2.76)	13.13	Lithuanian
Mexico	163	21.68 (2.23)	28.83	Spanish
Netherlands	206	21.63 (1.84)	20.87	Dutch
Romania	215	22.46 (2.39)	27.10	Romanian
Singapore	275	23.03 (1.30)	33.58	English
South Africa	306	21.62 (2.03)	32.89	English
Spain	127	21.83 (1.44)	17.46	Spanish
Turkey	223	22.42 (2.46)	39.64	Turkish
Zambia	300	22.20 (2.38)	40.20	English

Measures

Self-report measures of specific response styles. Self-report measures of acquiescence, extremity, and midpoint response style developed and validated in He and van de Vijver (2013), were further adapted based on the pilot study. Each style, with 10 items, used balanced scales (i.e., half positively worded items and half negatively worded items) in an interrogative format (i.e., asking questions instead of rating on a statement) using five categories of semantic differentials. Each item had a different set of response options such as from never to always, not important at all to extremely important; this format has been shown to enhance cross-cultural comparability and to induce fewer response styles (e.g., Friborg, Martinussen, & Rosenvinge, 2006). For each style, item content included affective, cognitive and behavioral aspects involving the use of the style.

In the current study, we selected items from the specific response style scales that feature the three conceptualizations of GRS, respectively. Specifically, we sampled five items of context-free frequency of response style uses for the behavioral GRS, five items of agreement on importance of response amplification for the attitudinal GRS, and four items of avoiding expressions of own opinions as the suppression of GRS. The content and response options for the items are presented in the appendix.

Indirect Measures for Response Style Indexes. A total of 45 heterogeneous items randomly chosen from Measures of Personality and Social Psychological Attitude (Robinson, Shaver, & Wrightsman, 1991), from which behavioral indexes of response style could be extracted. These items covered different life domains and were answered on frequency- and agreement-based scales with three to seven options. For each style, 15 non-overlapping items were selected. Item responses were recoded to indicate the presence and absence of acquiescence (i.e., endorsement of agreeing options as 1 and other options as 0), extremity (endorsement the two end categories as 1 and other options as 0), and midpoint response style (endorsement of the middle category as 1 and other options as 0), respectively. The internal consistency of the recoded items for each style was checked, and it turned out that extremity and midpoint responding had moderate levels of internal consistency, whereas acquiescence had very low values of Cronbach's Alpha, Thus, acquiescence was excluded. A score of indirect GRS was computed as the sum of the two remaining response styles (with midpoint response style reverse-scored). The values of Cronbach's Alpha for the direct and indirect measures in each culture are presented in Table 2.

Personality. The Big Five personality scales (Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Extroversion, Openness, and Emotional Stability) were measured with 50 items of the International Personality Item Pool (Goldberg et al., 2006) with response options ranging from 1 (very inaccurate) to 5 (very accurate).

Table 2
Internal Consistency of Scales

Country	Direct General Response Style			Indirect Response Style	
	Behavioral	Attitudinal	Suppression	Extremity	Midpoint Responding
Canada	.643	.739	.637	.708	.565
China	.432	.481	.269	.791	.752
Indonesia	.509	.633	.023	.723	.412
Lithuania	.699	.729	.498	.616	.566
Mexico	.586	.717	.640	.706	.770
Netherlands	.626	.758	.557	.542	.285
Romania	.574	.779	.510	.717	.638
Singapore	.616	.662	.588	.637	.598
South Africa	.517	.736	.612	.735	.454
Spain	.664	.740	.615	.619	.377
Turkey	.429	.721	.556	.692	.628
Zambia	.413	.749	.344	.632	.398

Values. The four value dimensions (Self-enhancement, Self-transcendence, Openness to Change, and Conservation) were measured with the 21-item Portrait Values Questionnaire (Schwartz et al., 2001), with responses ranging from 1 (does not resemble me at all) to 5 (very much resembles me). The internal consistency of the personality and value scales was checked in the previous study (He et al, 2017) and all scales demonstrated acceptable values.

Results

We report the results in three parts: the factor structure and invariance of the GRS measures, convergence check with the indirect measure of GRS, and the nomological network of this measure (i.e., correlation with personality and values).

Factor Structure and Measurement Invariance

A principal component analysis of for each of the three direct GRS measures was conducted with the pooled sample. There was support for a one-factor solution (based on eigenvalues and the scree plot), with explained variance of 38%, 49% and 43%, respectively. In all three factors, items keying for higher extremity loaded positively and items on higher acquiescence and midpoint responding loaded negatively on the factor. The internal consistency of the scales differed (Table 2 first three columns) across countries. The attitudinal GRS showed the highest consistency across countries (except China), followed by the behavioral GRS (with problematic reliability in China, Indonesia, and Zambia), while the suppression factor showed the lowest internal consistency (with rather low values in China, Indonesian, Lithuania, and Zambia).

A measurement invariance testing of each scale in the multigroup confirmatory factor analysis across countries was performed in Mplus (Muthen & Muthen, 1998-2012). Three common levels of invariance were checked: (1) Configural invariance indicates that items measuring a construct cover facets of this construct adequately; (2) Metric invariance means that the items measuring a construct have the same factor loadings across groups. With metric invariance satisfied, associations between variables can be compared across groups; and (3) Scalar invariance implies that items have the same loadings and intercepts. Only with scalar invariance can mean scores be compared across cultures (van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). Items were treated as ordered categories and the WLSMV estimator was used. Due to some missing categories in the data, responses were collapsed to three categories from the original five to ensure non-zero observation in each category (a requirement for modelling data as categorical).

Table 3 presents the model fit of all three GRS measures across 12 countries. According to the model fit criteria including Comparative Fit Index (CFI: above .90), Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA: below .055), and the change of CFI and RMSEA within .004 and .05 from the configural to metric model, and .004 and .01 respectively from the metric to scalar model as an indication of acceptance of a more restricted model (Rutkowski & Svetina, 2016), all three GRS measures across countries reached configural invariance, but not metric or scalar invariance across the 12 countries. The poor model fit could be due to the low internal consistency in a few countries (e.g., China). Therefore, the configural structure of these measures was supported across countries, but not the invariance of metrics or item intercepts. Therefore, caution is needed in interpreting the mean differences across countries.

Convergence between Direct and Indirect GRS

The country-specific correlations (Table 4) showed mixed results in different countries. Most correlations were weak, indicating low convergence. However, there was consistency in the positive correlation between the attitudinal GRS and the indirect GRS across countries. The behavioral GRS showed a weaker correlation, in comparison with the attitudinal GRS, and China seemed to be an outlier in the self-reported response amplification behavior and the actual response style in the survey correlations between the GRS measure with the indirect indicators of GRS. The suppression of expression factor did not correlate with the indirect GRS in most cases, except for China (outlier as before), and in Turkey (a positive correlation).

Despite the lack of scalar invariance for the direct GRSs and the weak convergence of these GRS measures, a MANCOVA was carried out with the all four GRS measures (three direct and one indirect) as the dependent variables, country as the grouping variable, and gender as a covariate. There was a significant main country effect, Wilks' Lambda = .631, $p < .01$, partial $\eta 2$ = .109. These GRS measures had differential sizes of cross-cultural differences, with partial $\eta 2$ of .171 for the attitudinal GRS, .128 for the suppression GRS, .124 for the indirect GRS, and .092 for the behavioral GRS.

Nomological Network

Table 5 presents correlations of the direct and indirect measures of GRS with all personality traits and

Table 3
Model Fit of the General Response Style Measure in Multigroup Confirmatory Factor Analysis

		$\chi 2$	df	RMSEA	CFI
Behavioral GRS	Configural	207.06**	60	.096	.954
	Metric	413.15**	104	.105	.904
	Scalar	838.94**	148	.132	.786
Attitudinal GRS	Configural	320.74**	60	.128	.936
	Metric	Non-convergence			
	Scalar	1138.20**	148	.159	.756
Suppression GRS	Configural	114.47**	24	.120	.940
	Metric	260.53**	57	.116	.865
	Scalar	480.86**	90	.128	.740

$^{**}p < .01$.

Table 4
Correlations between the Indirect General Response Style (GRS) with the Three Direct GRS Measures

Country	Behavioral GRS	Attitudinal GRS	Suppression GRS (reversed)
Canada	.173**	.263**	.096
China	-.166**	.126*	-.174**
Indonesia	.014	.319**	-.084
Lithuania	.171**	.237**	.029
Mexico	.247**	.129	.100
Netherlands	.053	.070	.007
Romania	.195**	.309**	.104
Singapore	.155*	.298**	.077
South Africa	.089	.095	.072
Spain	.186*	.162	.160
Turkey	.089	.346**	.211**
Zambia	.258**	.201**	.074

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

Table 5
Correlation of the General Response Style (GRS) Measures with Personality Traits and Values (Pooled Sample)

	Behavioral GRS	Attitudinal GRS	Suppression GRS (reversed)	Indirect GRS
Agreeableness	.009	.135**	.021	.273**
Consciousness	.093**	.176**	.100**	.205**
Extraversion	.303**	.278**	.201**	.098**
Openness	.264**	.324**	.181**	.294**
Emotional Stability	.037*	-.022	.130**	.012
Self-Transcendence	.055**	.184**	.064**	.366**
Self Enhancement	.245**	.345**	.021	.191**
Open to change	.246**	.338**	.161**	.324**
Conservation	-.075**	.101**	-.148**	.197**

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

values in the pooled sample (for the concise presentation). All measures of GRS were positively associated with extraversion, openness, conscientiousness, openness to change and self-transcendence. They differ in correlations with other traits and value dimensions. For instance, all except the suppression GRS had a positive association with self-enhancement; the behavioral and suppression GRS were negatively related to conservation, whereas the reverse was found for the attitudinal and indirect GRS. Attitudinal and indirect GRS were positively related to agreeableness, but not the other two. All in all, it seems that the attitudinal and indirect GRS were quite similar in their nomological network, whereas the behavioral and suppression GRS were more similar to each other.

Discussion

Response styles present a persistent challenge in surveys, as they can invalidate the measurement, the structural and mean comparisons of Likert-scale measures (e.g., van Vaerenbergh & Thomas, 2013), therefore its measurement and validation has important implications for improving the quality of survey methodology. In this study, we made use of data from 12 countries with distinctive cultural values to explore the validity of several brief self-reported measures of GRS conceptualized from behavioral, attitudinal, and suppression of expression perspectives. Our approach takes response styles as trait-like communication styles that can be perceived and reported by individual respondents, and it goes beyond the traditional view that response styles amount to deliberate impression management or even lying, which has prevailed in the literature. The main findings include that (1) These three direct measures of GRS showed largely acceptable internal consistency (except for the suppression GRS); they demonstrated configural invariance across cultures but not metric or scalar invariance; (2) Although they did not correlate strongly with the indirect measure of GRS, there was consistent, stronger convergence with the attitudinal GRS and the indirect measure than the other two direct measures, and (3) different GRS measures (both direct and indirect) were consistently associated with being extravert, open, conscientious, and valuing self-transcendence, but different patterning was observed with specific GRS measures and self-enhancement, agreeableness, and conservation. We discuss the measurement and the potential use of GRS measures in surveys involving different groups.

The three direct GRS measures consist of items tapping into the use of different response styles (behavioral), importance and preference of response styles (attitudinal), and tendency to express opinions different to one's own (suppression), respectively. In line with previous research on the integration of different response styles, in all three direct measures, items on high extremity loaded positively on the factor, and items on high acquiescence and midpoint responding loaded negatively on the factor. These three direct measures are moderately, positively related to each other, pointing to certain convergence in looking at response amplification versus moderation from different perspectives. Across countries, the configural model in MGCFA was supported, but factor loadings and item intercepts vary, possibly due to low internal consistency in certain countries, poor translation for some items, and the difficulty in responding to the items with differing response options from item to item.

We did not find much support for strong convergence of the direct and indirect measures of GRS, which was not entirely unexpected. Previous research has often reported weak or lack of correlation of attitudinal and behavioral measures of psychological constructs such as impulsivity, distress tolerance, risk taking, and self-control, and comparisons based on either type tend to lead to divergent conclusions (e.g., de Ridder et al, 2011; Malesza & Ostaszewski, 2016; McHugh et al., 2011). This may be due to measurement bias in each type of measure that reduces shared common variance, and individual differences in self-related attitude stability, accessibility, affective-cognitive consistency, and self-regulation (e.g., Fazio, 1990). Nevertheless, this low convergence also speaks to the need to use both types of measure complementarily.

Among the three direct measures, the attitudinal measure had the highest internal consistency, it showed the most consistent convergence when related to the indirect measure, and the nomological network for the attitudinal GRS and the indirect GRS was more similar than the other two direct measures, indicating that the attitudinal component of GRS captures the actual response tendency more accurately than the behavioral GRS and suppression GRS. Moreover, there seems to be more cross-cultural differences (indicated by partial eta-squared) in this attitudinal GRS than any other GRS measures. We see advantages in measuring the attitudinal GRS with the self-reported scale, because it is brief and reliable (indirect GRS requires many more items and is sensitive to the data source used for its construction), and it captures the core, trait-like variations across individuals and cultural groups. Thus, this direct GRS measure may hold promise in better understanding communication styles and in correcting for the differences in Likert-scale scores due to the communication styles.

Conclusions

We provided a search and validation of new measures to access the trait-like communiation styles of survey respondents, namely the direct GRS measures. With the validation of behavioral, attitudinal and suppresion GRS in 12 different cultural contexts, we showed that the attitudinal component can be reliably and validly measured, and it converged better with the indirect measure. Our study is not without limitation. The student sample may not be representative, the selected items could be refined, and more nomological network measures are in need to check its convergent and discriminative validity of each measure. Future studies with more varied samples (and more representative samples in more cultural groups) can further validate and refine these measures, and their correction effects in various cross-cultural survey data are to be examined.

Appendix: Items for the General Response Style Measures

Instruction: Below are questions on your communication preferences. Please answer each of them based on your own experience. Please note that the response options are different from item to item.

• **Behavioral GRS**

1. In general, how often do you rather agree than disagree with others?

Never agreeing	Rarely agreeing	Sometimes agreeing	Often agreeing	Always agreeing
1	2	3	4	5

2. How often do you prefer to express a strong opinion to no opinion at all?

Never strong	Rarely strong	Sometimes strong	Often strong	Always strong
1	2	3	4	5

3. How often do you take an extreme stance?

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
1	2	3	4	5

4. How often do you ever prefer neutral opinions to strong opinions?

Never neutral	Rarely neutral	Sometimes neutral	Often neutral	Always neutral
1	2	3	4	5

5. How often do you give neutral opinions?

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
1	2	3	4	5

• **Attitudinal GRS**

6. How important is it for you to have strong opinions?

Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	Moderately	Extremely
1	2	3	4	5

7. Do you like to be viewed as a person with strong opinions?

Extremely so	Moderately so	Somewhat so	Slightly so	Not at all so
1	2	3	4	5

8. When you have an opinion on something, how is this opinion usually best described?

Very mild	Mild	Neither mild nor strong	Strong	Very strong
1	2	3	4	5

9. In what way are your opinions best described?

Very strong	Strong	Somewhat strong	Slightly strong	Not strong at all
1	2	3	4	5

10. How strongly do you agree with the statement below?
"I think it is good to have strong opinions"

Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1	2	3	4	5

• **Suppression of Expression**

11. How often do you express agreement to make everyone feel at ease?

Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
1	2	3	4	5

12. How often do you agree with others to show your empathy?

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
1	2	3	4	5

13. Have you ever given neutral opinions when you do not understand a question very well?

Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Always
1	2	3	4	5

14. How often do you hide your true opinions by remaining neutral?

Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
1	2	3	4	5

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ORIGINAL

Collective References and Identity Threat among Lebanese and Lebanese-Armenians in the Context of Continuous Intergroup Conflict

Referencias Colectivas y Amenazas a la Identidad entre Libaneses y Libaneses-Armenios en el Contexto de Conflicto Intergrupal Continuo

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Abstract

How people deal with adversity, in terms of threats to their social or ethnic identity has been extensively investigated. However, most studies have focused on samples (e.g. minority groups) from prototypical Western contexts. It is unclear how individuals perceive and deal with identity threats within non-Western plural contexts characterized by intergroup conflict. We therefore assess whether self-affirmation by recalling a past success can buffer against identity threat in the plural, non-Western context of Lebanon. In two studies we investigate how threats are negotiated at a national (Lebanon) (Study 1) and ethnic minority (Armenian) level (Study 2). In Study 1, we show that in a context characterized by a history of intergroup conflict, a superordinate national identity is non-salient. When investigating the content of memories of a sectarian group in Study 2, we find a hypersalient and chronically accessible ethnic identity, a pattern specific to Armenian Lebanese. We suggest that this hyper-salience is employed as a spontaneous identity management strategy by a minority group coping with constant continuity threat. Our findings point to the importance of expanding the study of identity processes beyond the typically Western contexts and in turn, situating them within their larger socio-political and historical contexts.

Keywords: **Social Identity Threat, non-Western, Chronically Accessible, Hyper-Salient Identity, Self-Affirmation**

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Resumen

Ha sido ampliamente investigado el cómo luchan las personas con la adversidad, en términos de amenazas a su identidad social o étnica. Sin embargo, muchos estudios se han enfocado en muestras prototípicas de contextos Occidentales (p.ej. grupos minoritarios). Es poco claro cómo los individuos perciben y luchan con amenazas a su identidad dentro de contextos plurales no-occidentales caracterizados por el conflicto intergrupal. Por ello, evaluamos si la auto-afirmación a través del recuerdo de un hecho pasado puede mediar en contra de la amenaza a la identidad en el contexto plural, no-occidental de Líbano. A través de dos estudios investigamos cómo las amenazas son negociadas a nivel nacional (Líbano) (Estudio 1) y a nivel de una minoría étnica (Armenia) (Estudio 2). En el estudio 1 se muestra que, en un contexto caracterizado por la historia de conflicto intergrupal, una identidad nacional superordinada es no-saliente. Cuando se investigó el contenido de las memorias de un sector del grupo en el estudio 2, se encontraron identidades étnicas híper-salientes y crónicamente accesibles, un patrón específico a los Libaneses-Armenios. Se sugiere que esta híper-saliencia sea empleada como una estrategia de manejo de identidad espontánea por un grupo minoritario que se enfrenta a una amenaza continua y constante. Los hallazgos señalan la importancia de ampliar el estudio de los procesos de identidad más allá de los contextos típicos Occidentales, y a su vez, situarlos dentro de contextos sociopolíticos e históricos más grandes.

Palabras Clave: Amenaza a la Identidad social, No-Occidental, Cronológicamente Accesible, Identidad Híper-saliente, Auto-afirmación

Group belonging and identity is one of the most relevant topics in social, cultural, and political psychology (Tajfel, 1979; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), particularly as a resource in dealing with adversity (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999). Much of what we know is derived from social psychological studies sampling participants from prototypical Western contexts (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010; Nielsen, Haun, Kärtner, & Legare, 2017), or immigrants that have recently relocated to such contexts that are dominated by one majority group (e.g., Appel, Weber, & Kronberger, 2015; Nadler & Clark, 2011; McQueen & Klein, 2006). Much less is known about non-Western, plural contexts (for such an example, see Sari, Chasiotis, Van de Vijver, & Bender, 2018; Sari, Van de Vijver, Chasiotis, & Bender, 2018), and how identities are employed in close proximity of different groups. We therefore set out to assess whether people benefit from self-affirmation in dealing with threats to their identity in the plural, non-Western context of Lebanon.

Self-affirmation entails that people reflect on valued elements of the self to boost the self's resources and thereby render threats to the self psychologically less dire (Sherman & Cohen, 2006; Steele, 1988). We investigate this process in two studies with two specific groups: a sample of mainstream Lebanese (Study 1) and Lebanese-Armenians (Study 2). In doing so, we move beyond generic expectations from ad-hoc designs (e.g., minimal group paradigm; Zagefka, 2009) towards an inclusion of meaningful contextualized identities as determinants of how individuals deal with threat (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999; Breakwell, 1986). This is in line with the recommendation of expanding research in psychology beyond the usual participant pool drawn from Western, Industrialized, Educated, Rich, and Democratic (WEIRD) societies (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). More specifically, we address how group affiliations that are typically found to be relevant in Western nation states and which may presumably be less relevant in Lebanon, moderate identity threat and the effectiveness of self-affirmation techniques. As explained below in more detail, the Lebanese context is characterized by political instability, a history of violent intergroup relations, and sectarian politics (Haddad, 2009; Makdisi, 1996; Traboulsi, 2012) a constellation which appears to be accompanied by identity-relevant behaviors that are both consequential and psychologically relevant on an everyday basis.

What is Social Identity Threat?

Instances where an in-group member might fear that their collective would be negatively represented or evaluated, known as social identity threat, has been elaborated by social identity (Tajfel, 1979) and social categorization theories (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). The experience of such threat precipitates responses at the cognitive (e.g., rationalization), emotional (e.g., anger) and behavioral (e.g., demonstrations) levels, specifically when in-group identity is salient (Stets & Burke, 2000). For instance, a standardized testing context can be threatening to an African American college student, vis-à-vis the stereotype of underperformance as a function of race. This illustrates a social identity threat in a situation where an individual fears negative evaluation based on a commonly held stereotype of his / her group (i.e., stereotype threat; Nguyen & Ryan, 2008; Schmader & Johns, 2003; Steele & Aronson, 1995). The awareness of such a stereotype may deplete cognitive resources and in turn lower performance. Other mechanisms underlying underperformance have also been proposed. These mechanisms, among others, include priming of the stereotype, and threat to self-integrity and subsequent efforts at its correction (e.g., self-handicapping; Spencer, Logel, & Davies, 2016). Social identity threat can also be triggered based on more subtle cues such as the fewer number of in-group members present in a given context relative to a dominant out-group (representativeness threat; Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Ditlmann, & Crosby, 2008), and the extent to which the setting itself structurally excludes individuals based on group membership (glass ceiling effect; Baxter & Wright, 2000; Cook & Glass, 2014). The effects of stereotype threat are particularly pronounced for those who highly identify with their group.

How do Individuals Cope with Social Identity Threat?

When threatened, individuals seek to protect their self, and they often shift their focus to an unthreatened (safe) domain of the self. This can occur via affirming one's values (self-affirmation; Sherman & Cohen, 2006; Steele, 1988), doubling down on one's in-group identification (Branscombe et al., 1999), and / or disidentifying with the in-group (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind & Solheim, 2009). Variations of self-affirmation include reflecting upon important values like religion or one's relationship with family and friends, one's skills (Cohen & Sherman, 2006; Steele, 1988), or recalling instances of success and overcoming challenges (Tavitian-Elmadjian, Bender, Van de Vijver, Chasiotis, & Harb, 2019). Self-affirmation interventions have been shown to maintain collective self-esteem (Tavitian-Elmadjian et al., 2019), reduce sexual prejudice towards gay men and lesbians (Lehmiller, Law, & Tormala, 2010), reduce prejudice towards out-groups when applied in concert with increased in-group distinctiveness manipulations (Zárate & Garza, 2002), and increase support for Black programs among White participants exposed to collective guilt over their history of slavery (Harvey & Oswald, 2000). Self-affirmation has also been shown to reduce perceptions of racism among Latinos (Adams, Tormala, & O'Brien, 2006). By providing people the opportunity to engage in a task that decreases defensiveness and protects overall self-worth, individuals appear to put the threat they experience into a larger perspective, which effectively dilutes the impact of threat. This reduces intergroup anxiety and increases behaviors conducive for improved intergroup relations (Badea, Bender, & Korda, 2019; Badea & Sherman, 2019).

Social Identity Threat in a Context of Conflict: Why Lebanon?

While findings from Western samples on how social identity threat operates may generalize, we suggest and demonstrate that they are qualified by the specifics of a context (for a similar point, see studies conducted about Roma people; Dimitrova et al., 2017), thus going beyond previous acknowledgements of a situational context's importance. Lebanon's context seems to differ from the typically studied Western contexts of threat management. Lebanon is a setting with multiple in-group / out-group dyads in conflict over their perceived survival, where gains of one group are perceived as losses for the other (zero sum outcome). This creates a volatile political structure with a pronounced fear of intergroup conflict, particularly when compared to prototypical Western immigration contexts. With this backdrop in mind, the manner in which individuals negotiate their sense of belonging is bound to deviate from what is observed in Western contexts dominated by one majority group and immigrant minorities (e.g., Appel et al., 2015; McQueen & Klein, 2006; Nadler & Clark, 2011).

Sociopolitical History of Lebanon. Lebanon's plural nature lies in the sectarian variation of its population. Sectarianism represents the intersectional (i.e., religious, ethnic, political) nature of Lebanese groups (sects). Lebanon has been described as a mosaic of 18 religious groups that include four Muslim sects, 12 Christian sects, the Druze sect, and Jewish groups (Saseen, 1990). However, this metaphor may create the erroneous impression of an overall whole, constituted by its elements. In fact, Lebanon is typically described as a deeply divided society that has been plagued by civil war, politicized sectarian conflict and division (Bahout, 2016; Traboulsi, 2012).

Lebanese intergroup dynamics can be understood in terms of the integrated threat theory where symbolic threats (e.g., differences in religion, values, belief systems, ideologies, and worldview, among others) and realistic threats (e.g., a group's welfare and resources) may be implicated in determining psychological and behavioral reactions within intergroup contexts (Stephan & Renfro, 2002). The model for integrated threat details a number of variables related to intergroup relations (e.g., history of intergroup conflict, power of in-group relative to the outgroup and group size), cultural values (e.g., power distance, individualism and collectivism, and uncertainty avoidance), situational factors (e.g., the setting within which interaction occurs, how structured the interaction is, and if the interaction is supported by authority), and individual differences (e.g., group identification, contact with the out-group, social dominance orientation, and right wing authoritarianism among others) as antecedents for symbolic and realistic threats. Through the lens of the integrated threat model and its antecedents, particular periods in Lebanon's history, still relevant today, are described next to demonstrate the volatile nature of Lebanese society and the threats experienced within it.

For instance, the first civil war in Lebanon (May 1958) can be understood in terms of ideological differences between Muslims and Christians about the positioning of Lebanon at the time vis-*à*-vis the emergence of the United Arab Republic: Lebanon as part of the United Arab Republic versus a sovereign Lebanon assuming a neutral position between Arab nationalism and the West (Sorby, 2000). These opposing views represent symbolic threats pertaining to the very definition of what it meant to be a Lebanese national. The displacement of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon after their expulsion from Palestine (1948 – 1967) and Jordan (1970) can also be interpreted as a perceived threat by Christians who, at the time, felt the demographic composition in the country was shifting in favor of Muslims. When discussing threat, we refer to perceived threat which does not necessarily equate with objective accounts. Feeling outnumbered has been classified as a situational antecedent of realistic threat (Stephan & Renfro, 2002) and Christians feared the risk of becoming a minority relative to a Muslim majority (representativeness threat). With Christians holding more power relative to other groups at the time, their perception of threat may have been quite dire. This is in line with research showing that high power groups respond more strongly to threat as they have much more to lose (Johnson, Terry, & Louis, 2005).

While providing a detailed historical account of the Lebanese civil war (1975-1990) is beyond the scope of the present paper, it is important to note that the conflict cannot be attributed to tensions between Christian conservatives and Palestinians at the time. The Arab-Israeli conflict was a larger regional backdrop, that played out in Lebanon and was reflected in the development of the Lebanese National Movement (LNM), constituted of Arab nationalists and leftists (predominantly Druze and Muslim) and that allied themselves with the Palestinians against the conservative predominantly Christian Phalangist Kataeb Regulatory Forces (KRF). These represented two politically different ideologies (symbolic threat), with the LNM calling for a non-sectarian democratic system of governance and the KRF supporting the status quo and later federalism and political decentralization. There was much more nuance, however, with the two fronts changing positions and demands as the war progressed. The conflict was complicated by external interventions from Israel (e.g., 1982 Israeli invasion) and Syria[2] (e.g., 1976 military intervention). As the war progressed, further divisions and intra-sect wars emerged (e.g., intra-Christian Maronite and intra-Muslim Shia), increasing anti-militia sentiments in the general public and a call for a resolution to the conflict (Krayem, 1997). With the signing of the Document of National Understanding in Taif, the Lebanese civil war came to an official end in 1990, and Syria assumed a temporary guardianship over Lebanon to ensure reconciliation (Salem, 2006). Internally, parties in support for and in opposition of the Syrian military presence in Lebanon emerged, intersect conflicts continued, this time particularly between Sunnis and Shias. Against this historical background, it is surprising that a relatively recent large-scale study suggests that the Lebanese national identity is a salient source of belonging for Lebanese youth (aged 18-25) across sects (but mostly Maronite, Sunni, and Shia; Harb, 2010). At the same time, however, the study finds a "blatant bias towards one's sect" "regardless of gender, confession or region of origin" (Harb, 2010, p.14), which clarifies that sectarian identity is a crucial source of social categorization (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). We single out one specific group, Armenians in Lebanon, for further investigation.

Armenians in Lebanon. Armenians voluntarily settled in the Middle East as early as the 1800s, prior to the declaration of the state of Greater Lebanon in 1920. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, an estimated one and a half million Armenians were massacred in the Ottoman Empire (Jorgensen, 2003; Lewy, 2005). Surviving refugees settled in camps, such as Bourj-Hammoud, Sanjak, and Anjar, under the then French mandate. These camps later flourishing into cities that today are still predominantly inhabited by Armenians. Armenians in Lebanon are considered a religious / ethnic minority as they are Christian and speak the Indo-European Armenian language (Kazarian & Martin, 2006). They are recognized as one of the main factions of Lebanon and are represented in the government based on the proportionality principle of Lebanese power sharing (Article 24 of the Lebanese constitution) with five parliament seats allotted to Apostolic Armenians and one to Catholic Armenians. Armenians perceive their identity as endangered because they live in exile, away from their homeland (Tölölyan, 2010). A prime concern is the group's continuity (Smeeks, Verkuyten, & Poppe, 2011), which is manifested in collective angst or anxiety about the group's future (Jetten & Wohl, 2012).

Faced with uncertainty that comes with being a minority sect in exile (Tölölyan, 2010), Armenians tend to protect their collective identity and rights through sustained institutional efforts, such as Armenian schools, churches, youth and cultural organizations, newspapers, radio stations, and television news broadcasts, and, importantly, participating in Lebanon's political and public life via three political parties (Migliorino, 2008) . We suggest that these efforts make it likely to find that Lebanese-Armenian's ethnic/sectarian identity is more highly endorsed than their national identity. A threat to the Armenian collective in Lebanon may thus be especially dire and relevant. In turn, self-affirmation may be specifically helpful in increasing the self's resources and ameliorating the negative effects of such threat.

2 In 1976, the Arab Deterrant Force, which was 85% Syrian troops, entered Lebanon (Deeb, 1989). In 1989, with the Ta'if agreement, complete sovereignty for Lebanon was not deemed feasible due to the disintegration of the state primarily and the Israeli occupation of the South. As such, the Syrian military presence was legitimized under the guise of aiding in the rebuilding of the state after which both governments would come to an agreement of the gradual exit of Syrian troops from Lebanon. Nevertheless, since their entry, the Syrian government proceeded in expanding its military control over Lebanon and exerting significant influence on internal Lebanese politics. On April of 2005, the Syrian occupation of Lebanon ended with the withdrawal of its troops after Lebanese took to the streets in the "Cedar Revolution" and demanded full sovereignty (Knio, 2005).

The Present Studies

We have elaborated on the historical context of intergroup conflict in Lebanon, which we argue may come with implications for the relative endorsement of national and sectarian identity: We expect that the complex and tense nature of intergroup relations in Lebanon would predispose individuals to endorse their national identity less than their sectarian identity, but there is also data that show that national identity is a relevant source of belonging (Harb, 2010).

Against this unresolved issue, we examined whether self-affirmation through the recall of instances of overcoming adversity (mastery recall) would help boost collective self-esteem under a superordinate national identity threat (Study 1). If the identity threatened is not a valued resource for the self, as may be the case in threatening the Lebanese national identity, then self-affirmation may fail to exert an effect. But Lebanese identity could be relevant (Harb, 2010), especially given that we collected data after the 2015 sanitation crisis that precipitated protests lead mainly by young activists (members of civil society organizations, environmental organizations and human rights groups). The protests started off demanding a resolution to the waste management crisis in the country but transformed into protests against government corruption in what started to look more and more like an uprising (Civil Society Knowledge Center, n.d.). In the largest of the protests, citizens took to the streets waving the Lebanese flag and demanding the fall of the regime (Ensor, 2015). These protests may have strengthened a sense of solidarity and superordinate identity among Lebanese.

We also take a closer look at how an ethnisectarian group experiences ethnic identity threat (Study 2). Given the importance of maintaining ethnic identity continuity among Armenians as highlighted above, threats to the Armenian ethnic identity may be particularly relevant and psychologically dire. We therefore set out to understand how individuals in such a context respond to threat and whether their memories – which can be tools used in self-affirmation (Tavitian-Elmadjian et al., 2019) - play a role in their responses.

Study 1

Given the history of intergroup conflict, the Lebanese context provides a fitting opportunity to evaluate a contextualized experience and management of social identity threat. In this historical and political context, a salient national (i.e., Lebanese) identity may be unlikely. Still, data suggest that national identity is an important source of belonging (Harb, 2010) and the emergence of a civil society movement in protest of the sanitation crisis may have contributed to bolstering national identity further. To test whether national identity threat and mastery recall affirmation will be effective among Lebanese (RQ1), we randomly assigned mainstream Lebanese youth to one of three threat conditions (identity-relevant, identity-irrelevant, and neutral), two affirmation conditions (mastery recall versus routine recall), and recall order conditions (before threat and after threat). We employed collective self-esteem as an outcome measure of identity affirmation.

Participants

Participants were recruited via snowball sampling online through social media platforms and undergraduate university student sample pools. A total of 507 Lebanese adults participated, of which we excluded non-Lebanese nationals and participants with links to Jordan ($n = 96$; the identity irrelevant vignette targeted Jordanians), participants who quit the survey before completing the dependent measure assessment ($n = 92$), participants whose memories did not adhere to the instruction ($n = 27$) and participants who opted to withdraw their participation after reading the debriefing letter ($n = 4$) (Table 1). We determined that a sample size of 270 is needed to detect a medium effect size of $f = .25$ for a power of .80 (calculated using G*Power 3.1; Faul, Erdfelder, Buchner, & Lang, 2009).

Procedure and Materials

The study received approval from the Ethics Review Board (reference EC-2014.30) and was run on Qualtrics. We used a cover story to not reveal the experimental design (“exploring different attitudes among many different groups of people and many different

Table 1
Individual Demographic Characteristics as a Percentage of the Sample (N =289)

Characteristics	N (percentage)
Sex	
Male	130 (45)
Female	256 (54)
Unknown	3 (1)
Birth country	
Lebanon	227 (78.5)
Other	58 (20.1)
Unknown	4 (1.4)

countries"). We then asked participants two questions to exclude non-Lebanese nationals and participants with links to Jordan.

Next, participants completed the Modern and Old-Fashioned racism scale, α = .73 (McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981), which we assessed as a covariate. Participants also completed the Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale (RSE; α = .83) (Rosenberg, 1965) and a variant of the revised Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM-R; α = .84) (Phinney & Ong, 2007) that assessed national as opposed to ethnic identification. We assessed both self-esteem and national identification as possible moderators. Identification strength has been shown to vary responses to identity threat such that high identifiers are more susceptible compared to low identifiers (Armenta, 2010; McCoy & Major, 2003; Schmader, Block, & Lickel, 2015). Although self-esteem has not consistently emerged as a moderator in identity threat and affirmation research, there is evidence pointing to greater perceived stress and attitude change following self-affirmation interventions among those low on self-esteem (MCQueen & Klein, 2006).

Following the assessment of our covariate and moderators, we randomly assigned participants to one of the conditions in a 2 x 2 x 3 experimental design with recall type (mastery / non-mastery), recall order (before threat / after threat) and threat relevance (national identity relevant / national identity irrelevant / neutral) as independent variables and racism as a control variable. We manipulated recall type by explicitly asking participants to remember and write about their daily morning routine or a time in their life where they faced a difficult experience and how they overcame it. We manipulated threat relevance by constructing three vignettes[3] 2 featuring a negative stereotypical characteristic ascribed to a group (categorization threat; Branscombe et al., 1999).

As a manipulation check, we then asked participants to rate the author of the presented vignette on his/her attitudes and his/her feelings toward the group portrayed in the vignette (Phinney, Chavira, & Tate, 1993). Ratings were in line with our expectations; the identity relevant and irrelevant threat vignettes were rated as equally negative ($p = 1$) and significantly more negative than the neutral vignette ($p < .001$). As the dependent measure, we assessed collective self-esteem using the Collective Self-Esteem Scale (CSE; α = .8) (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Finally, we asked six open ended questions to assess reactivity, but found no evidence for it (Chartrand & Bargh, 1999). We used IBM Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 21 to conduct our analyses.

Results

Participants in our sample were predominantly university students with an average age of 19.53 (SD = 2.33). On average the Lebanese national identity was moderately endorsed (M = 3.52, SD = .78, z = .00) unlike in a previous study where national identification was quite highly endorsed (Standardized value of the mean = 1.27) (Harb, 2010). Similarly, the average

3 To design relevant vignettes, we first ran a short online survey, asking Lebanese participants to report at least five stereotypes most commonly associated with Lebanese and rate the negativity and perceived truthfulness for each. Of 46 initial respondents, 22 (17 females and 5 males) provided at least one stereotype for a total of 62 stereotypes grouped into 19 themes. We found the theme of 'racism towards migrant workers' as the most common stereotype. We constructed vignettes featuring a blatant threat to increase its salience and efficacy of the threat since we did not specifically target high identifiers (see Cadinu, Maass, Frigerio, Impagliazzo, & Latinotti, 2003; Keller, 2002; see item two of supplementary material). We then developed an identity-irrelevant variant that differed only in the country designator (Jordanian). We also devised a neutral condition, with a description of chairs "A chair is a piece of furniture with a raised surface used to sit on…" with word count kept constant across all three vignettes. We counterbalanced recall order by presenting the recall task either before or after the presentation of the threat condition.

Table 2
Means of National Identification, Personal Self-Esteem, Racism and Collective Self-Esteem of Mainstream Lebanese Participants (Standard Deviations in Parentheses) (N =289)

	M	SD
National identification [a]	3.52	.78
Personal self-esteem [b]	3.02	.47
Racism [c]	3.69	.73
Collective self-esteem [d]	4.25	.80

Note. [a] National identification assessed on a response range of 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree) and a midpoint of 3 (Neither agree not disagree). [b] Personal self-esteem assessed on a response range of 1 (Strongly disagree) to 4 (Strongly agree). [c] Racism assessed on a response range of 1 (Strongly agree) to 5 (Strongly disagree). [d] Collective self-esteem assessed on a response range of 1 (Strongly disagree) to 7 (Strongly agree) and a midpoint of 4 (Neither agree not disagree).

score on collective self-esteem was around the scale midpoint ($M = 4.25$, $SD = .8$, $z = .00$).

We examined main and interaction effects of threat and recall type on collective self-esteem in a factorial ANCOVA. Effects for threat relevance ($F(2, 276) = 1.2$, $MSE = .62$, $p = .3$, $\eta2 = .01$), recall type ($F(1, 276) = .78$, $MSE = .62$, $p = .38$, $\eta2 = .00$) and recall order ($F(1, 276) = .64$, $MSE = .62$, $p = .42$, $\eta2 = .00$) were non-significant, as was the interaction effect between recall type and threat relevance, $F(2, 276) = .57$, $MSE = .62$, $p = .56$, $\eta2 = .01$). The three way interaction was also not significant ($F(2, 276) = 1.1$, $MSE = .62$, $p = .33$, $\eta2 = .00$). Moderators (national identification, personal self-esteem) were also non-significant ($p > .05$).

Discussion

Our study aimed at evaluating whether self-affirmation would alleviate national identity threat in a sample of Lebanese youth. Against a backdrop of intergroup tension and conflict we doubted a high endorsement of the Lebanese identity and hence a threat targeting that level being effective. In a representative sample of Lebanese youth, however, a strong endorsement of national identity was found (Harb, 2010) which is an indicator that a threat at a national level may be quite relevant. In the current study, we do not find that self-affirmation is related to threat when it targets a superordinate national identity. There are a number of explanations to this. First, and as expected, the Lebanese national identity may not be as valued an element of the self. National identification in our sample is moderate, clearly not high as reported in a previous study (Harb, 2010). Our sample scored just above the scale midpoint anchored at "neither agree nor disagree." Our finding also reflects another possibility, where it is not a low endorsement of a national identity that is the issue but rather the manner in which the identity is conceptualized and defined by each group. Shared attributes used to construct a national identity can be based on civic (e.g., territory, legal political equality, civic and cultural ideology) and ethnic (e.g., common language, religion, ancestry, and customs) conceptions (Kunovich, 2009; Shulman, 2002). Neither is possible in Lebanon, where nation building — fraught with consociationalism and external interventions — rendered a unified understanding national identity difficult to forge and maintain (Gürcan, 2007).

It is also possible that our findings may be due to the relatively blatant nature of the threat. A more subtle threat may have yielded a different outcome. However, our manipulation check indicated that the threat manipulation worked, and the vignettes were evaluated as in tended. In addition, national identification at pre-test reflected a rather neutral evaluation of the Lebanese identity which was also maintained at post-test with an evaluation of collective self-esteem, thus decreasing the likelihood that the nature of the threat is responsible for our findings. One additional explanation may relate to the source of the threat which we did not specify. Had we constructed the threat as coming from a non-Lebanese source (e.g. Israel) findings may have differed.

In Study 2, we shift our focus to a specific ethnosectarian group within Lebanon (Armenians) as a target of identity threat. We reason that while a threat targeting a superordinate national identity may have been ineffective, threatening a salient identity will reveal a different pattern of responses. Given the long history of intergroup conflict in Lebanon, the definition of what it means to be a Lebanese national may vary across groups, creating a rather subjective understanding derived from experiences that are specific to each sect. So, despite an endorsement of the Lebanese identity (Harb, 2010), the heterogeneity of its content may reduce the efficacy of threats to that level. This is likely not to be the case when focusing on Lebanese-Armenians with a well-defined, shared understanding of ethnic identity.

Study 2

Armenian ethnic identity is likely a salient, chronically accessible feature of Lebanese Armenians. With an identity constructed around the idea of survival against all odds including multiple invasions (Turco-Mongol raids in the 11th and 14th centuries), forcible relocations (e.g., Isfahan in the 17th century) culminating in the 1915 Genocide (Migliorino, 2008), a discourse of anxiety and fear of offense from out-groups is common among Armenians. These experiences imply that ethnic identity maintenance and the threat of assimilation are primary concerns (Panossian, 2002), effectively constituting a cultural continuity threat (Jetten & Wohl, 2012; Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2015). The threat of assimilation is one that most immigrants grapple with as they undergo changes in different areas of psychological functioning including identity (Berry, 1980). In Lebanon, Armenians live within a politically unstable and confessional society (Sasseen, 1990) with no (state) policies regulating immigration like most Western contexts (Bourhis et al., 1997).

We expect the Armenian ethnic identity to be a salient, valued element of the self (Kazarian & Boyadjian, 2008). Participants were presented with different threats, comparable to Study 1 (i.e., identity relevant, identity irrelevant and neutral). We asked them to produce open-ended text in response to these threats (i.e., mastery recall versus routine recall), and we varied the source of threat (in-group versus out-group). We assessed collective self-esteem afterwards. We set out to assess whether participants that were exposed to relevant threat and that recall mastery memories have higher collective self-esteem compared to those that do not (H1). We also expect that when threat is identity relevant and the source of threat is coming from the out-group, this would result in a lower tendency to engage with the out-group as supported by the rejection-identification model (H2). Finally, we set out to explore whether the content of the open-ended responses differed in terms of references to their collective identity across conditions.

Participants

A total of 252 Lebanese-Armenian adults participated in the present study. The sample size is slightly below the 270 needed to detect a medium effect size of f = .25 for a power of .80 (Faul et al., 2009, 2007). After reviewing the memory entries for adherence to the study instructions, 212 participants were retained (Table 3). We employed a committee approach to inspect the autobiographical memory entries. We excluded entries that involved evaluative statements related to the experimental vignettes and future plans that did not connect to a recall of a past event. Both online and paper and pencil methods of convenience sampling were used. Non-Lebanese nationals and participants who have Egyptian heritage or have visited / lived in Egypt were excluded (the identity irrelevant vignette targeted Copts in Egypt).

Table 3
Individual Demographic Characteristics as a Percentage of the Sample (N = 212)

Characteristics	N (percentage)
Sex	
Male	92 (43.4)
Female	104 (49.1)
Unknown	16 (7.5)
Birth country	
Lebanon	188 (88.7)
Other	10 (4.7)
Unknown	14 (6.6)

Procedure and Materials

As in Study 1, after consenting to participate, we applied the exclusion criteria and then participants completed a measure of heritage (α = .94) and host (α = .91) culture adaptation as a covariate (adapted from Ait Ouarasse & Van de Vijver, 2004), given that the threat vignette featured the Armenian community in Lebanon. Since previous research has supported self-esteem (McQueen & Klein, 2006) and identification strength (Armenta, 2010; McCoy & Major, 2003; Schmader et al., 2015) as moderators, we administered the Rosenberg Self-Esteem scale (RSE; α = .70)

(Rosenberg, 1965) and the revised Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM-R; α = .90) (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Next, we randomly assigned participants to the conditions in a 2 x 2 x 4 factorial design with recall type (mastery / non-mastery), counterbalanced recall order (before threat / after threat), and threat relevance (national identity relevant in-group / national identity relevant out-group / national identity irrelevant / neutral) manipulated[4]. We constructed a vignette based on the stereotype of Armenians living in a "ghetto", as a blatant threat since we did not specifically target high identifiers (see Cadinu, et al., 2003; Keller, 2002) (see item two of supplementary material). We manipulated the source of the threat such that it was either presented as coming from an in-group (fellow Armenian) or an out-group source. Next, we developed an identity-irrelevant vignette (Copts in Egypt) and a neutral condition (chairs, see Study 1). We kept word count constant across the four vignettes. Afterwards, we adapted a manipulation check from Phinney and colleagues (1993), finding that the identity threat relevant in-group, out-group, and the identity irrelevant vignettes were rated equally and significantly more negative compared to the neutral condition on author's attitudes and feelings toward the target group ($p < .001$ for all). As in Study 1, we assessed collective self-esteem (α = .86) as an outcome (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) with an additional measure of intentions and willingness to interact with the out-group (α = .95). As in Study 1, we did not find any participant reactivity (with 6 items adapted from Chartrand & Bargh, 1999). We used IBM Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 21 to conduct our analyses.

4 We manipulated recall order and recall type (see item one of supplementary material) using the same procedures elaborated in Study 1. To construct a threat vignette, we ran a survey as in Study 1 to select the most relevant stereotype to Armenians in Lebanon. Of 27 initial respondents (all Lebanese-Armenian), 27 (16 females and 11 males) provided at least one stereotype for a total of 75 stereotypes (8 were not clear, hence not coded) grouped into 26 themes. We found the most common stereotype referred to a separated, prejudiced Armenian living in a "ghetto".

Table 4
Means of Ethnic identification, personal self-esteem, collective self-esteem, mainstream and heritage adaptation and outgroup interaction of Armenian Lebanese participants (Standard Deviations in Parentheses) (N = 212).

	M	SD
Ethnic Identification [a]	4.07	.76
Personal self-esteem [b]	3.09	.46
Collective self-esteem [c]	5.33	.87
Heritage domain adaptation [d]	5.85	1.04
Host domain adaptation [d]	4.94	1.07
Interaction with out-group [e]	3.68	.96

Note. [a] Ethnic identification assessed on a response range of 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree). [b] Personal self-esteem assessed on a response range of 1 (Strongly disagree) to 4 (Strongly agree). [c] Collective self-esteem assessed on a response range of 1 (Strongly disagree) to 7 (Strongly agree). [d] Acculturation orientations assessed on response range of 1 (Strongly disagree) to 7 (Strongly agree). [e] Willingness to interact with the out-group assessed on a response range of 1 (Strongly agree) to 5 (Strongly disagree).

Results and Discussion

We did not observe significant effects for both threat relevance ($F(3, 185) = .34$, $MSE = .75$, $p = .80$, $\eta2 = .005$) and recall type ($F(1, 185) = 2.26$, $MSE = .75$, $p = .13$, $\eta2 = .01$) or their interaction ($F(3, 185) =.86$, $MSE = .75$, $p =.46$, $\eta2 = .01$). Moderators (ethnic identification and personal self-esteem) were also non-significant ($p > .05$) and there were no differences on collective self-esteem across participants who received an in-group threat versus an out-group threat ($p > .05$). Overall the sample scored high both on ethnic identification ($M = 4.07$, $SD = .76$) and collective self-esteem ($M = 5.33$, $SD = .87$) (See Table 4).

The absence of findings may likely be due to the sample size. However, there is one further explanation, which is grounded in the specific circumstances of the Armenian group in Lebanon. For that, we need to take a closer look at the data collection in the Armenian community, which was lengthy and extremely challenging. We suggest that Armenians may have chosen not to participate because they were apprehensive and defensive about being singled out as Armenians, which are common responses to perceived intergroup threat (Steele, 1988). This may have led to both a reduced sample size, as well as an underrepresentation of highly identifying individuals in our sample (but note that sectarian identity is very high). The observed pattern in our phases of data collection is consistent with the notion of defensiveness and threat playing an important role. In phase 1, the online data collection, initial response rates were low, despite extensive advertising (only 49 participants, i.e., ~19% of the eventual sample size, over a period of 7 months). In phase 2, we carried out the study's paper and pencil version to provide more personalized contact to build trust and reduce defensiveness, which improved the participation rate to 252 recruited participants. Still, participants were defensive and apprehensive: They were skeptical of the identity and nationality of the principal investigators, and they speculated about the intentions behind data collection. Conspiracism is a common concern in Lebanon (Gray, 2010). In phase 3, we sought to address this by soliciting the approval of a prominent Armenian party and other Armenian organizations to collect further data from their partisans. While this further increased sample size, the defensiveness of participants persisted. In short, the response we received to our recruitment efforts, may have already been a response to a perceived threat – although it was not operationalized as such in our design.

Coding of autobiographical memory entries. We content-coded the open-ended responses of our participants to identify instances in which they responded with references to collective Armenian identity as their shared identity (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). For this, the entire sample was retained with the exception of three cases where memories were not provided (N = 249). Two independent coders coded any reference to Armenian identity (e.g., "after waking up from 3-4 alarms, I wash my teeth and face. Then I check the social media on my phone and talk to my Armenian friend to check if he is awake, so that I pick him up on my way to university. I go down the stairs and put the Armenian newspaper at its spot. I pick up my friend and go to the university"). Agreement between coders was high, Cohen's $\kappa = .96$, $p < .01$ (Viera & Garrett, 2005).

Collective references per threat condition. A total of 32 out of 249 (12.85%) collective references were identified across conditions. In other words, even when required to provide a routine memory, a reference to the Armenian collective identity was made in a large number of cases. This may help explain why our affirmation exercise failed to exert an effect, as it overrides the experimental design by enhancing in-group favoritism (Turner, et al., 1987). These self-categorizations occurred in a context of threat, and classifying the self as Armenian may help participants evade negative effects of threat that stems from differences among people, as a participant highlight:

> "I have a shower every other day, get prepared for work, have a healthy breakfast, head to work. There is nothing related to my heritage that I do during the mornings. Actually, I'm an Armenian person, and I am attached to the heritage; however, I'm the type who's open to other cultures as well. I do not treat Armenians better than others, but I cannot reject the fact that being surrounded by Armenians gives me some sort of comfort. It feels like home most of the time. Being open to people different from us is essential. Differences are the main causes of hate in this world, along with human greed. I don't care about religion (I'm not religious) neither about nationality. All I care about is having a good heart and making a positive difference in this world.
>
> *25-year-old male*

A pattern specific to the Lebanese-Armenians. We then examined whether the pattern is also found within the mainstream Lebanese sample. We applied a similar coding scheme for data gathered from Lebanese participants in Study 1, and, of the 316 memories assessed, only 10 (3.16%) included references to the Lebanese identity (e.g., "Every day in the morning, I wake up from bed almost every day at 6 am….weird songs that are old (some of them are good and that I enjoy listening to them like the ones for Fairuz)…") as opposed to 32 (12.85%) in the smaller Armenian Lebanese sample from Study 2. These proportions were significantly different ($\chi 2(1) = 16.22$, $p = .000$; phi / Cramer's V = -.16). This suggests that the finding is specific to the Armenian group in Lebanon, and it points towards their identity being chronically more accessible (Fiske & Taylor, 1991). For instance, an Armenian is quickly recognizable by merely stating their last names (e.g., Hagopian, Melikian…) or their area of residence.

Although endorsement of identity for both mainstream Lebanese and Armenian Lebanese was above the scale midpoint (refer to Table 2 and Table 4), endorsement of the Armenian ethnic identity was higher than Lebanese national identity. To examine whether the observed difference is significant, we compared the average scores on national and ethnic identification from Studies 1 and 2 respectively, as well as collective self-esteem from the two samples using independent samples t-tests. We found a significant difference in national / ethnic identification ($t(490) = 14.13$, $p = .00$, $d = 1.28$) and collective self-esteem ($t(498) = 7.92$, $p = .00$, $d = .71$) when comparing Armenian Lebanese and mainstream Lebanese participants. Armenian Lebanese endorsed their ethnic identity ($M = 4.07$, $SD = .76$) and derived a sense of worth from their group belonging ($M = 5.33$, $SD = .87$) to a greater extent compared to mainstream Lebanese ($M = 3.52$, $SD = .78$ and $M = 4.25$, $SD = .80$, respectively).

General Discussion

In the present study we set out to test identity threat management through mastery recall in a non-Western context (Lebanon) with regard to a relatively less salient identity (Lebanese national identity among general Lebanese) and relatively more salient identity (Armenian ethnic identity among Armenians). Our results support this pattern specifically when examining the qualitative component of both studies: Armenian-Lebanese spontaneously referred to their collective ethnic identity as opposed to mainstream Lebanese who did not do so. We also find a significantly higher endorsement of their ethnic identity among Armenians relative to Lebanese endorsing their national identity, which further points to the salience of an ethnosectarian identity relative to a national identity. The notion that self-affirmation via mastery recall protects collective self-esteem when national Lebanese identity (Study 1) and ethnic Armenian identity are threatened (Study 2) was not supported. We reasoned that the historical background of Lebanon would make it less likely that an affirmation intervention would benefit the Lebanese national identity (Makdisi, 1996). We expected, however, that self-affirmation for the Armenian ethnic identity would be effective. While sample sizes were too low for firm conclusions in Study 2, we suggest that this was a direct outcome of the challenges in data collection that we encountered, from unresponsiveness to online data collection to mistrust and threat-relevant defensiveness on the side of our Armenian participants. We find, however, a pattern of spontaneous references to the salient Armenian collective identity – irrespective of threat – which speaks to a chronic affirmation that may have overshadowed our experimental manipulation.

Ongoing Intergroup Conflict Weakens National Identification

In study 1, we found the experimental vignettes to be effective, but there was no difference in collective self-esteem associated with threat manipulation or self-affirmation of Lebanese participants. Participants' average score on the measure was at the midpoint (neither agree nor disagree), indicating that the sample did not necessarily derive a pronounced sense of self-worth from their national group belonging. It could also be that the definition of what it means to be Lebanese is different per sect: For some Lebanese, their Arab identity may be in the foreground, but not for others (such as Armenians). This finding is not surprising given the sociopolitical history of Lebanon which has accentuated sectarian identity (Makdisi, 1996), and we specifically observe this accentuation among the Armenian sample with a spontaneous affirmation of their ethnic identity when faced with threat. While people are able to identify with more than one social category which can overlap and be simultaneously activated (Roccas & Brewer, 2002), in a politically unstable context with ongoing intergroup conflict, an emergent common national identity is hindered. This is in contrast to Western nation states where a relatively stable and democratic political climate has been conducive to the emergence of civic over ethnist forms of national identity

(Kunovich, 2009), and that could be regarded as sources of positive self-evaluation. The context of ongoing conflict shapes the content of identity, and one of the defining features may be antagonism with the out-group which has been shown to moderate the relationship between identification strength and negative behavioral intentions among students from Northern Ireland (Livingstone & Haslam, 2008). In such an instance, a unified definition and understanding of what it means to belong to a larger group, a superordinate category, may vary across groups.

A Chronically Accessible Identity

According to self-categorization theory, the activation of a social identity category is determined by salience to which accessibility is key (Turner et al., 1987). The accessibility of a social identity - the extent to which information in the environment will be readily perceived and interpreted in terms of the given social category (Bruner, 1957) - may vary based on contextual cues (temporary accessibility), or it may be chronically accessible if considered important to the self-concept and used frequently (Hogg & Terry, 2000). Chronically accessible identities would be categories such as sex and race (Mackie, Hamilton, Susskind, & Rosselli, 1996). We also argue that the Armenian ethnic identity within Lebanon constitutes such a chronically accessible identity. For instance, a 21-year-old female notes that she thinks of her family and then her ethnic group at large every morning when she wakes up "When I wake up in the morning, first, I think about my family members so that they have a successful day. I also think of all Armenians so they have a successful day. All Armenians in Armenia...to be well. Then, I get ready and head to work." To many individuals in different contexts this would seem an odd thought to have early in the morning. In line with our earlier suggestions, it is possible that this may have – at least partially - been the result of the data collection procedure, as participants filling out the paper and pencil version of the experiment were approached by Armenian data collectors, including the PI. This may have made the participants' Armenian identity (and the associated threats) more salient.

This notwithstanding, an identity is salient when important and used frequently (Mackie et al., 1996) and within a context characterized by conflict, prejudice towards perceived out-groups is not uncommon (Stephan & Renfro, 2002) and therefore could contribute to frequent references and uses of one's ethnic identity in every day interactions. For instance, in response to a prompt for recalling a difficult situation and how that situation was mastered an 18-year-old male Armenian recounts: "I was 15 years old when I started working in a restaurant serving Lebanese food. During my years working there the Arabs constantly cursed at Armenians and gave me a hard time for being Armenian. I could not understand why but after a while I started understanding that the reason for the way they were treating me was related to the way Armenians presented themselves. That is, how Armenians constantly say that they have had hard times. What I mean is that people and individuals who are strong and proud of their identity are respected and have a place on this earth. I changed my way of thinking after that event and I understood that I am not the offspring of a people of genocide, but rather the son of freedom fighters and heroes. Just because I live in Lebanon, it does not mean that I have to succumb to the Arabs." This memory is not only an example of the experience of prejudice, but it also demonstrates how the content of social identity can be shaped by emphasizing out-group-conflict and antagonism as defining elements of an in-group's identity which would in turn explain behavior towards the out-group (Livingstone & Haslam, 2008). Furthermore, this entry is an example of increased identification as a function of discrimination and prejudice from the out-group as elaborated by the rejection identification model (Branscombe et al., 1999; Schmitt, Spears, & Branscombe, 2003). This mechanism has been supported among European-born Muslims, who - in a context of discrimination and prejudice - increase their ethno-religious identification while disidentifying with their nation states (Fleischmann & Phalet, 2016). The reference to Armenians as heroes and the process through which he reached that realization (i.e., from adversity to success) are a powerful illustration of the pride and sense of collective self-worth that this participant derives from his group belonging, a key concept in the self-affirmation literature (Cohen & Sherman, 2006; Steele, 1988).

Is Constant Affirmation Adaptive?

The examination of the qualitative entries was key in uncovering a pattern of spontaneous affirmation regardless of our manipulations. It seems that the Armenian identity in the Lebanese context is quite accessible and perceived as threatened, and it may therefore be in a state of constant affirmation and self-defense. Perhaps this affirmation is best articulated in an entry where a participant states that a common issue he faces is "…the concept of being treated in a different way, because of being very Armenian..." This is an illustration of a general struggle related to having his behavior interpreted in light of his group membership otherwise known as stereotype threat (Steele, 1998). One of the main benefits of self-affirmation in addressing identity threats is that it places a threat within a larger context, and, while an individual may still be aware of the threat itself, its psychological effects are rendered less dire. This process is rather adaptive relative to the defensive methods of coping as denial and disidentification (Sherman & Cohen, 2006). In our Lebanese- Armenian sample, there are more cases when threat experiences seem to be heightened and affirmation appears chronic compared to our Lebanese sample. Such chronic affirmation irrespective of situational demands seems defensive and rather maladaptive.

Above and beyond the Lebanese contextual specifics (i.e., political instability and intergroup hostility), Armenians in Lebanon grapple with concerns of their group's continuity (Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2015). This constant threat of assimilating and dissipating into the majority paired with a socio-politically unstable environment seems to have contributed to a hypersensitivity to identity threats. For instance, in response to a prompt at providing a routine morning memory, one participant who had read an identity irrelevant threat wrote: "I wake up in the morning, I feel proud, happy and sad. Sad because I live in a foreign country away from my motherland, but proud and happy because we Armenians could keep our language and our culture…We still have children, adults and old people who demand to have our Armenia back so that we Armenians could be reunited in our country." This entry not only displays how the participant used his collective identity and specifically tapped into its continuity as a source of pride, but also shows a heightened sensitivity to threats. Note that the identity threat vignette he had been exposed to was about Copts in Egypt, but that was enough to trigger a sense of threat and a need to address that even when the required task was to simply report on a morning routine. It could be that the condition served as an implicit threat, which if so, only reinforces that Armenians experience elevated levels of continuity threats within the Lebanese context. Perhaps such collective self-affirmation could be understood in reference to defensive high self-esteem where some individuals who score high on self-esteem measures are more defensive as a function of a discrepancy between their explicit and implicit evaluations of the self (Jordan, Spencer, Zanna, Hoshino-Browne, & Correll, 2003). At the collective level, the hypersensitivity to threats observed in our sample could be evaluated as a defensive reaction to an underlying unfavorable evaluation of the group but not necessarily in terms of its competence or values more in terms of its survival and perseverance (i.e., continuity threat is high). This interpretation echoes with the Palestinian narrative that is characterized by lamenting the loss of a homeland and the importance of a one-day return (Brand, 1995).

Continuity of the Group as a Paramount Concern

The concern over the group's continuity is recurrent in the qualitative reports in our sample with a pattern of increased in-group identification while simultaneously downplaying the need to integrate and adapt to the mainstream context: "…Up until last year I never felt the need to know Arabic… Despite the fact that I would have never wanted to have to deal with a non-Armenian, we have to see? What can we do?" Here, having to learn Arabic and speak to non-Armenian Lebanese is portrayed as an inevitable fact of the life of an Armenian in Lebanon. Such a tendency towards maintenance is not only a function of perceived stereotypes and prejudice but may be understood in terms of continuity threat (Smeeks & Verkuyten, 2015). Research has shown that perceived discontinuity in a group's past can contribute to increased efforts at maintaining identity especially as it undermines or threatens a groups future survival (Jetten & Wohl, 2012). The need for continuity is not specific to Armenians and is a concern common across immigrant groups (see Dasgupta, 1998; Timotijevic & Breakwell, 2000), and it is often paired with the need for distinctiveness (Jaspal, 2013). Distinctiveness, however, may be more relevant in contexts that are home to immigrants from diverse ethno-cultural backgrounds. For example, in a study addressing identity among British-born Sikhs, both continuity and distinctiveness emerged as prime components of the Sikh identity. A need for positive distinctiveness was articulated in terms of a differentiation from Asian migrants, particularly Muslims (Jaspal, 2013). Armenians in Lebanon are not necessarily driven by a need for positive distinctiveness given the little ethno-cultural variation of the country, but a clear tendency towards maintaining continuity is articulated.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

In both studies, self-affirmation through mastery recall was not conducive to protecting or restoring collective self-worth when the Lebanese national identity and Armenian ethnic identity were threatened respectively. While it is plausible that our Lebanese sample did not identify with their nation state but rather their religious group (Makdisi, 1996), it is also prudent to consider the nature of the threat as a possible limitation: We used a blatant threat-activating cue, where the Lebanese identity was explicitly referred to in negative terms. This may have resulted in reactance in the identity-relevant threat condition and may have triggered defensive coping regardless of our affirmation intervention (Javadian & Zoogah, 2014; Kray, Thompson, & Galinsky, 2001). Another possibility is that the identity-irrelevant threat condition may have constituted implicit threat. As such, it would be useful to replicate the present study with variations at the level of threat type (e.g., the use of implicit threat) and threat target (e.g., sectarian identity threat). National identity threat and the use of self-affirmation should also be evaluated within a community sample of Lebanese. So far, we only tested a predominantly university student sample. It is possible that this sample would typically be in the identity exploration phase which may have dampened the relevance of a national identity threat.

One of the main limitations specifically in Study 2 is the low statistical power. We suggest that the nature of the data collection was relevant for the interpretation of the group's situation and its defensiveness in Study 2. Still, only through a larger replication would it be possible to corroborate or refute the efficacy of mastery recall as a self-affirmation tool among Armenian Lebanese. In addition, the content analysis helped in understanding how Armenians in Lebanon (compared to Lebanese) experience social identity threat. As a follow up study, it would be useful to qualitatively evaluate narratives on identity development and social identity complexity (Brewer & Pierce, 2005), specifically within this group. Within an acculturative context, perhaps Armenians who conceptualize different aspects of their social identity (e.g., ethnic, national, and religious) as distinct yet overlapping may be less sensitive to threats at the ethnic identity level. If so, then work towards fostering social identity complexity may be important to reduce perceived threats. While we varied the source of threat in Study 2, we did not specify the source of threat in reference to the Lebanese national identity. Given the history of conflict regionally (e.g., Israel, Syria) we may have found a different pattern of responses if the threat was perceived as coming from a source that could be classified as an outgroup relative to Lebanon as a whole.

Conclusion

Our study situates the interpretation of identity threat and threat management within a larger context, and we show that considering the specifics of the threat context is instrumental in understanding identity processes. This is in line with work calling for the expansion of research to non-Western contexts and groups (Henrich et al., 2010; Nielsen et al., 2017), as expectations derived from WEIRD contexts may not always hold cross-culturally. We point to the need for moving beyond the typically evaluated Western contexts in studies of identity threat and affirmation and to include contexts with pronounced inter-group tensions.

In Study 1, we showed that a threat to the Lebanese national identity did not resonate with our Lebanese sample. We argue that, in this context, national identity may hold different meanings across different groups, and perhaps national identification is even overshadowed by sectarian identification (Bahout, 2006). We explained this nonsalient national identity in reference to the long history of intergroup conflict and violence that has characterized the history of Lebanon (Traboulsi, 2012). In Study 2, we observed a hypersalient, chronically accessible collective identity in our Armenian Lebanese sample. Unlike the Lebanese participants, the Armenian ethnic identity is a major source of esteem within this group and is resorted to as a refuge at the slightest hint of threat. We discuss this threat hypersensitivity in reference to continuity threat (Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2015), where the Armenian ethnic identity is perceived as endangered and, in turn, in need of constant affirmation irrespective of contextual demands.

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ORIGINAL

Are Psychological Beliefs built on the Ideology of Early Christian Fathers?

¿Se basan las Creencias Psicológicas en la Ideología de los Padres de la Iglesia Cristiana Temprana?

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Abstract

The aims of the present study were to investigate the relationship between: a) Patristic ideology and mentalist and behaviorist beliefs, and b) the relationship between mentalist and behaviorist beliefs and cognitive, neuropsychological and interbehavioral beliefs. The beliefs were assessed through an instrument purposely built for this research. A sample composed of 284 university students of first-semester psychology (84 men and 200 women; mean ages M = 17.82 years, SD = 2.34, range 16-38 years) were enrolled. After performing structural equation modelling (SEM), results show that patristic ideology is not related to behaviorism ($\beta = .09$, $p = .387$), but it is related with mentalism ($\beta = .26$, $p = .042$), also the mentalism is related with cognitive beliefs ($\beta = .72$, $p = .001$) and neuropsychological beliefs ($\beta = .87$, $p = .014$), while behaviorism is related with interbehavioral beliefs ($\beta = .42$, $p = .014$). It was found that first-year psychology students show less acceptance of the early patristic ideology (M = 75.28), it is less successful than mentalism (M = 86.33). The conclusion is that mentalism, successor of Patristic ideology, continues to be related to cognitive and neuropsychological beliefs.

Keywords: **Patristic Ideology, University Students, Structural Equation Modelling, Cognitive Psychology, Neuropsychology**

Resumen

En este artículo se lleva a cabo primeramente una revisión teórica de filosofía, ciencia y psicología. Posteriormente, los orígenes de la psicología y sus creencias se analizan a partir de la historia de la antigua Grecia. Finalmente, se realiza una revisión de la ideología patrística y escolástica. Los objetivos del presente estudio fueron investigar la relación entre: a) la ideología patrística y las creencias mentalistas y conductistas, y b) la

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relación entre las creencias mentalistas y conductistas y las creencias cognitivas, neuropsicológicas e interconductuales. Las creencias fueron evaluadas a través de un instrumento creado ex profeso para esta investigación. La muestra estuvo compuesta por 284 estudiantes universitarios de psicología de primer semestre (84 hombres y 200 mujeres, edad media M = 17.82 años, SD = 2.34, rango 16-38 años). Después de realizar el modelamiento de ecuaciones estructurales (SEM, por sus siglas en inglés), los resultados muestran que la ideología patrística no está relacionada con el conductismo ($\beta = .09$, $p = .387$), pero está relacionada con el mentalismo ($\beta = .26$, $p = .042$), también el mentalismo está relacionado con creencias cognitivas ($\beta = .72$, $p = .001$) y creencias neuropsicológicas ($\beta = .87$, $p = .014$), mientras que el conductismo está relacionado con creencias interconductuales ($\beta = .42$, $p = .014$) Se encuentra que los estudiantes de psicología de primer año muestran una menor aceptación de la ideología patrística temprana (M = 75.28), es menos exitoso que el mentalismo (M = 86.33). Sin embargo, a pesar de este descenso en prestigio, los estudiantes universitarios, quienes apenas han iniciado su carrera de psicología consideran a la ideología Patrística más creíble (M = 75.28) que el conductismo (M = 63.23). En otras palabras, aparentemente a estos estudiantes les parece más coherente creer que hay dos substancias incompatibles coexistiendo en uno mismo que aceptar que solo hay una. La conclusión es que el mentalismo, sucesor de la ideología patrística, sigue estando relacionado con las creencias cognitivas y neuropsicológicas.

Palabras Clave: Ideología Patrística, Estudiantes Universitarios, Modelamiento de Ecuaciones Estructurales, Psicología Cognitiva, Neuropsicología

What is history, what is it for? Its objective is not just the record of previous facts or events, placing them in a time line, but to give meaning to events, to understand the importance of those facts, to know how and why they occurred, and to analyze their influence in the future (Leahey, 1982). Nevertheless, it is important to note that the knowledge or interpretation of the past depends on the interests, sometimes opposing or conflicting ones, of groups of diverse nature (economic, political, etc.). As Leahey has pointed out, our view of the present is influenced by our knowledge of the past, and the opposite is also true. Thus, a rationalist culture will emphasize reasoning, as occurred, for instance, in some European countries, such as France or Germany, whereas an empiricist culture will emphasize experimentation, as took place in England and the United States of America. This phenomenon also ensues in the field of psychology. Each school of thought is linked to its time and culture; nevertheless, different academic or professional groups may coexist in historical and socio-economic contexts in any given place owing to specific interests (social demands, type of knowledge required to solve specific social problems, etc.) of those who promote a certain position or point of view.

The traditional ways of making history are represented by two extreme points of view: one may appeal to great personalities as forgers of history or one may appeal to impersonal forces. The first theory, or theory of the great man, was dominant mainly in the European Romantic era. The second theory, or theory of the Zeitgeist (from Zeit, meaning time and from Geist, meaning spirit: spirit of the time), was formulated by the German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, who asserted that the series of events that occur in a determined period of time are the result of impersonal forces that transcend individuals. The extreme form of this later perspective is religion, which contends for the existence of a predetermined destiny for each individual, or well, Marxism, which attributes the character of an era to the hegemonic economic forces of that time, whereas other forms of Zeitgeist are more limited, as the paradigms of scientific research. In this sense, the history of psychology is a history of ideas, rather than the history of events or biographies. In the history of psychology, it is well known that a given paradigm may disappear, or change, or be replaced by another one, whereas others paradigms may coexist as well. Thus, for the historian, it is necessary to analyze the intellectual

Zeitgeist within the context in which paradigms and research programs operate. In order to accomplish this objective, and as Focault (1970) proposed decades ago, the concept of episteme, that is to say, the basic presuppositions that underlie all sciences in a specific era and which are generally unconscious and difficult to unravel, is fundamental.

Philosophy, Science, and Psychology

The history of psychology is, for the most part, the history of Greek philosophy. It seems daring to say it this way, especially when it is often said that the sciences, among them psychology, have been emancipated from philosophy. Even the most important models or paradigms nowadays, in one way or another, are related to this background. Therefore, it is necessary for the psychologist to know the history of the discipline, even superficially or in a partial way, and that is what will be briefly done below.

According to Larroyo (1947), the study of Greek history and philosophy allows us knowing our culture; Greek philosophical knowledge continues influencing our thinking and, of course, the psychology of our day. It should be noted that the geographical and political conditions of that time led to the great cultural, political, and economic development owing to the commercial and cultural exchange with people from other territories; the location of Greece in the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean Sea was a fundamental factor. Greece established maritime trade routes with Asia, receiving cultural influence from eastern countries; likewise, Greece took its cultural influence to Europe thorugh maritime routes. The various historical stages of Greek culture are omitted in this writing and it is only highlighted that Greek culture is considered the founder of science and philosophy, as Larroyo (1947, p. 129) has pointed out:

> Hippocrates created medicine, and so did Euclid with geometry, Archimedes with mechanics. Eratosthenes with geography, and Hipparchus with astronomy. The greatest philosophical systems also arise from Greece: the conceptualism of Socrates, the materialism of Democritus, the idealism of Plato, and the most complete system of Greek sciences of Aristotle. Brief mention must be done of Greek religion, which was polytheistic and anthropomorphic; Greece recognized many gods who were represented under human forms and lived on Mount Olympus. This is important because of the historical religious implications that will later develop in the West, mainly with Christianity.

Greek Enlightenment and Psychology

The Sophists

For the aims of this study, it is necessary to date the emergence of psychology in the Classical Greece era (450-400 B.C.), mainly with the Sophists and Socrates. Owing to the profound political change in social relations as a consequence of the Greco-Persian wars, philosophy gradually integrated scientific ideas whereas other disciplines, such as medicine, gradually incorporated diverse theories and doctrines, giving rise, this way, to the relation between science and technology. One of the changes resulting from this historical process, and related to the Greek democracy, had implications in law, pedagogy, and psychology: the appearance of the sophists (sophós, meaning sage). Specialists in the economically rewarded and itinerant art of public discourse, the sophists created the formal laws of grammar and rhetoric; likewise, they fostered the development of logic, dialectics, and, important for the aims of this research, psychology because, in attempting to influence the will of their listeners, they had to be able to decipher and influence the emotional state of their listeners, thus initiating an anthropological period of philosophy that was characterized by placing man itself, besides the cosmos and the world, as an object of reflection.

The relativist philosophy of the Sophists, represented mainly by Protagoras, asserts that truth is relative. The criterion of truth varies in every moment and from man to man. The basis of this theory is the changing psychological situation of man. Protagoras, in fact, emphasized human subjectivity and, with this in mind, he was able to discover the psychological factor of education (Larroyo, 1947, p.150).

Socrates and Plato

In contrast to the Sophists, especially because of the economic retribution of education (since education should be an obligation of the State in order to guarantee the formation of the right kind of citizens that society wanted to have) and for the relativism and philosophical skepticism claimed by sophism, Socrates (469-339 B.C.) was convinced of the existence of a universally valid truth that could be reached through self-examination of oneself; his main principle was know thyself. The examination of concrete cases leads to the discovery of general concepts. The criterion of truth lies in a general anthropomorphism, that is to say, what seems to be true is true. Socrates' ideas are important in psychology insofar as they conceive the psychological and pedagogical phenomenon as a self-regulated activity (that is to say, it implies, epistemologically speaking, an active subject), and the different steps of his method allow us appreciating this. First, Socrates' method raises an issue of interest to an interlocutor. Second, the method requires the right answers from the interlocutor, although they might be wrong. This is the Socratic irony or interrogation. This second step, which leads to reflection or moral truth, consists of two parts, namely: the elenchus or refutation, which consists in exhibiting the ignorance of the interlocutor, and the maieutic (or giving rise to ideas) or heuristics (or discovering them). Through this method Socrates leads his/her interlocutor or disciple to find what is being looked for by himself/herself. Here we can glimpse the first conceptual bases of future dualistic or mentalist psychologies, including Piaget's and Chomsky's cognitive psychology and constructivist pedagogy.

Another one of the thinkers who would also strongly influence psychological thinking is Plato (429-347 B.C.). Plato grew up during the Peloponnesian War, leading to the decline of the political influence of Athens and its subsequent replacement by the political and military force of Sparta, which in turn modified to a great extent the conditions of life and the philosophical thought. Plato named the very principles of existence with the term "ideas" (hence the name of his system) and used the term "dialectics" to refer to the science that studied those "ideas" (Larroyo, 1947, p. 155). Plato, like Heraclitus, thought that reality was in perpetual change; the only perfect, immutable, and finished reality was the realm of ideas which could be accessed through education. It is through education that the ideas that fecundate the soul of man arise and make possible for the individual to live according to them. Plato, like Socrates, thought that ideas or knowledge do not come from outside the person. Thus, when knowing, indeed the individual recognizes or remembers what was already in his/her spirit through the dialectical method. Thus, when the soul resided in Hades (the world of ideas), the soul got to know the ideal world. Upon uniting with the body, the soul forgets that knowledge, and what it knows is just a mere reminiscence, being perception just the stimulus (as we would call it today) for that reminiscence. Misiak (1961, p. 37) wrote:

> The soul is a prisoner of a body that obstructs and hinders it. Death separates body and soul, liberating the soul which, in turn, returns to the ideal world in order to live there eternally. The soul is a divine substance, intangible, immortal, and eternal; it can live independently of the body to which it had been united only accidentally and temporarily.

The preceding citation makes us suppose that Plato's philosophy had a great influence on Christian thought. This influence was prominent on the Late Church, and The Confessions of Saint Augustine (354-430 B.C.) allow us appreciating it. In St. Augustine's later philosophy, Hades is transformed into heaven and ideas become the soul that returns to heaven after the body dies.

Aristotle

About Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) it can be said that his philosophy is that of empiricism and development, always guiding himself in his inquiries by the order, the method, and the syllogistic logic that he invented (Leahey, 1982). Although he was a pupil of Plato for twenty years, Aristotle, unlike Plato, thought that what existed at first was the sensible world, whose objects give us sensations that gradually lead us to knowledge. In an epistemological sense, the cognoscente subject is reactive or adaptive to that preexisting reality.

> Aristotle, who according to many thinkers is the true father of psychology owing to his emphasis on the senses as forms of adaptation and knowledge of the outside world, argued that the natural explanation of the world comprised four types of causes, specifically the final, the formal, the efficient, and the material; nevertheless, an entity like the soul can function as more than one type of cause simultaneously. The soul is the form (or formal cause) of a being and its actuality, and defines what kind of living being it is. The soul is the efficient cause of the movement of the body, and it is also its final cause because the body is subordinate to it. In this way, soul and body are inseparable, and although there is only one material reality (the body), it is composed of two aspects, which are the physiological aspect and the mental or rational aspect (represented by the human soul). In this way, Aristotle rejects Platonic dualism. Leahey (1982) clearly summarizes this historical polemic:

There are two important intellectual tensions that interweave over the later centuries. The first tension is found between rationalism and empiricism. The rationalist, starting with Parmenides, denies that the true knowledge comes from the perception and that is why the rationalist turns inwards, toward the reason and the innate ideas, in search for the truth. The empiricist, starting with Empedocles, looks toward the outside, believing that it is possible to lay the foundations of truth on sensory experience. The rationalist fears the illusions of the senses whereas the empiricist fears the deceptions of reason. The other tension is established between being and becoming. The supporter of the notion of being, often a rationalist, believes in eternal and transcendent truths and values that exist independently of the individual and that ought to be sought. The supporter of the notion of becoming, almost always an empiricist, denies the existence of the experience of eternal truths and immutable beings, finding in the changing flux of experience the only truth –that everything is in permanent change. The mutual interaction and struggle between these two intellectual tensions has been a constant source of motivation for intellectual life since the Classic Age.

> Classic philosophy culminates with Aristotle. The Alexandrian Empire and the Roman Empire replaced the city-states, expanding civilization around the Mediterranean Sea, Europe, and Britain. There were not so many great philosophers and scientists at this stage of history owing to the pragmatic character of the empires. In any case, Plotinus (204-270) may be mentioned, who preferentially developed the mystical aspects of Platonism, converting them into a religion (as it would later happen).

Patristics and Scholastics

The dominion of the Roman Empire led, among other things, to the decline and fall of the Greek polytheism, and Christianity became the Roman state religion in the fourth century A.C. Christianity was not only a faith, but also a conception of life and man, as seen in the Epistles of St. Paul and the Gospel of St. John (Villalpando, 2004). The preaching of Christianity, and the conversion of those who heard the word of Christ, should be organized into a doctrine that would command and guide the Christian faith. At the same time, it was necessary to rationally ground it, protecting it from other pagan doctrines. This was the task of the fathers of the Church, who gave shape to the ideological movement called late Patristics, being St. Augustine (354-430) the most important representative. The way in which the formulation of this doctrine was carried out, taking as its starting point the philosophy of Plato, has been already seen.

On the other hand, Christian thought would recognize another attempt at dogmatic integration called scholasticism, or philosophy taught in school, whose purpose was the construction of a philosophy in which reason and faith could agree. In this philosophy, the Platonic-Augustinian roots of St. Bonaventure (1221-1274) and St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), representative of the Aristotelian tradition, were the most important.

The belief in the division of man into two irreducible substances (internal and external) is once again found, in the origins of Christianity, within the tradition of Judaism. Several authors have pointed out that the presence of what Ryle (1949) has called the ghost in the machine (Kantor, 1963, 1969; Ribes-Iñesta, 2004; Smith, 2007) can be traced back to Christianity. At the beginning, it was a spirit, mainly in biblical texts and in literary authors (for instance, Shakespeare [2007] in Hamlet); later on, and having Descartes in mind (1980), the term soul was retaken, which is the conception embraced, to a greater or lesser extent, by many thinkers in the West in order to explain human behavior. The mentioned authors have relied on texts written by the Late Church Fathers, all of them born after the first century AD, such as Justin Martyr (100-165?), Clement of Alexandria (150-215?), Gregory Thaumaturgus (205-265), Tertullian (160-240?), Hippolytus (170-236?), Athanasius (296-373?), Lactantius (260-330?), Gregory of Nyssa, (335-395), and Nemesius of Emesa (IV century AD); likewise, they have reviewed, historically and conceptually, works of Plotinus (204-270), St. Augustine of Hippo (354-430), St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), and Descartes (1596-1650).

More recently, René Descartes (1596-1650) and Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) formalized this dualist ideology in Western culture and, in this sense, the study of the Sacred Scriptures has been apparently overlooked, omitting the Evangelists as main sources. In this work, we have drawn upon writings of the beginning of Christianity, particularly upon writings of the Early Church Fathers as well as upon writings of the Evangelists Paul, Peter, and James related to this irreconcilable division, that is to say, the extraordinary coexistence of two completely different substances, namely: one of a material nature and another of a divine and immaterial nature. In the following lines, there are some excerpts from the New Testament that will be commented on in this context. It should be noted that St. Paul did not present a theological doctrine in his letters to the Corinthians, that he was rather responding to certain questions and intended to convince his/her interlocutors of the truth expressed in his arguments; these circumstances should be taken into account in order to properly interpret these texts (Heckel, 2000). In this sense, we should accept the cautious suggestion from Murphy-O'Connor (1991), who pointed out that the interlocutors to whom St. Paul addressed the Epistle II to the Corinthians were a mixture of individuals composed of both Judaizing Palestinians and Hellenic Jews.

In 2 Corinthians 4:16 it can be read: "…but though our outer man is getting feebler, our inner man is made new day by day". Here it is very clear this premise of the simultaneous existence of two types of beings cohabiting in one entity: the first that welcomes the second one, or the second one that resides inside the first. The first, that represents the external cover of the second one, has a material nature and is suffering a constant death through corruptible deterioration. The second one is immaterial and has been made possible through the grace of God, who insufflated it into the first by means of the Holy Spirit and, since it has a divine origin, instead of dying, it is transformed successively and lives for all eternity. In 2 Corinthians 5:6 it can also be read: "…and though conscious that while we are in the body, we are away from the Lord…" This could mean that only when the body dies, then and only then could the second one be present, in heavenly terms, before God, which is immaterial. Also, in 2 Corinthians 5:10 it can be read: "For we all have to come before Christ to be judged; so that every one of us may get his reward for the things done in the body, good or bad." According to this biblical text taken from the New Testament, Christ is the greatest or sole judge, not of bodily actions but of what the inner being, the true man, has commanded to the outer being to do for good or for evil, trying to ingratiate himself with God or, on the contrary, getting to offend God. What stands revealed here is the great problem of how an immaterial man (the inner being) can influence the material being (the outer being), since they are two completely different substances; in other words, what we have here is the classic problem of the imagined interaction between the immaterial substance and the material one.

In 1 Corinthians 6:19, it can be read: "Or do you not know that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit who is in you, whom you have received from God, and that you are not your own?" It might be said that the inner man is the Holy Spirit, even though this would imply accepting that the Holy Spirit also commands the outer being to do bad deeds, which is not believable. But if the Holy Spirit is not the inner man, then, who is this mysterious inner man? Likewise, in 2 Peter 1:13-14 we can observe this clear difference between the material nature of the body and the immaterial nature of another being inhabiting inside the body until the death of the body, and the subsequent departure of the immaterial being towards an unfading and everlasting world: "I think it is right to refresh your memory as long as I live in the tent of this body, because I know that I will soon put it aside, as our Lord Jesus Christ has made clear to me".

Finally, in James 2:26, it can be read: "As the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without deeds is dead". Here, we have again the dichotomous discourse between two antagonistic categories: what is corruptible and mortal, even in life, is the biological structure and function of the body, which, when actually dying, will then also lack the spirit, the eternal divine essence.

> This study was carried out in order to find out how much relationship currently exists between this early Patristic ideology and the psychological belief systems known as mentalism and behaviorism, and the relationship of the latter with the cognitive, neuropsychological, and interbehavioral beliefs in psychology students who had just began to study their carrier.

Method

Participants

A convenience sample composed of 286 (84 men, 200 women and two participants who did not report their sex) out of 410 first-semester psychology students who were admitted at a School of Psychology of a public university located in Northeast Mexico was enrolled in this research. Mean age of the sample was 17.82 years (SD = 2.34; range: 16-38 years).

Instruments

A self-report instrument, composed of a socio-demographic questionnaire and a four-point, Likert-type scale, was administered to all participants. The scale (see appendix 2) was intended to assess the beliefs about interbehavioral psychology, cognitive psychology, neuropsychology, mentalism, behaviorism, and the ideology of the early Fathers of Christian Church. The labels for the scale were: Yes, I think so, I do not think so, and No.

Procedure

A postgraduate student administered the self-report instrument purposely created for this research to all participants in their classroom. The scale used to assess the psychological beliefs about interbehavioral psychology, cognitive psychology, neuropsychology, patristic ideology, mentalism, and behaviorism was created from both a questionnaire that was answered by specialists in the corresponding field of knowledge and from phrases extracted from specialized texts that addressed the different approaches of psychology that have been previously mentioned. The items composing this scale were designed by the authors taking as a basis the concepts expressed by the specialists that answered the questionnaire about the nature of cognition in psychology, all of them with more than 20 years of experience as teachers and researchers (see appendix 1).

After having got the approval from the University authorities to carry out the current research, having clearly explained the objectives of this research to the participants, and having obtained informed consent from the participants to be voluntarily enrolled in this research, the instrument previously described was collectively administered to the participants in their classrooms. A postgraduate student with wide experience in the administration of self-report scales administered the instrument to the participants, gave instructions to complete it, and stayed in the classroom during the administration of the instrument in order to clarify the doubts that might arise, trying not to influence the responses of the participants.

Data Analysis

Structural equation modeling was used to explore the relationship between Patristic ideology and several current psychological schools of thought. The statistical calculation was executed by SPSS version 24 and AMOS version 24.

In order to assess if the proposed model showed a good data fit , the following goodness-of-fit indices were used: Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA < .06) (Hu & Bentler, 1999), Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR ≤.08) (Browne & Cudeck, 1993; Hu & Bentler, 1999), Comparative Fit Index (CFI ≥.95), Incremental Fit Index (IFI >.95) (Hu & Bentler, 1999), and the Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI > .95), which compares the goodness of fit in relation with the degrees of freedom of the proposed model versus the degrees of freedom of the null model.

Results

The effect size (Cohen, 1988) of the differences between means of some psychological beliefs was calculated. It was found a very large size effect (d = 3.30; Hyde, 2005) between neuropsychological beliefs (M = 91.43) vs. Patristic ideology (M = 57.19) and a moderate effect size (d = 0.43) was also found between Patristic ideology (M = 57.19) vs. behaviorist beliefs (M = 63.23). The effect size that was found between mentalist ideology (M = 86.33) vs. Patristic ideology (M = 57.19) was also very large (d = 2.57), and it was also so (d = 2 .46) between cognitive beliefs (M = 86.19) vs. Patristic ideology (M = 57.19); likewise, there was a very large size effect (d = 1.24) between interbehaviorism beliefs (M = 73.86) vs. Patristic ideology (M = 57.19). Figure 1 summarizes the model that has been tested, which includes: 1) the relationships between the ideology of the Fathers of early Christian Church and mentalist, behaviorist, cognitive and neuropsychological beliefs, and 2) the relationships between mentalism and cognitive and neuropsychological beliefs, as well as the relationships between behaviorist and interbehaviorism beliefs. The model shows a good data fit: $X^2/df = 1.062$; IFI = .981; TL = .976; CFI = .979; RMSEA = .015 (Carmines & McIver, 1981; Hu & Bentler, 1999).

It can be seen, in Figure 1, that there is no direct statistically significant relationship between Patristic ideology and behaviorist beliefs (p = .387); the value of the β coefficient was .09 and the explained variance was 1%. Likewise, there is no direct statistically significant relationship between Patristic ideology and cognitive beliefs (β = .18, p = .111) nor between Patristic ideology and neuropsychological beliefs (β = .14, p = .270). Nevertheless, there exists a direct relationship between Patristic ideology and mentalist ideology (β = .26, p = .042), as well as an indirect relationship between Patristic ideology, mediated through the statistically significant effects of mentalistic beliefs, and both cognitive psychological beliefs (β = .72, p = .001) and neuropsychological beliefs (β = .87, p = .001), and the percentages of explained variance by each one of them are 63% and 84%, respectively. Finally, there is also a statistically significant relationship between behaviorist beliefs and interbehaviorism belief (β = .42, p = .014), and the percentage of explained variance is 18%.

Discussion

An explicit premise of this study is that, nowadays, psychology, in contrast to other disciplines such as physics and biology, lacks the ontological and epistemological support that could give it the status of science (Ribes, 2000), in spite of the fact that, in social sciences, there exist many scientific paradigms and that it is also possible to maintain a discussion in terms of programs (Lakatos, 1978) instead of paradigms (Kuhn, 2000). Thus, there seems to exist not just one but several psychologies with their own object of knowledge and method to study that object.

Among the current variants of psychological study, we can find a paradigm known as world-mind-body (Ribes, 2000), a paradigm that has been considered in this work as the paradigm of cognitive psychology. The paradigm brain-mind has been conceptualized here as the paradigm of the neuropsychological approach, whereas the paradigm mind-world would correspond to what, in this writing, has been called as mentalism. The paradigm reactive organism-world has been identified, in this research, as the paradigm of behaviorism. Nevertheless, it is possible that eventually a new paradigm will emerge that integrates some of the approaches of the diverse streams of psychological thought so that none of these streams could be disqualified in toto.

Findings in this study show that the early Patristic ideology (M = 75.28) is less accepted than mentalism

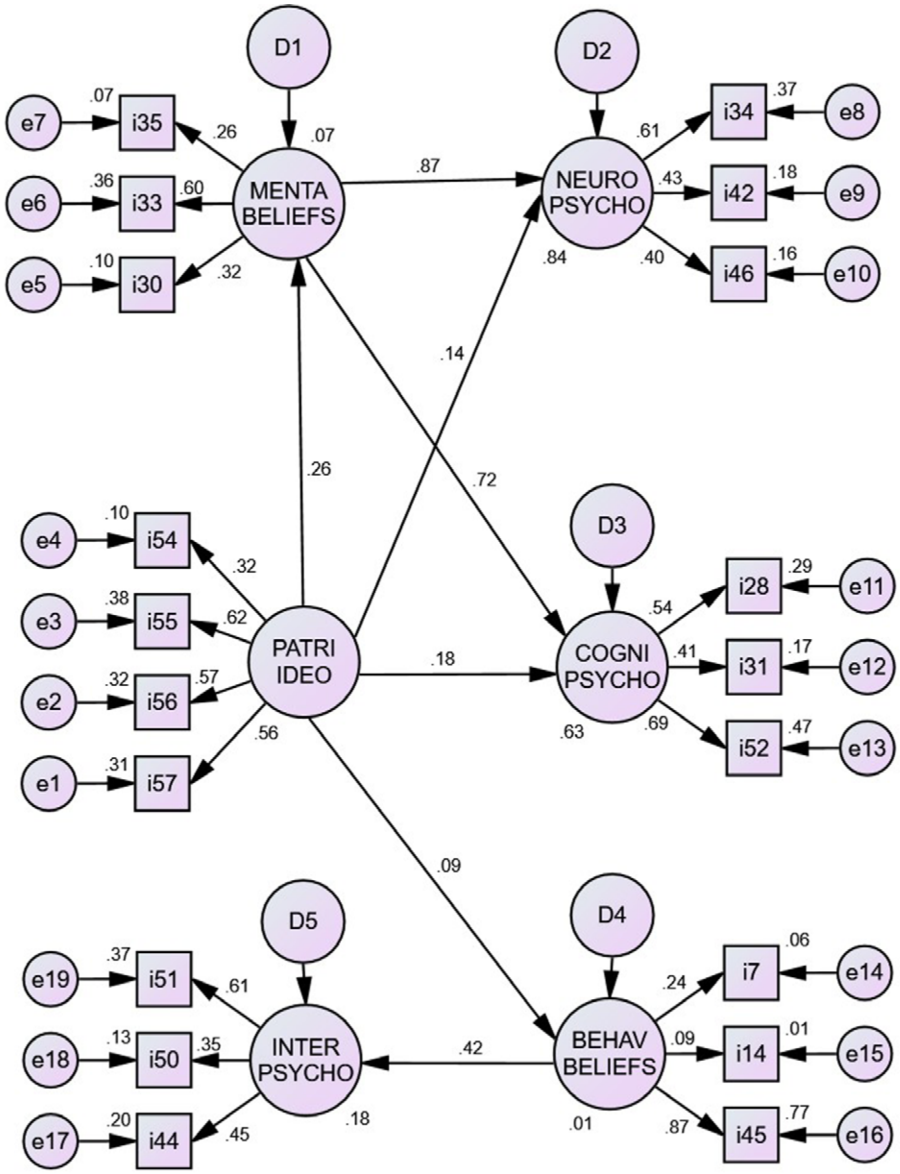

Figure1. Standardized predicted model of neuropsychological, cognitive and interbehaviorism beliefs through mentalist and behaviorist beliefs as a function of Patristic ideology. The model was estimated using the method of Maximum Likelihood.

(M = 86.33) by first-year psychology students. Perhaps early Patristic ideology, upon losing the social and political status as the dominant ideology that gave social cohesion to the Western world (Durkheim, 1982), was reborn in terms of Cartesian dualism, founded on the apotheosis of modern reason. Nevertheless, in spite of this decline of prestige, university students who have just begun studying psychology consider Patristic ideology (M = 75.28) to be more credible than behaviorism (M = 63.23). In other words, it seems to these students more coherent to believe that there are two incompatible substances coexisting in oneself than accepting only one of those two substances. It should be clarified that the belief that was measured here as behaviorism refers to what is known as Watsonian behaviorism, and no instrument was included for assessing the belief in Skinnerian behaviorism.

On the other hand, even though there is no direct relationship of Patristic ideology with cognitive and neuropsychological beliefs or with mentalism, the latter does relate directly and strongly to them. Perhaps, through the development of Western civilization, the transmutation of the ideology of the Fathers of the early Christian church was so successful (Carretero Pasín, 2007) that it is possible to see its effects, mediated through mentalism, on the most popular psychological beliefs. On the other hand, even though behaviorism is the least accepted belief (M = 63.23), it reappears with a better face and as a more appealing belief for first-year students in the form of interbehavioral psychology (M = 73.92), with which behaviorism shows a significant relationship, but far from the acceptance that these students show towards cognitive psychology (M = 86.18) and, above all, towards neuropsychology (M = 91.43).

Taking into account that the majority of the population of the state of Nuevo León, Mexico, declares to be Catholic and non-Catholic Christians (92.59%, 4,308,708 inhabitants out of a total of 4,653,458) (INEGI, 2010), this fact probably contributes to decrease the cultural permeation of the process of secularization in the professional formation of the future psychologists at a public university. The data yielded by this study point in the direction of a still strong influence of the Judeo-Christian thought in the thought of first-year psychology students and envision that, during their years of professional training, these students will identify more with the conceptual systems that have a deep intellectual root in mentalism and the ideology of the early Church Fathers, that is, cognitive psychology and neuropsychology. Nonetheless, this prediction will requiere to carry out future studies in order to explore the beliefs of psychology students in their last year of professional formation.

The limitations of this study include that the results obtained have a certain bias that affects its external validity. Another important variable that was not considered in the present study is related with the theoretical orientation of the academic program and, above all, the theoretical orientation of the teachers since teachers influence in a decisive way the belief systems of their students through supporting or disqualifying a certain point of view. Thus, for future studies, it would be desirable to explore the epistemological beliefs of the teachers and analyze how much influence they could exert on their students.

Appendix 1. Questionnaire Applied to the Experts

1. From cognitive psychology or neuropsychology, how is the cognitive component of psychological processes defined?
2. From cognitive psychology or neuropsychology, which ones are the most important cognitive psychological processes of human being?
3. From cognitive psychology or neuropsychology, what are the methods, procedures and techniques most frequently used to study the cognitive aspects of psychological processes?
4. From cognitive psychology or neuropsychology, what is the nature of the cognitive aspects of psychological processes?
5. From cognitive psychology or neuropsychology, who are the most important authors, be it theoreticians or researchers, that study the cognitive components of psychological processes?
6. From cognitive psychology or neuropsychology, what are the most relevant works or books on the cognitive aspects of psychological processes?

Appendix 2. Interbehavioral Psychology.

44. The whole body is just a part of the psychological event, which is a matrix of interactions in a process of continuous development.
50. The brain and other biological factors are a part of the necessary conditions of the psychological field, but they are not their cause.
51. The mind is just an introductory expression of all the intellectual capacities and achievements of man, considered as a system.

Appendix 3. Cognitive Psychology

28. The cognitive processes of man allow the construction of the perception of the world and the interaction with it.
31. Nowadays, the cognitive phenomenon refers to the mental.
52. Cognitive processes operate within the person and influence their responses.

Appendix 4. Neuropsychology

34. The brain is the most highly organized material substance and its bio-psycho-social complexity allows the emergence of complex cognitive functions, such as attention, memory, perception, etc.
42. Thanks to the brain, people think, remember, imagine, plan, etc.
46. The brain is the causative agent that produces the psychological activity of people.

Appendix 5. Ideology of The Fathers of the Christian Church

54. Although our outer man is getting feebler, our inner man is made new day by day
55. We all only inhabit our body for a while, and then, at a given time, we have to put it aside
56. After dying, every one of us will get the reward for the things, good or bad, done while inhabiting in the body
57. The body without the spirit is dead

Appendix 6. Mentalist Psychology

30. We must study the mental representations of the external world.
33. Psychologists study internal processes such as feelings and motivations.
35. Mental mechanisms give rise to psychological life in both the human beings and other intelligent beings.

Appendix 7. Behavioral Psychology

7. Environmental stimuli are the main cause of human behavior.
14. The fact of thinking that there is a mind within the body is a cultural belief without scientific basis.
45. The learning history of individuals is the basic cause of their current behavior.

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ORIGINAL

Emerging Adulthood Features in Brazilians from Differing Socioeconomic Status

Características de la Adultez Emergente en Brasileños de Diferentes Niveles Socioeconómicos

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Abstract
The present study aimed at investigating emerging adulthood features in Brazilians from low and high socioeconomic statuses (SESs). The sample was 547 Southern Brazilians; residents in the urban context, between 18 and 29 years old (Md = 22 years; IQR = 7), 64.2% females. From this sample, 13 participants were randomly selected to participate on the qualitative study. Instruments were the Brazilian Version of the Inventory of Dimensions of Emerging Adulthood, a Semi-structured interview, and the variable socioeconomic status (SES) from the Brazilian Adolescence and Youth Questionnaire. Analysis from Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) indicated no associations between SES and IDEA (*Inventory of Dimensions of Emerging Adulthood*) dimensions. Deductive thematic analysis revealed the presence of emerging adulthood features in Brazil (general Kappa = .83) and that economic disparities affected youth developmental trajectories. High SES individuals were more likely to experience EA features according to what has been observed in industrialized countries. Low SES individuals presented a divergent trend, because their opportunities to live a period of identity exploration would happen after another-focused period. The transition to adulthood considered as a nonlinear process influenced by the socioeconomic context is discussed.

Keywords: Emerging Adulthood, Socioeconomic Status, Context, Thematic Analysis, Human Development

Resumen
El presente estudio tuvo como objetivo investigar las características emergentes de la edad adulta en brasileños de estados socioeconómicos (SES) bajos y altos. La muestra fue de 547 brasileños del sur; residentes en el contexto urbano, entre 18 y 29 años (Md = 22 años; IQR = 7), 64.2% mujeres. De esta muestra, 13 participantes fueron seleccionados al azar para participar en el estudio cualitativo. Los instrumentos fueron la versión brasileña del Inventario de dimensiones de la adultez emergente, una entrevista semiestructurada y el estatus socioeconómico variable (SES) del Cuestionario brasileño de adolescentes y jóvenes. El análisis del modelado de ecuaciones estructurales (SEM) no indicó asociaciones entre las dimensiones SES e IDEA (Inventario de Dimensiones de Adultez Emergente; IDEA, *Inventory of Dimensions of Emerging Adulthood*). El análisis temático

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deductivo reveló la presencia de características emergentes de la edad adulta en Brasil (general Kappa = .83) y que las disparidades económicas afectaron las trayectorias de desarrollo de los jóvenes. Los individuos con un Nivel Socio-Económico (NSE) más alto tenían más probabilidades de experimentar características Emergentes de la Edad (EA) de acuerdo con lo observado en los países industrializados. Los individuos con bajo NSE presentaron una tendencia divergente, porque sus oportunidades de vivir un período de exploración de identidad ocurrirían después de un período centrado en otro. Se discute la transición a la edad adulta considerada como un proceso no lineal influenciado por el contexto socioeconómico.

Palabras Clave: Adultez Emergente, Estatus Socioeconómico, Contexto, Análisis Temático, Desarrollo Humano

The present study focuses on the transition to adulthood, having as background the Emerging Adulthood (EA) theory. EA emerged as a new perspective, updating some aspects of Erikson's Theory of Psychological Development (Erikson 1950, 1968) considering world's changes and its impact on the complex process of the transition to adulthood in industrialized countries. Particularly, the EA theory identified an extension of the psychosocial moratorium from adolescence to young adulthood, since society allows young individuals to explore their identity in different fields of their lives until their late twenties (Arnett, 2004; Demuth & Keller, 2011). EA is defined as the chronological period ranging from 18 to 29 years (Arnett, 2011) with five features: (1) Identity Exploration: people are moving towards making crucial choices in love and work, trying to integrate their interests and preferences with the opportunities available; (2) Instability: due to their inconstant experiences (e.g., in love and work) while exploring different possibilities; (3) Self-Focus: they have more opportunities for making decisions independently because they have fewer long term commitments (e.g., they are not married, they do not have a stable job); (4) Feeling in between: they feel neither entirely like adolescents nor entirely like adults and present characteristics of both life stages; and (5) possibilities, because no matter how their current lives are, they believe they will reach the lives they envision (Arnett, 2004, 2011). In the present study, we included the "Other-Focused" dimension, which would indicate individual's commitment to others and responsibilities, characteristics associated with reaching adulthood and opposite to the EA feature Self-focus (Reifman, Arnett, & Colwell, 2007).

Considering EA within the Brazilian context, where socioeconomic disparities greatly affect young individuals' developmental processes, the question remaining is whether EA is a relevant concept for all segments of the population considering their socioeconomic status (SES). Taking into account this perspective we highlight that EA is affected by individuals' social and cultural background, in particular socioeconomic aspects (Arnett & Tanner, 2011). However, most studies have been conducted with college samples in industrialized countries and it is not clear how EA occurs in more disadvantaged backgrounds. Considering that, the present research aims to investigate EA in college and non-college Brazilians from differing SESs, residents in the urban context.

The Course towards Adulthood around the World and in Brazil

There is evidence of the existence of EA in diverse countries. However, the manifestation of EA is always affected by contextual specificities. In Turkey, different from their peers in industrialized societies, emerging adults are less self-focused because they always consult their family, institutions, and peers to make decisions (Atak & Çok, 2008). In India, despite a growing high-tech economy leading young people to interact strongly with the global economy, they still value the arranged marriage as an option, following their cultural tradition (Chaudhary & Sharma, 2007). In China, the Confucianism influences emerging adults, and they are oriented towards family's compliance and filial piety. They place high importance, for instance, to take care of their families, and having consideration for others (Zhong & Arnett, 2014). In Argentina emerging adults have a strong tie with their family and they did not consider EA as the age for leaving home (Facio, Resett, Micocci, & Mistorigo, 2007). In Brazil, the transition to adulthood is affected by the phenomenon of familism, such as in other Latin and Asian countries (Facio et al., 2007; Zhong & Arnett, 2014); as well as by socioeconomic aspects (Dutra-Thomé & Koller, 2014). Brazilians present two modalities of transition to adulthood: (a) traditional model, composed of individuals who leave the parental home and become house holders (with or without love partners and kids), already concluded school and are working; (b) partial model, composed of individuals who already left school, are working, but still cohabit with their parents. The partial model reflects, on one hand, that some individuals face financial difficulties to become house holders due to low salaries. On the other hand, for those who choose to live with their parents despite having their financial independence, this option may reflect strong family tights as well as that, for those individuals, reaching "adulthood" is not related to leaving the parental house (Camarano, Mello, Pasinato, & Kanso, 2004).

As reflected by economic disparities in Brazil, divergent transitions to adulthood trajectories may exist among young individuals from differing SESs. Despite Brazil and U.S. presenting quite similar Gini[2] indexes in 2011 (0.511 and 0.477, respectively; Lara, 2013), in the U.S., Arnett (2004, 2006, 2011) argued that low-SES individuals would also experience EA, because they try different possibilities in love and work, face instability, and present high hopes for the future. The difference is that low-SES individuals might enter adulthood one or two years earlier in comparison with those from a higher-SES. Thus, SES level seems to introduce differences on the process of EA that is living with some dissimilar characteristics regarding education and entrance in job market. While high SES young people are making educational changes, low SES young people are making job changes (Arnett, 2006). However, in Brazil, the historical mark of economic inequality may lead young individuals to live divergent trajectories towards adulthood. A recent Brazilian study comparing young individuals from low and high SESs within the urban context identified that low SES individuals assumed adult roles earlier (e.g.: working to assist with the household income, marriage/cohabitation and living alone). They also reported higher frequencies of the perception of having already reached adulthood when compared to the young people of high SES. Nevertheless, despite the economic factor having influenced the transition to adulthood of these groups, more than 50% of the total sample reported perceiving themselves as in-between adolescence and adulthood, what could indicate the presence of EA in the both SES groups (Dutra-Thomé & Koller, 2014). Based on that we can say that it is not clear whether economics differences between low and high SESs Brazilians affects their transition to adulthood.

Aiming at clarifying this problem, the general objective of this research was to investigate the transition to adulthood in Brazilians from low and high SESs. The quantitative study aimed to investigate the association between SES and the five EA features (Arnett, 2004, 2011) and its counterpart "Other-focused" (Reifman et al., 2007). The qualitative study aimed to investigate the EA features in Brazilians from differing SESs discourses.

The study's hypothesis (quantitative phase) were:

1. Lower SES will be associated with lower mean scores of the IDEA dimensions "Identity Exploration" and "Possibilities", and higher mean scores of the "Other-focus", considering their tendency to assume adult roles earlier in order to help with their family income and/or take care autonomously of their financial lives;

The study's expectations (qualitative phase) were:

2. Low SES participants will be more "other-focused" for the reasons explained on the study's hypothesis;
3. High SES individuals will present a discourse oriented to their behavior of identity exploration, considering they may have more opportunities to live an extended psychosocial moratorium.

2 Index of socioeconomic inequality

Method

Design

The present study used a mixed-method approach, which allowed acquiring a more comprehensive scenario about Brazilian transition to adulthood (Wisdom, Cavaleri, Onwuegduzie, & Green, 2012). The use of both quantitative and qualitative methods allowed us to access the EA phenomenon by two diverse strategies of data analysis (Bryman, 2006).

Participants

The sample included 547 Southern Brazilians; residents in the urban context, between 18 and 29 years old (Md = 22 years; IQR = 7), 64.2% females, of low (35.5%) and high SES (64.5%). Individuals from varied SES were accessed in College and Non-College institutions: (a) two technology courses; (b) three universities; (c) two courses focused on preparing students of low SES for university entrance exams; and (d) two schools that work with young individuals and adults with limited or no previous education (e.g., people with difficulties in writing, reading, and solving basic math problems).

From this sample, 13 participants were randomly selected to participate on the qualitative study, following the SES criteria (high and low). Participants experiencing extreme poverty or extreme wealth were not recruited, in order to reach more tenuous socioeconomic influences in their transition to adulthood. We based this choice on the fact that the extension to adulthood is related with higher and medium educational and professional standards in industrialized and post-industrialized countries (Arnett, 2004; Blustein, 2006), a context less available to young individuals experiencing extreme poverty, with a per capita income lower than the Brazilian national minimum wage of USD 294.62.

Procedures

For the quantitative study, the questionnaire and instruments were digitalized and applied by two methods: online (i.e., the participant was invited by e-mail to access an external website where the instruments were available) and in-person (i.e., the participant completed the instruments in a lab with one researcher present). In both cases, the instruments were self-administered. The aims of the study and the research group were presented to the institutions. Those participants who took part in the in-person data collection signed the Institutional Terms of Agreement. Before the collection, the following aspects were described to the participants: the nature of the study, the confidentiality of the information shared, and the data analysis process. Next, the Informed Consent Form was read. In the institutions where the data collection was only performed virtually, a meeting with the potential participants was carried out, in which they were invited to participate in the study and, if interested, could register their email address on a list. In these cases, the Informed Consent Form was accessed from the online platform.

For the qualitative study, participants who answered the quantitative study questionnaire were informed that they would, eventually, be contacted to participate on a sequential part of the project, since the research group had their electronic contact information registered. Using our contacts data bank, we selected randomly 13 potential participants, who were contacted by e-mail and invited to contribute to the second study of the first author's PhD. It was not possible to gather all participants in the first contact, so we kept on randomly selecting and systematically sending invitations until we filled a minimum of six people in each group (low and high SESs). Participants interested in contributing to the study were then contacted by phone.

Three undergraduate psychology students were trained to develop the interviews. They were also trained in qualitative methods and participated in the process of developing the semi-structured interview. Afterwards, pilot interviews were applied and analyzed, and necessary changes were incorporated. Three new pilot interviews were then developed and filmed with a focus on improving interviewers' posture. Finally, the definitive interviews were carried out at the university or at participants' homes. All interviews were in Portuguese.

Instruments

The Brazilian Adolescence and Youth Questionnaire (Second version; Dell'Aglio, Koller, Cerqueira-Santos, & Colaço, 2011), with 77 questions. For the purposes of this study, we selected specifically the variable SES, based on the socioeconomic classification from the Brazilian Association of Institutions of Market Research (Abipeme, 2008). This classification attributes scores for "domestic comfort items" (e.g. washing machine, freezer, and television) and the household's level of education. In the present research, the criterion used to determine the head of household was the parent with the higher level of education. Varying from minimum 18 points to maximum 108 points, high SES in this study corresponds to scores above 58.

Inventory of Dimensions of Emerging Adulthood (IDEA, Reifman et al., 2007; Dutra-Thomé & Koller, 2017). IDEA subscales formed the group of dependent variables (DVs). The Brazilian version of IDEA presented 29 items divided into the following subscales (a) Identity Exploration (items 12, 24, 26, 27, and 28); (b) Experimentation/Possibilities (items 1, 2, 4); (c) Negativity/Instability (items 3, 6, 8, 9, 11, 17, and 20); (d) Self-Focused (items 5, 7, 13, 15, 19, 22, 23, and 25); (e) Feeling In-Between (items 29, 30, 31, and 32), and (f) Other-Focused (items 14, and 18). For all subscales, the higher scores represent the higher sum of the construct of EA. In Brazil, Cronbach's alpha coefficients for the six subscales ranged from .61 to .79, and the full-scale's reliability was .80 (i.e., 29 items).

Semi-structured interview. The qualitative research questions presented: (a) a description of peer characteristics, which served as an indirect source of information about the participants - i.e., an analogy for how participants thought about and perceived lives (b) a life trajectory assessment, inviting participants to think about their lives some years ago, at the current moment, and in the coming years (c) a description of participant's social network expectations (e.g., society, family, and peers), (d) work experiences, taking into account the central role of working in building participant's independence, and (d) future perspectives, because EA has been described as a period of optimism (Arnett, 2011).

Data Analysis

Quantitative study

To investigate if responses to IDEA questionnaire changed according to SES status bivariate analysis were performed followed by Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) technique, using the software Mplus. The model contemplated IDEA's dimensions estimated latent factors as dependent measures. In considering our model, values of the CFI and TLI equal to or higher than .90 represent an acceptable fit, and higher than .95 represent a good fit. Values of the RMSEA equal to or lower than .08 represent an acceptable fit, and lower than .05 represent a good fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999).

Qualitative study

To explore how young individuals from distinct SESs described their transition to adulthood qualitative interviews were conducted. Data was analyzed by thematic analysis. Themes were chosen according to research goals, not on quantity or prevalence of content in the interviews (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The thematic analysis was applied consistently with a contextualist approach (Bronfenbrenner, 1988; Tudge, 2008), which recognizes the individual's process of making meaning as being influenced by the broader social context. The epistemology of the study was essentialist or realistic, i.e., considering motivations, experiences, and meanings to be theorized in a straightforward way. Because language was a source of articulating meaning and experience (Braun & Clarke, 2006), themes were grouped by thematic similarity.

The qualitative analysis was developed by a deductive (or "top down") process, based upon the theoretical background of the EA perspective. Specifically, the five EA main features (Arnett, 2011) and their counterpart (Reifman et al., 2007) which composed IDEA scale comprised the themes of analysis: (a) Age of identity exploration, (b) Age of instability, (c) Self-focused age, (d) Age of feeling in-between, (e) Age of possibilities, and (f) Other-Focused. The analysis focused on participants' collective experience of transition to adulthood. Cases were analyzed horizontally, and each person's discourse was considered as an expression of the group experience.

The program NVivo (version 10) was used in the process of categorizing data. Initially, the first author read all the interviews in order to have a general view of all participants' experiences. The first author then selected paragraphs that expressed participants' personal experiences and opinions and coded them with respect to the six themes of analysis. Afterwards, one coder participated in the process of categorizing the data, which was selected based on their familiarity with topics related to youth and transition to adulthood using a guidance (see Table 1). The coder accessed the entire content of the interviews and was guided in analyzing the selected paragraphs and code them considering the six themes of analysis. The concordance coefficient among coders (Cohen's Kappa coefficient - K; Robson, 1995) reached levels of excellence, varying from 0.74 to 0.88, with general K of .83. A consensual discussion between coder and the first author was carried in the process of the K calculation. Subsequently, through the analysis of the six categories, the first author included SES as an aspect to be analyzed.

Results and Discussion

Results indicated that SES was not associated with the mean scores of IDEA's dimensions. Bivariate analysis indicated a positive correlation between SES and the IDEA's dimension Possibilities, however, the effect size was low (< .30; see Table 2). Thus, the study's hypothesis that low SES would be associated with lower mean scores of "Identity Exploration" and "Possibilities", and higher mean scores of the "Other-focus" (Arnett, 2011; Galambos & Martínez, 2007) was not sustained by the proposed model, what may indicate that young individuals from both the low and high SES would experience EA (Arnett, 2004, 2006, 2011).

The qualitative study indicated the manifestation of EA's dimensions in participants' discourses (general K = of .83). The investigation also confirmed the study's expectation of a discourse towards an "other-focused" behavior in low SES participants. Low SES individuals are demanded to help with the family income and/or to manage demands of parenthood, what leads them to be Other-focused, just as defined in the qualitative study expectations.

> "Just me and my mom live in the house, so I help her. I give money to her every month. She bought a washing machine 2 months ago, and I helped her to pay" (Interview 10, low SES, 18-24, male).

> "No, I studied one semester at the College, but I didn't have money to continue. I needed to build a structure, and even at home I didn't have structure to study. I have a kid, I have my sister... then I didn't focus too much on my own life, I focused on them, at least until they have some directions in their lives,

Table 1
Coder's Guidance for Categorizing Interviews

Code	Rules
Identity exploration	1. Description of experiences participants had in fields such as romantic relationships, education, and work 2. Exploratory experiences of leisure, partying, traveling, and use of legal and illegal drugs
Feeling in-between	1. Thoughts and/or experiences of ambivalence: Ex.: although participants assume some adult roles, they do not feel independent financially or emotionally
Instability	1. Experiences of feeling pressured; facing instability or precarious situations at work 2. Experiences of depression, anxiety, and family problems 3. Expression of feelings of suffering
Self-focused	1. Thoughts/ experiences/situations when participants are focused on doing whatever they want 2. Personal interests as a priority
Possibilities	1. Optimistic view of the future 2. Plans
Other-Focused	1. Participants present a discourse of provision for or care towards others; 2. Experiences of assuming responsibilities at work

Note. Descriptions of the rules for identification of each category based on EA theory. Rules were developed by the first author to guide coders concerning distinctions between categories.

Table 2
Factor scores correlations between IDEA's dimensions and SES

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. SES						
2. Identity Exploration	-.011					
3. Feeling In-Between	.044	.383**				
4. Instability	.030	.283**	.287**			
5. Self-focus	-.051	.293**	.009	.066		
6. Possibilities	**.147****	.229**	.083	.116**	.199**	
7. Other-focus	-.056	.140**	-.046	.161**	.259**	.086*

Note. * *p*< .05; ** *p*< .001. Cells in **bold** highlight significant correlations between IDEA's dimensions and SES.

> I think it's going to be like this. And I can't leave my son alone, so I'm dedicated to them, all money I receive I spend on them, not on me" (Interview 6, low SES, 25-29, female).

Their process of entering at the job market is different. Low SES individuals assumed the responsibility of working earlier as a family demand of helping with the house income and paying their own bills (e.g. rent and university). Their educational paths were less stable due to commitments to their jobs or families:

> "When I was a child, I remember my mom: for some time she was working in two jobs. She would conclude one and go directly to the other. She would go home and sleep two hours, and then she would start her work day again. Then, for a period she was really without money, and then I looked at her and I asked: 'would you like me to work these jobs, too?'" (Interview 10, low SES, 18-24, male).

On the other hand, high SES individuals start working as a way of exploring different job experiences and receiving some income to buy things independently of their parent's financial support and can live an extended moratorium of Identity Exploration. They act like this as a way of exploring their autonomy, as an essay to their future as adults, meaning that, different from the low SES individuals, they are not required to help with the family income:

> "It was very good receiving my own money. I felt an atmosphere of 'independence', though not completely, since I was living with my mom and I could not support myself alone. But I thought: 'I can walk on my own two feet, I don't need to ask my mom or my daddy'. It was important for me to do what I wanted to do. Beyond the emotional independence, which I already have, I had the financial independence, not totally, but I could feel the taste" (Interview 9, high SES, 18-24, male).

> "Actually, I depend on my parents considering my mom pays the power bill, water, telephone; she buys things... buys the food. But all the rest, clothes, transportation... Those were things I started to pay, because if I let my mom decide, she would give money also for these things" (Interview 1, high SES, 25-29, female).

However, the expectations of "identity exploration" as exclusive for high SES individuals was not confirmed. The earlier demand for assuming adult responsibilities of low SES individuals in Brazil (Dutra-Thomé & Koller, 2014) led to the observation trend not previewed in the study's expectations, the manifestation of a developmental shifting process of low SES participants, since they would have a delayed period of Identity Exploration. After some years of investment in their families, they allow themselves to live a period of exploration. Therefore, the experience of EA would be lived by them later, based on their own process of reaching autonomy.

> "(...) I didn't have this stage, then when I was 23, I lived a period I should have lived much before. This was very good in some aspects, but it was also a bit destructive, because it was supposed to be a period of settling in, I should be dedicated to my studies and my professional life, and I was partying for a while, because although I was enjoying it I always had too many responsibilities, which blocked my adolescence" (Interview 12, low SES, 25-29, male).

> "After my children can do things on their own it will be much easier for me to be focused on my own priorities" (Interview 6, low SES, 25-29, female).

In contrast, high SES individuals were not found to experience demands to work earlier to help generate family income, and an extended period of exploration tended to be offered to them from adolescence. It might be said that low SES individuals in Brazil, different from their U.S. counterparts, may experience the EA stage well after high SES individuals, supported by their own financial independence.

At the same time, some similarities between low SES and high SES groups in the US have been shown to hold true in Brazil: e.g., both groups experiment with different possibilities in love and work, and face instability (Arnett, 2004). However, these similarities should be analyzed carefully. For instance, although both low SES and high SES individuals face instability, the origin of this instability might be different. For instance, the lack of structural work and demands of higher educational and professional training constrains the opportunities available in the job market for both groups (Camarano et al., 2004; Netto Fleury, 2007), what makes it challenging for them to reach financial independence. Nevertheless, more frequently the low SES group also deals with family financial restrictions, accumulating the instability inherent to the process of transitioning to adulthood and their own family instability:

> "I am living alone again because before I was at my mom's house for a while. However, here, it was remarkable because I was in this apartment for two years, and in the beginning, my father was living with me. After he left for another state, I felt as if I was more the father of my father than the son of my father. Before, he and I lived together in another state. Then, we returned, and he did not give any news for one year. After reconciliation, we lived together again. However, soon he left and let me be alone again, and again I had a feeling that my father was my son" (Interview 12, low SES, 18-24, male)

The identification of a developmental shifting among low SES emerging adults in Brazil is reinforced when we did not find associations between SES and IDEA categories in the quantitative study, meaning that SES is not affecting the manifestation of EA in Brazil. Nevertheless, even though both groups would live the EA, low SES individuals would follow a different course toward adulthood, with a delayed moratorium.

Table 3
Associations between IDEA's dimensions and SES by means of Structural Equation Modeling regression models

	Standardized regression weights (*p*)
Outcome variable	
SES	
Identity Exploration	
SES	-.010 (.840)
Feeling in-Between	
SES	.059 (.213)
Instability	
SES	.035 (.481)
Self-focus	
SES	-.064 (.237)
Possibilities	
SES	.141 (**<.001**)
Other-focus	
SES	-.049 (.342)

Note. Cells in **bold** highlight significant associations between IDEA's dimensions and SES. Fit indices CFI =.856, TLI = .838, RMSEA (90% CI) = .063 (.059 – .067)

Finally, participants presented a willing to be close and/or keep a close relationship to their parents, a cultural mark of Brazilian familism, placing high importance to family, similarly to other Latin and Asian countries; and through Catholic influence (Facio & Micocci, 2003; Facio et al., 2007; Fulligni, 2007):

> "(...) financial independence yes, but emotional independence I guess I'll never have. While I can,

I'll have my mother as a reference to talk to about emotional and affective themes" (Interview 1, high SES, 25-29, female).

"... My boyfriend bought an apartment—an apartment above his mom's apartment. And he did not directly invite me to live with him, but he kind of said indirectly that he would like it... but I was very clear and honest with him that I would not like to live there with him considering that while I live in my parents' home, I can save money and focus on my trip" (Interview 1, high SES, 25-29, female).

At the same time, participants used more "self-focused" lengths when pursuing goals regarding work and education. Pursuing their goals was basing the foundation their adult lives (Arnett, 2004).

"Currently, I'm focused on my profession. I have to be dedicated. I want to become a member of the Federal Police, that's what really matters for me now, my priority" (Interview 9, high SES, 18-24, male).

"It's a moment when I have to be dedicated to my studies. I have to be dedicated because things depend on me. (…) I can't see myself getting married, having kids, at least not now (…). Especially nowadays, that we don't have to be worried about that until our forties, you know. I want to travel a lot and learn many new things" (Interview 1, high SES, 25-29, female).

Brazilian familism could be a source of enhancement of emerging adults' Feeling-in-Between (Arnett, 2011). At the same time, they wish to reach autonomy and financial independence taking directions towards long term responsibilities, they see with naturality they closeness to their parents (Borges & Magalhães, 2009), making a prolonged period of cohabitation more acceptable.

Final considerations

This study investigated the transition to adulthood of Brazilians, grounded in the EA perspective. The existence of EA features indicated that Brazilians are also affected by worldwide changes associated with globalization, technological advances, and social changes (Arnett, 2011; Tudge, 2008). At the same time, considering contextual specificities of the Brazilian context was essential, because they allowed us to identify the expression of EA features in particular ways. We highlight here the developmental shifting process of low SES in relation to high SES participants. While in Brazil, high SES individuals were more likely to experience EA features according to what has been observed in industrialized countries (Arnett, 2011), low SES individuals presented a divergent trend because their opportunities to invest in their Identity Exploration would happen after an Other-Focused period (Arnett, 2011; Demuth & Keller, 2011; Galambos & Martínez, 2007; Henriques et al., 2004).

Concerning the study's limitations, the SES classification was not always sufficient for categorizing participants' real economic situations, a limitation intrinsic to national economic classifications. When including all age groups and all Brazilian regions, the measure's precision was affected. We observed that sometimes the SES of some participants did not correspond to their own perception considering their discourse. It may also be associated with the fact that participants' SES conditions might have been updated, meaning that, although a participant is currently presented as having high SES, previously he or she belonged to a low SES family. In other cases, a participant was from a low SES when disregarding his or her family's financial, despite the family's overall economic conditions suggesting a classification of high SES.

Another limitation was not developing an inductive process of analysis for the qualitative study, which would have considered participants' idiosyncratic experiences and introduced the possibility of creating new categories. In future analyses, an inductive process may be developed. It would be interesting to select four cases and to define a posteriori themes strongly linked to the data itself. Participants' experiences may be organized into a "relevant thematic organogram," connecting different elements related to participant discourses.

Finally, we are aware that the experience of 13 participants do not make our results generalizable, especially regarding our observation of a possible developmental shifting in low SES participants, who would live a period of Identity Exploration later, in a non-linear process. We consider this result coherent with outcomes of the quantitative study, since it reinforces that SES is not associated with IDEA's dimensions, what may indicate that both low and high SES individuals would live a period of EA. However, it sheds light on the fact that the trajectories lived by low and high SES individuals present relevant differences, since low SES individuals have a particular developmental trajectory, characterize by an early demand for assuming adult roles, and a posterior period of identity exploration, supported by their own financial conditions.

Compliance with Ethical Standards

The Research Ethics Committee of the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (Protocol No. 2011014) and the institutions where the data collection took place approved the investigation. All participants signed a Consent Form (following resolutions No.196/1996 and No. 446/2012 of the National Health Council and No. 016/2000 of the Brazilian Federal Council of Psychology). All Authors declare no conflicts of interest.

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ORIGINAL

Attachment, Conflict Resolution, Marital Satisfaction, and Culture in Women[1]

Apego, Resolución de Conflictos, Satisfacción Marital, y Cultura en Mujeres

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Abstract
The aim of this study was to compare levels of attachment, conflict resolution strategies and marital satisfaction in women from Israel, United States, Turkey, and Spain (N = 343). A sample of individuals involved in a romantic relationship at ages 18-68 (M = 35.4, SD = 11.83) completed measures of attachment dimensions, conflict resolution strategies, and marital satisfaction. Tucker Phi coefficients revealed the same structure of the scales across all countries. Mean comparisons were used. Differences were observed among women from Israel, Turkey, USA, and Spain in attachment (avoidant and anxiety), as well as in own conflict resolution strategies and in perception of partner's conflict resolution strategies. In individualistic countries, women reported using conflict withdrawal to a higher extent. Women from collectivistic cultures showed higher levels of avoidant attachment and of use of demand strategy. No cultural differences in women's marital satisfaction were observed. Results are discussed in light of the combined possible effects of cultural dimensions and individual variables.

Keywords: Cross-Cultural Comparison, Attachment, Conflict Resolution, Marital Satisfaction, Cultural Dimensions

Resumen
El objetivo de este estudio fue comparar los niveles de apego, las estrategias de resolución de conflicto y la satisfacción marital en mujeres de diferentes países. La muestra estuvo compuesta por 343 mujeres (13.4% Turquía, 14.3% EE.UU, 25.1% Israel y 47.2% España) cuyas edades oscilaban entre 18 y 68 años (M = 35.4, SD = 11.83). Las mujeres completaron una serie de cuestionarios de auto-registro que evaluaban las dimensiones de apego, estrategias de resolución de conflicto (percibidos en uno mismo y en la pareja) y la satisfacción marital. El análisis de equivalencia estructural reveló que existe la misma estructura interna en los países del estudio en todas las escalas (Tucker Phi > 0.90). Para analizar las diferencias culturales entre las variables se llevó a cabo una comparación de medias con análisis de varianza (ANOVA). Los resultados obtenidos muestran que

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existen diferencias entre los países tanto en las dimensiones del apego inseguro (ansiedad y evitación) como en las estrategias de resolución de conflictos percibidas en uno mismo y en la pareja. Por el contrario, no existen diferencias significativas entre las mujeres de diferentes países en satisfacción marital ($F (3,339) = 0.56$, $p = 0.65$). Las mujeres de culturas colectivistas son las que mayor puntuación obtienen en la dimensión evitativa del apego. En cuanto a las estrategias de resolución de conflictos, se encontró que aquellas mujeres de países más individualistas son las que obtienen puntuaciones más elevadas de evitación del conflicto, mientras que aquellas mujeres de países colectivistas se perciben así mismas como más demandantes. Las mujeres españolas perciben en mayor medida que sus parejas solucionan positivamente los conflictos, seguidas de Israel, Turquía y EE.UU. En cuanto a la satisfacción marital, las mujeres de culturas femeninas (España y Turquía) obtuvieron mayor puntuación en comparación a culturas masculinas (Estados Unidos e Israel).

Palabras Clave: **Comparación Transcultural, Apego, Estrategias de Conflicto, Satisfacción Marital, Dimensiones Culturales**

A number of studies have shown that marital quality is lower for women than for men (e.g., Jackson, Miller, Oka, & Henry, 2014); however, not sufficient evidence has been gathered to conclude which variables are more detrimental to women marital satisfaction. Furthermore, research conducted with women of different origin suggested that culture is an important dimension in understanding their close relationships (Celenk & van de Vijver, 2013). Cross-cultural psychology provides crucial information about the similarities and differences of psychological processes in different countries and cultures. This perspective implies that some of these processes are common across countries (i.e. universalism) whereas others are culture-specific (Berry, Poortinga, Breugelmans, Chasiotis, & Sam, 2011). There is a need to carry out cross-cultural studies comparing countries so as to evaluate the impact of different norms and cultural values in relationships (Halford et al., 2018). Neglecting possible differences among women from different countries may lead to "Anglo-centric bias" (Wierzbicka, 1993); therefore, it is necessary to analyze cultural aspects that could unfold differences in their relational variables for a more comprehensive understanding of marital dynamics in women.

Attachment dimensions (Molero, Shaver, Fernández, Alonso-Arbiol, & Recio, 2016) and conflict resolution strategies (Litzinger & Gordon, 2005) may be mentioned among the most important variables explaining marital quality. These relational characteristics —enrooted intrapersonal attributes of the individuals but also shaped by interpersonal events— seem to heavily affect couple interactions; in fact, they are linked to aspects such as affect regulation, life satisfaction, subjective well-being, as well as to marital satisfaction (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2016). It has been suggested that differences in relational variables are due to socio-cultural and contextual characteristics (Archer, 2007; Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002; Triandis, 1995). Furthermore, cultural dimensions such as individualism-collectivism (IND-COL) and masculinity-femininity (MAS-FEM) have been associated with conflict style (Kaushal & Kwantes, 2006), communication (Lueken, 2005) and marital satisfaction (Burn & Ward, 2005). Nevertheless, the joint effect of aforementioned cultural dimensions and relational variables (i.e. attachment dimensions and conflict resolution strategies) on women's marital satisfaction remains largely unexplored. Unfolding possible differences would provide relevant insight to practitioners who work with women from different cultures; generalizing culture-specific factors associated with marital satisfaction may be biased (Wang & Scalise, 2010) and potentially may lead to incorrect therapeutic strategies. In the next sections, we analyze the current state of affairs regarding the aforementioned individual and cultural variables.

Differences in Attachment across Cultures

Attachment orientations are patterns of the intense emotional bond that individuals develop with a few preferred others (Bowlby, 1969). In adulthood they are best described as two dimensions in the context of romantic relationships; attachment dimensions are patterns that activate and operate the attachment system, which are highly associated with a number of outcomes related to interpersonal relationships (for a review, see Mikulincer & Shaver, 2016). Attachment anxiety dimension is characterized by concerns about abandonment, whereas the attachment avoidance dimensions is characterized by discomfort with closeness and interdependence, and with a preference for self-reliance (Fournier, Brassard, & Shaver, 2011).

Cultural differences in attachment in infancy have been thoroughly examined (Mesman, van IJzendoorn, & Sagi-Schwartz, 2016): individualistic cultures have been found to socialize in autonomy and independence (Grossmann, Grossmann, Huber, & Wartner, 1981) leading children to developing avoidant relational styles more often. Research in cross-cultural differences in adult attachment is scarce, though (e.g., Agishtein & Brumbaugh, 2013; Wang & Mallinckrodt, 2006). Despite main features of attachment pointing to some universal patterns (e.g., van IJzendoorn, & Sagi-Schwartz, 2008), there is also evidence that culture is responsible for the expression of some differences in attachment dimensions (Del Giudice, 2011). Specifically, in the cross-cultural study carried out by Del Giudice with individuals from several regions of the world, he found a few differences: a compelling one revealed that North American women show higher scores in avoidant attachment as compared to East Asian women. As interesting as this finding is, the criterion for region grouping may appear somewhat vague so as to more precisely understand the underlying cultural variables accounting for those dissimilarities (e.g., Schmitt et al., 2003).

Shaver, Mikulincer, Alonso-Arbiol, and Lavy (2010) suggested that avoidant dimension is an adaptive function in more individualist cultures. Individualistic societies promote individuals' personal autonomy and independence (Hofstede, 2001), while collectivistic ones reinforce the development of harmony, altruism and consideration of others (Quek & Knudson-Martin, 2006), as well as interdependence among people, groups and their needs as groups (Hofstede, 2001).This cultural aspect—i.e. individualism—has not been examined in cross-cultural studies composed by women (e.g., Schmitt et al., 2003). You and Malley-Morrison (2000) compared American and Korean college students' attachment levels. By looking at their female sample, we may observe that American women, being a highly individualistic country, showed higher scores in avoidant dimension than Korean women, a country commonly referred as being collectivistic, following authors' rationale. However, some other cultural dimensions accounting for such difference may apply (i.e. masculinity and femininity). Masculinity refers to societies where gender roles are clearly distinct for women and men (Hofstede, 2001). In contrast, in feminine cultures gender roles overlap (Hofstede, 2001) and they show a need for a more expressive relationship and concern about others (Zubieta, Fernández, Vergara, Martínez, & Candia, 1998). In addition, Alonso-Arbiol and colleagues (2010) found that in countries with greater distance between gender roles (i.e., masculine countries), individuals report higher avoidant attachment. Thus, we expect that women from individualistic countries will show higher scores in avoidant dimension as compared to those in collectivistic countries (Hypothesis 1) In testing this hypothesis, MAS-FEM dimension of the country should be controlled, though.

Cultural Dimensions and Conflict Resolution Strategies

Conflict resolution strategies reflect individuals' tendencies to cope with marital problems. The possible different strategies displayed are classified either as negative (e.g., withdrawal and demand) or as positive (e.g., positive problem solving). Eldridge, Sevier, Jones, Atkins, and Christensen (2007) defined withdrawal as a strategy characterized by no confrontation of the problem (e.g., becoming silent), while demand strategy would imply aggressive behavior (e.g., criticizing and nagging); positive problem solving strategy would be characterized by behaviors that promote the satisfactory solution of the conflict (e.g., listening attentively and admitting own fault).

The relationship between IND-COL cultural dimension and conflict in general has been thoroughly analyzed, typically showing that more individualistic cultures tend to use more aggressive and dominating conflict styles while collectivistic cultures tend to use conflict reducing strategies and avoidant strategies (e.g., Forbes, Collinsworth, Zhao, Kohlman, & LeClaire, 2011; Kim & Coleman, 2015). Yet, the analysis at marital level and focused in women's perspective has been understudied, and is well needed for the aforementioned reason of preventing from ecological validity bias.

Chinniah (2003) carried out a research study that analyzed exclusively women's conflict resolution strategies from East Indian and European-American; she found that individualistic dimension (at individual-level) was associated positively with withdrawal strategy. This seems to be congruent with the conceptual similarity between withdrawal and individualism pointed out by Lin, Chew, and Wilkinson (2017). These authors argue that individualism stresses self-sufficiency, emotional distance and discomfort with closeness. Furthermore, Ridley, Wilhelm, and Surra (2001) stated that, apart from the evasive function (e.g., think of leaving the marriage), withdrawal strategy also taps the function of maintaining control over the relationship (e.g., stop argument early), which may be understood as a proactive strategy more likely to be displayed by women from individualistic countries. In other words, individualistic cultures would activate withdrawal as a self-sufficiency, agency, and independence strategy during the conflict. Chinniah's (2003) study however, focuses on the individual level of individualism rather on the cultural dimension as defined by Hofstede (2001), which hitherto remains unexplored. Since individuals' behaviors and affects across societies are partly determined by the macro level of culture (Erez & Gati, 2004), this analysis approach is especially relevant. Thus, we hypothesize that women from more individualist cultures will show higher scores in the perception of the withdrawal conflict resolution than women of collectivistic cultures (Hypothesis 2).

Regarding the demand conflict resolution strategy and linked cultural dimensions, as a first glance one may think of a proxy (i.e. aggression) for demand as related to individualism. Some authors pointed out to individualism as related to anger (Fernández et al., 2014) and that in individualistic cultures higher rates of aggression and violence are observed (Archer, 2007). However, when conflict in close relationships of individuals involved in a relationship is specifically analyzed, other dynamics should be taken into account. Aizpitarte (2014) examined dating violence in young individuals. She found that women in individualistic societies tend to report less emotional and cognitive aggression than collectivistic cultures. Individualistic women seem more likely to rely on their self-sufficiency; furthermore, they would not be that much concerned in effort and time investment in trying a strategy that may elicit, but not resolve, problems. Vandello and Cohen (2008) also looked at the close relationship and they linked societal collectivism (an index they developed with data from 46 preindustrial societies that consisted of obedience inculcation, negative self-reliance inculcation, degree of extended family structure, and use of arranged marriage) and Hofstede's collectivism with other aggression forms, such as domestic violence. These authors argue that collectivistic priority would be to maintain family cohesion, even though this brings a high level of aggressiveness in marital relationships, probably from both genders. Therefore, we expect that women from more collectivistic cultures will score higher in their use of demand-type of conflict strategy than women from more individualistic cultures (Hypothesis 3).

The dimension of MAS-FEM has also been associated with communication styles and emotion expression (Lueken, 2005). Femininity as a cultural dimension is a characteristic associated with help behavior (Shea, Wong, Nguyen, & Baghdasarian, 2017), accommodation in the relationships (Kilpatrick, Bissonnette, & Rusbult, 2002), and effort to cope with the conflict and a lower presence of auto-destructive behavior (Tsirigotis, Gruszczynski, & Tsirigotis-Maniecka, 2014). Feminine societies stress the importance of relationships, and both husband and wife would focus on their relationship and its nourishment (Hofstede et al., 2010). When both members of the couple strive to nurture the relationship, one would expect that they would both commonly use positive problem solving strategies that promotes the positive resolution of the conflict and the respect for the partner. Thus, we suggest that women from feminine cultures would report using more positive problem solving strategies (Hypothesis 4a) and report that their partners are also more prone to use these strategies (Hypothesis 4b), as compared to women from masculine cultures.

Masculinity-Femininity and Marital Satisfaction

In addition to individual and relational variables explaining marital satisfaction, MAS-FEM may be an important cultural dimension exerting some effect on it (for a review, see Hofstede, 2001). By means of promoting equity in the relationship, feminine societies determine the perception of relationship and life quality and they underline sensitivity and the focus in the relationship (Hofstede et al., 2010).

However, Taniguchi and Kaufman (2014) found egalitarianism at individual-level was negatively associated with marital satisfaction in Japanese women. These results confirm the theory of expectation violation suggested by several authors (Kaufman & Taniguchi, 2009) that defines discordance between expectations and reality regarding various aspects of the marital relationship. Since they expect a more balanced contribution to the household and relationships general from their husbands, egalitarian women become more dissatisfied in their marriage. This issue has been observed in a masculine society (i.e. Japan), but may be amplified in a feminine society, where egalitarianism illusion may permeate society to a higher extent. Thus, women from more feminine cultures will score lower in marital satisfaction than women from more masculine cultures (Hypothesis 5).

The Current Study

In this study we analyze relational variables of women from four countries which represent different combinations of IND-COL and MAS-FEM. As illustrated in Figure 1, USA is classified as a highly individualist culture, with a tendency toward masculinity (Hofstede, 2001). Turkey is considered a collectivist and feminine country, showing a great inclination to develop the equality, consensus and friendliness; avoiding the conflicts and giving importance to the consensus (Hofstede, 2001). Regarding Israel, Hofstede (2001) showed that it was a country with both individualist and collectivist characteristics. However, Triandis (1995) and Sagy, Orr and Bar-On (1999) classified it as collectivist society with a "great local patriotism". Therefore, in the present study we followed these researches' observation and considered it collectivistic. In terms of masculinity, although Israel is consider neither masculine nor feminine (Hofstede, 2001) when compared with Spain and Turkey, it would be closer to the masculinity end. For that reason, in the present study we have considered Israel as relatively masculine.

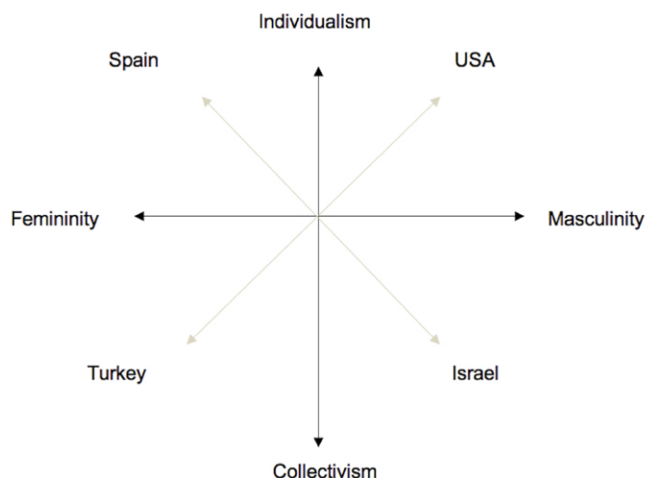

Figure 1. Graphic Representation about individualism-collectivism (IND-COL) and masculinity-femininity (MAS-FEM) across countries. IND-COL dimension is represented by vertical line and MAS-FEM by horizontal line.

Method

Participants

The sample comprised of 343 women who reported being in a romantic relationship, of whom 25.1 % were from Israel, 14.3 % from USA, 13.4 % from Turkey, and 47.2 % from Spain. Their relationship lengths ranged from 0.17 to 47.2 years (M = 11.75, *SD* = 11.62). Their mean age was 35.4 years (*SD* = 11.83). Regarding marital status, 57.4 % of women were married, 31.5 % were cohabiting, and 11.1 % were just dating. Most women had one child (54.8 %). As for religion— in the Israeli sample, 47 % were Jewish and 48.3 % Christian. In the American sample, 43.5 % were Christian Catholic, 20 % Christian Protestant, and 28.2 % declared themselves having another religion. In the Turkish sample, 87.8 % were Muslim Shunni, and 6.1 % Muslim Shia, and in the Spanish sample, 61.1 % were Christian Catholic and 35.2 % atheistic.

Instruments

Sociodemographic data. Women completed a sheet with sociodemographic information. Collected variables were age, relationship status, relationship length, number of children and sexual orientation.

Experiences in Close Relationships (ECR; Brennan, Clark, & Shaver, 1998; Spanish version by Alonso-Arbiol, Balluerka, & Shaver, 2007). The ECR is a widely used self-report questionnaire that contains two scales, each one with 18 items, for the assessment of attachment dimensions in the context of close relationships: Anxiety (e.g., 'I worry about being abandoned') and Avoidance (e.g., 'I prefer not to show a partner how I feel deep down'). Higher scores of Anxiety show higher desire of excessive closeness with their partners; higher scores of Avoidance are indicative of a higher display of withdrawal and emotional distance. In this study, internal consistency reliabilities (Cronbach's αs) of the Avoidant dimension scale were .88, .92, .85 and .87 for Israel, USA, Turkey and Spain, respectively, and values for Anxiety were .86, .87, .81 and .85 respectively for those countries.

Conflict Inventory (CI; Ridley et al., 2001). It consists of 16 items grouped into three styles: Positive, Withdrawal, and Conflict engagement. We used a revised version that also included descriptions of partners' conflict resolution strategies. Participants indicated the frequency of use of these 16 strategies by themselves (CI-Self) and by their partners (CI-Partner), on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 7 (*always*). The positive conflict resolution strategy emphasizes negotiation and compromising during conflict (e.g., focusing on the problem at hand). The withdrawal strategy includes refusing to discuss (e.g., remaining silent for long periods of time), and the conflict engagement strategy includes attacking, criticizing, and losing self-control (e.g., exploding and getting out of control). Cronbach's alphas were acceptable for all the subscales of CI-Self (α = .70, .52, and .63 for Israel; α = .64, .64, and .58 for USA; α = .58, .73, and .89 for Turkey; and α = .51, .61, and .66 for Spain) and for CI-Partner (α = .79, .71, and .75 for Israel; α = .80, .73, and .74 for USA; α = .67, .59, and .66 for Turkey; and α = .67, .59, and .66 for Spain).

Relationship Assessment Scale (RAS; Hendrick, 1988; Spanish version by Molero et al., 2016). Participants answered seven items about the satisfaction level of their relationship (e.g. to what extent are you satisfied with your current relationship?) using a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*not at all satisfied*) to 5 (*very satisfied*). In this study, internal consistency reliability was acceptable. Cronbach's alphas for Israel, USA, Turkey, and Spain were .78, .81, .81, and .83, respectively.

Country-level information. The information about IND-COL and MAS-FEM cultural dimension were obtained from Hofstede's study (2001).

Procedure

After institutional consent was obtained, collaborators from different countries participated in the adaptation of the questionnaires to the intended cultural groups, coupled individuals were contacted using snowball procedure in all countries and final version were administrated in each cultures. Each participant was informed and contacted individually and, after instructions for filling in the questionnaires were provided, s/he completed them and mail them back in a sealed envelope to ensure anonymity. Participation was on a volunteer basis; no remuneration was offered in exchange.

Analysis

Construct equivalence was analyzed by examining the similarity of the factors in each country; a separate analysis was conducted for each scale. Tucker's phi coefficients were calculated for each country and each scale. This congruence coefficient measures factorial identity; values higher than .90 are usually taken as indication of similarities in underlying factors (van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). Tucker Phi coefficient values are shown in Table 1. The values indicate that attachment dimension, conflict resolution strategies and marital satisfaction were equivalent across the countries examined in the present study.

Results

Analyses of variance (ANOVA) were carried out to analyze differences across countries. Table 1 shows mean differences and standard deviation in each variable across countries. Differences across countries were observed in all variables except for marital satisfaction. (F (3, 339) = 0.56, p = 0.65).

Regarding attachment dimensions, avoidant attachment mean was higher in women from Turkey, followed by Israel, Spain, and USA. Hypothesis 1 was not supported because Turkey and Israel —collectivistic cultures— were expected to score lower in avoidant attachment dimension. Turkish women obtained the highest scores in anxious attachment, followed by Spain, Israel, and USA.

In Hypothesis 2 we expected that women from more individualistic cultures will show higher scores in the perception of the withdrawal conflict resolution than women of individualist cultures. This hypothesis was supported by the data. Spanish women had the highest scores in this conflict strategy followed by American women. As for the demanding conflict strategy, women from Turkey had the highest scores, followed by Israel, Spain, and USA. Hypothesis 3 was also supported because Turkey and Israel—collectivistic cultures—showed higher scores in this conflict strategy than the analyzed individualistic countries.

Regarding own and partner positive conflict resolution strategy, we hypothesized that more feminine cultures would perceive themselves and their partners as using more positive problem solving strategies (Hypothesis 4a and 4b). Hypothesis 4a was not supported since, although Spanish women—who live in a feminine culture—reported the highest scores in using this strategy, Turkish women had the lowest scores. Partners' positive problem solving was reported mostly by Spanish women, but also by Israel women —living in a relatively masculine culture—. Thus, this hypothesis was not supported.

Finally, Hypothesis 5 suggested that women from more feminine cultures would score lower in marital satisfaction. There were not differences across countries in marital satisfaction; hence, this hypothesis was not supported.

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics and Tucker Phi Coefficient

	Israel		USA		Turkey		Spain		F
	M (SD)	Tucker Phi	M (SD)	Tucker Phi	M (SD)	Tucker Phi	M (SD)	Tucker Phi	
Attachment									
Avoidance	2.96 (0.88)[b]	0.99	2.11 (0.89)[a]	0.99	3.57 (1.69)[c]	0.95	2.17 (0.78)[a]	1.00	32.50**
Anxiety	3.26 (1.02)[ab]	0.99	2.93 (0.98)[a]	0.98	4.55 (1.58)[c]	0.94	3.60 (0.78)[b]	0.99	20.36**
Conflict Strategies									
Own Positive	4.60 (1.02)[b]	0.98	4.63 (0.91)[abc]	0.99	4.56 (1.58)[a]	0.98	4.67 (0.76)[c]	0.94	4.33**
Own Demand	2.12 (0.71)[bc]	0.99	1.76 (0.48)[ab]	0.98	4.13 (1.13)[c]	1.00	1.81 (0.59)[a]	0.99	5.55**
Own Withdrawal	2.73 (0.77)[b]	0.94	2.73 (0.79)[b]	0.95	2.20 (1.45)[a]	0.99	3.02 (0.81)[ab]	0.98	4.86**
Partner Positive	4.35 (1.24)[a]	0.98	2.74 (0.92)[ac]	0.97	3.61 (1.29)[bcd]	0.99	4.02 (0.99)[ad]	0.88	4.42**
Partner Demand	1.83 (0.73)[bc]	0.99	1.71 (0.71)[ab]	0.98	2.26 (1.61)[d]	1.00	1.69 (0.62)[ac]	1.00	5.57**
Partner Withdrawal	2.53 (0.99)[a]	0.98	2.89 (1.58)[ac]	0.92	3.61 (1.29)[b]	0.97	2.86 (0.82)[ac]	0.95	7.27**
Marital Satisfaction	5.98 (0.78)[a]	1.00	6.05 (0.79)[a]	0.99	6.17 (2.08)[a]	1.00	6.13 (0.72)[a]	0.99	0.56

Note: Within each row countries that did not share a superscript differed from one another. *p < .05; **p < .01

Discussion

The aim of this study was to analyze differences in attachment, conflict resolution strategies and marital satisfaction among women of different countries. Our results suggest that there are differences across countries in attachment dimensions, as well as in conflict resolution strategies. However, we did not find differences in marital satisfaction of women from different countries.

Although previous studies have found a positive relationship between country-level individualism and avoidant attachment orientation (Frías, Shaver, & Díaz-Loving, 2014; Friedman et al., 2010), which has been explained as having an adaptive purpose (Shaver et al., 2010); our results of women's attachment show an unexpected different pattern. Specifically, women from more collectivistic cultures scored higher in avoidant attachment. These results may be understood in light of other cultural elements which may have unique effects on women. For instance, Fuller, Edwards, Vorakitphokatorn, and Sermsri (2004) argued that in collectivist cultures where the extended family also satisfied individuals' necessities, the partner may not be sought as source of emotional care. This may be applicable to women to a higher extent; women in collectivistic societies characterized by familism, are the connectors in the family network and use some other relatives more often for support and emotional guidance than their (male) partner. Future research in a larger number of collectivistic countries may look at this tentative explanation by assessing the joint effect with familism.

Although no specific hypothesis was formulated regarding the anxiety dimension of attachment, anxious attachment —reflecting a strong need and desire for closeness and intimacy (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2016)— appeared in our study as being more characteristic of women of collectivistic cultures. The desire to seek greater closeness is consistent with the values and norms of more collectivistic cultures (Friedman et al., 2010). In the same line, Alonso-Arbiol and colleagues (2010) found that collectivism was positively associated with anxiety dimension in individuals (not gender was specified) from different countries. In female samples, some previous studies found Spanish women obtained higher scores of anxious attachment as compared to American counterparts (Alonso-Arbiol et al., 2008; Schmitt et al., 2003). Taking into consideration data from a micro-level perspective, although both countries having been described as individualistic, we may refer to Spain as being more collectivist country than USA. This issue, however, will necessitate a more in-depth study before unequivocal conclusions may be derived from the links between collectivism and anxious attachment in women.

Regarding cultural dimensions and the use of conflict resolution strategies, our hypothesis was supported; women from more individualistic cultures tend to use withdrawal during the conflict more often as a characteristic of their self-sufficiency and proactivity. However, some authors have obtained seemingly contradictory results in more unspecific settings. For instance, individuals from collectivist countries display a higher tendency to express emotions indirectly —i.e. silence— (Hofstede, 2001) to maintain harmony and positive relationships and, therefore, avoiding conflictive communicative processes (Matsumoto et al., 2008). Nevertheless, as mentioned in the introduction, one element of withdrawal in conflict resolutions involves an active strategy of withdrawal. In fact, a closer inspection of our data show that the item 'stop discussion early' is the one particularly and strongly associated with the distinction between individualism and collectivism, which indicates a more active (agency) strategy used by women from individualistic societies. Therefore, even though individuals from collectivistic societies tend to avoid conflict with outgroups in general settings, in close relationships individualism would be linked to the specific agentic facet of withdrawal strategy.

Regarding own perception about the use positive problem solving strategy and the perception of partners' use of these strategies, our results did not confirm the hypothesized link of the cultural dimension MAS-FEM with the use of positive problem solving strategies. Hofstede's labeling for masculinity/femininity certainly may capture role division equality; yet, some other features unrelated to it (i.e. achievement vs. preference for cooperation, heroism vs. modesty) are also included, which somehow lessen the possible link between the cultural dimension and problem solving strategy in the close relationship. It may be thought that country is not the only unit to examine cultural variability of conflict strategy, and in some countries a single rating for such dimension may be misleading. For example, a more fine-grained analysis in Israel showed that Jewish women tend to use demand themselves to a higher extent and to perceive that their spouses avoid the conflict to a higher extent as compared to Christian counterparts. Thus, future studies should examine countries but ethnic and/or religion may also be taken into account in the equation.

Regarding marital satisfaction there were not significant differences across countries. Our hypothesis that women from feminine countries (i.e. Turkey and Spain) would be less satisfied than women from masculinity countries, was not supported. This result is somehow congruent with Wong and Goodwin's (2009) findings, who also acknowledged cultural similarities across three countries differing in MAS-FEM (i.e. United Kingdom, China-Hong Kong, and China-Beijing). Weisfeld and Weisfeld (2002) observed that in some cultures a decline in individual's marital satisfaction may be more likely because the culturally appropriate behavior is to switch the focus from the spouse to caring for the children and the family in general, and therefore intimacy and partner's needs are gradually neglected (Wong & Goodwin, 2009). In conclusion, differences in individual expectations about the relationship evolution would prevail over cultural elements on marital relationship.

To sum up, our results show relevant differences in relationship variables across cultures; yet, some limitations should be acknowledged. Firstly, some Crobnach Alphas for Conflict Inventory subscales were suboptimal, as they were lower than the cut-off-point .70 value suggested by Nunnally and Bernstein (1994) as rule of thumb. Apart from the above mentioned item of the Withdrawal subscale (#8: 'stop discussion early'), an analysis of alpha values suggested deletion of item #1 ('initiate the discussion') from Positive problem solving and item #2 ('blame my partner') from Demand subscale for improvement of internal consistency. The 13 item version of the Conflict Inventory scale is recommended for future use with couples from Spain, Turkey, USA, and Israel. Secondly, only two countries per cultural dimension were included, which may limit somehow the impetus of the conclusions; further designs should include more countries as instances of each cultural dimension. Secondly, only two countries per cultural dimension were included, which may limit somehow the impetus of the conclusions; further designs should include more countries as instances of each cultural dimension. Thirdly, two pertinent cultural variables for the study of relational variables were examined, but some others that might have acted as confounding cultural variables (e.g., percentage of arranged marriages, women participating in leadership roles, ethnicity, religion, or violence acts) may have exerted an impact on observed results. Finally, in the present study, cultural impact has been exclusively analyzed from a country perspective and some relational variables may be better explained by a combination of country-level and individual-level characteristics (van de Vijver, Van Hemert, & Poortinga, 2014). Therefore, future research may be aimed at carrying out multi-level analyses combining the two levels in a larger sample and including a wider arrange of cultural dimensions.

To wrap up, our study highlights the importance of taking into account culture for the analyses of relational variables such as attachment and conflict. Differences among women from countries lead us to conclude that some cultural dimensions play a significant role in the expression of those relational variables essential for couple wellbeing and for solving marital conflicts. Based on this knowledge, clinicians and other practitioners may be better able to create and utilize culture-sensitive intervention strategies focusing on contexts that shape relational behavior.

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ORIGINAL

Rebound Effect, Fast Adaptation to Social Change or Cultural Continuity among Two Generations of Hungarians[1]

Efecto de Rebote, Rápida Adaptación al Cambio Social o Contiuidad Cultural entre Dos Generaciones de Húngaros

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Abstract

The aim of the present research was to reveal what kind of values, self-conceptualisation and beliefs of personhood characterize two generations of Hungarians, almost three decades after the socio-political changes from socialism to capitalist market economy. Participants were high school students (N = 239) and adults (N = 122). Value-orientation was measured using the Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ, Schwartz et al., 2001), beliefs of personhood were measured by the Lay Contextualism Scale (Owe et al., 2013). Self-construals were measured in case of the high school students by using 23 items from Gudykunst et al. (1996) self-construal scale and in case of the adults a modified version of it (Owe et al., 2013). Results indicate that in the post-socialist Hungary, individualistic values and independent self-concept strongly characterize both the high school students and the adults, but the younger generation displays higher tendency towards individualism.

Keywords: Individualism-Collectivism, Values, Self-construal, Social Change, Hungarian

Resumen

El objetivo del presente trabajo fue encontrar qué tipo de valores, auto-conceptuación y creencias de la persona caracterizan dos generaciones de húngaros, casi tres décadas después de los cambios sociopolíticos del socialismo al mercado económico capitalista. Los participantes fueron estudiantes universitarios (N=239) y adultos (N=122). La orientación hacia los valores fue evaluada utilizando el Cuestionario de Valores (PVQ, *Portrait Value Questionnaire*; Schwartz et al., 2001), las creencias sobre la persona fueron evaluados a través de la Escala de Contextualismo (Owe et al., 2013), las auto-definiciones fueron evaluadas utilizando los 23 reactivos

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de la escala de autodefinición de Gudykunst et al. (1996) para el caso de los estudiantes, y para los adultos se utilizó la versión modificada del instrumento de autodefinición (Owe et al., 2013). Los resultados indican que, en la Hungría post-socialista, los valores individualistas y un autoconcepto independiente caracterizan fuertemente a ambos grupos, aunque la generación más joven muestra mayor tendencia hacia el individualismo.

Palabras Clave: Individualismo-Colectivismo, Valores, Auto-definición, Cambio Social, Hungría

Similar to other East and Central European countries, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, Hungary experienced profound changes in its political and social-economic system, moving from a socialist country with a centrally planned economy to a democratic political system with market economy. The socialist ideology emphasizing the collective and common goods was challenged by the novel ideological emphasis on self-interest and autonomy. Hungarian youth, that time, was not just in a developmental transition from adolescence to young adulthood but they also had to navigate and adjust to the rapid changing society resulting in a vulnerable state of 'double limbo' (Fülöp 2005; Roberts et al., 2000). Today, more than 25 years after the regime change, Hungarian teenagers do not belong any more to the so called "Omega-Alpha" generation (Van Hoorn et al., 2000), they are not the last children of the old socialist system and the first adults of the new. They have already been socialized in a capitalist market economy and a democratic society without first-hand experience of the socialist era. However, most of their agents of socialization (i.e. parents, teachers) experienced the communist-socialist ideology to varying extents, so they might implicitly convey the values (i.e. community over self) and norms of the old system to the new generation. Nowadays, a 'socialization deficit' emerged, meaning that young people learn the adult behaviour from a generation which was socialized in a different political and economic system (Domokos & Kulcsar, 2005). Therefore, the question arises what kind of values and self-construct characterize this 'Beta- generation' of young Hungarians? Are they similar to the older generation raised in the socialism or has their cultural orientation shifted to that of Western youth influenced by capitalism? In the present paper we discuss the potential effect of system change on Hungarians' identity, value system and beliefs about personhood in relation to individualism and collectivism (I-C) as a suitable theoretical framework.

Because of the four decades of ideological emphasis on the collective as opposed to the relatively novel ideological importance of individual in Hungary it could be assumed that collectivistic values survived and Hungarian citizens are less individualistic and more collectivistic compared to the citizens of those European countries that do not have such ideological past. However, previous research suggests that Hungarians have managed to catch up with individualism very fast (Domokos & Kulcsár, 2005; Fülöp, 2005; Macek et al., 1998). Moreover, although the ideology of communism emphasized collectivism and common goods, well during the socialist regime, Hungarians showed signs of individualism with a lack of strong community spirit (Hollos, 1980; Hunyady, 1996). Despite the political propaganda even cultural products (i.e. short stories) reflected increasing individualistic tendencies over the period from 1910 to 1969 (Martindale & Keeley, 1986). Additionally, Hungarian youth as a result of a relatively less strict political system after the 1956 revolution against Stalinism intended to distance itself from the official state ideology and to imitate and identify with the Western youth in attitudes (i.e. non-conformist), life style (i.e. beat music) and appearance (i.e. blue jeans, long hair) (Csapó, 1994). Similarly, Kertész et al. (1986) found more similarities than differences between the self-image of Hungarian youth living and being socialized in a socialist country and the self-image of American youth raised in a prototypically individualistic society. Hankiss and his colleagues (Hankiss et al., 1983) also found great similarities between the American and Hungarian value systems; moreover, they even showed that individualistic tendencies were more expressed in the socialist Hungary compared to the USA because their collective values were also emphasized.

The collapse of the socialist regime opened the door to capitalism that legalized personal interest and even more increased individualistic tendencies among Hungarians up to the level that by the end of 1990s they even surpassed their counterparts in the West (Fülöp, 2005, 2006; House et al., 2004; Owe et al., 2013). Fülöp et al. (2002) compared Hungarian and English teachers and found that Hungarian teachers did not consider the community as important as English teachers did. Similarly to this, Hungarian teenagers did not perceive their local society as cohesive and caring, they were not interested in communities and they rather liked to be engaged in individual activities (Macek et al., 1998). Furthermore, after the system change young people in post-socialist countries had a misanthropic view of their fellow students; they rather looked out for themselves and their close friends than were willing to participate in activities that benefitted the community (Flanagan et al., 2003).

The transition has also affected value orientation. Gábor (2006) investigated the value preferences of young Hungarian people and found that individual values and self-interest were ranked much higher than community values. The value orientation of Hungarian youth was dominated by materialist values and the preference for traditional values was low.

The system change had also affected family-related thinking. Although Hungary has been characterized for its collectivistic features regarding family and small groups (i.e. strong family ties, value of family) (Fülöp 2005, 2006), a shift had been observed towards individualism (Spéder & Kamarás, 2008). While during socialism the future aspirations of youth focused on family, marriage and childrearing, by 2001 the family-oriented future plan changed to self-centred aspirations involving self-actualization, individual career opportunities and work plans instead of marriage and children (H. Sas, 2002).

Although young people embrace autonomy partly as a characteristic of their life stage (e.g. Erikson, 1998), a cohort effect may play a role as well and young Hungarian people today are more autonomous compared to the youth in the past regime. According to the World Value Survey (WVS 2010), over the last 20 years in Hungary, independence has become an increasingly important child-rearing value and young Hungarians claim more independence and agency for example in school work than their parents did (Hunyadyné & Nádasi, 2014).

The aforementioned studies drew attention to the increasing level of individualism in Hungary after the collapse of communism. Beside the system change, individualistic tendencies have been also supported by the increasing trend of globalization and post-modernization. Although globalization refers to the interchange of different world views, in reality, values of the global culture are based on individualism, free market economy, and democracy, therefore globalization has been increasing the level of individualism worldwide (Arnett, 2002). After the fall of communism, Western ideologies and products were easily attainable, and with the rapid advancement of modern technology young Hungarians could easily immerse themselves in the global and 'Westernized' youth culture (Fülöp, 2005).

Nowadays, Hungary is regarded as an individualistic country (House et al., 2004; Bakacsi et al., 2002), however there are essential differences between the traditionally individualistic countries without decades-long socialist influence (i.e. the USA or the UK) and those emerged in the European political regime change. High level of individualism in Hungary has been shaded by the aftermath of the communist past which eventuated numerous negative effects such as citizens' high level of distrust in state institutions (Oross, 2013), intense money-orientation (Fülöp, 2005), a belief that individual effort is non-rewarded (Fülöp, 2005, 2007; Macek et al., 1998), a view that competition is mostly negative (Fülöp, 2002), inadequate psychological coping with situations of winning and losing (Fülöp, 2005), and a rather pessimistic and uncertain view of the future (Hideg & Nováky, 2002).

There has been very scarce research assessing I-C orientation among Hungarian youth. Ten years after the regime change Csukonyi et al. (1999) investigated I-C among Hungarian university students with the Singelis (1995) Individualism and Collectivism Scale and via a value questionnaire based on values described by Schwartz's (1994). They identified four different groups based on the results: the Individualist, the Collectivist, the Complex (scores high both on individualism and collectivism) and the Rejecting (prefer neither individualism nor collectivism). The preference was equal towards collectivism and individualism. Since this almost 20 years-old study no further research has focused on individualism – collectivism in terms of self-concept and values among Hungarian youth.

The present research

Although several studies imply the increasing tendency of individualism among Hungarian youth, most research did not measure explicitly individualism and collectivism or applied I-C as an interpretative framework. Large-scale studies involving Hungary focused typically on adult samples and did not provide culturally embedded description of the participating countries (e.g. House et al., 2004; Owe et al., 2013). Hence, there is little knowledge on the cultural orientation of the Hungarian youth. Moreover, there has been no study that measured the 'Beta generation's' value orientation, self-construal and beliefs of personhood and compared these characteristics to the value orientation, self-construal and beliefs of personhood of those who were born and socialized in the socialist system and experienced the system change in their adulthood.

The study to be presented was part of a broader research project involving 33 nations that measured identity constructs and cultural orientation (Owe et al., 2013; Becker et al., 2012; Becker et al., 2014; Vignoles et al., 2016). In the present paper, we focus on the Hungarian data and that segment of the research that aimed to (1) measure the I-C orientation in Hungary with various facets of the construct, and (2) compare the cultural orientation of young and adult Hungarians in order to identify the potential differences between the generation of the system change and the 'Beta' generation of young people. The original research project focused on the multinational comparison and did not analyse data of individual countries and did not provide country specific explanations. The goal of the present study was to concentrate on the Hungarian data and to reveal what they demonstrate about the current status of individualism and collectivism of two generations in a post-socialist country almost three decades after the political system change.

The main three facets of the I-C orientation construct of the multinational research project (Owe et al., 2013; Becker et al., 2012; Becker et al., 2014; Vignoles et al., 2016) were selected to assess the Hungarian participants regarding their self-construct, value system and beliefs of personhood.

Self-construct. Despite the ongoing debate on the conceptualization and multidimensionality of I-C, researchers agree that the central aspect of the construct is the relative emphasis on the self in relation to others (Hofstede, 2001). The self-approach towards culture suggests that culture shapes the way people think about themselves and their relation to others. Members of collectivistic cultures tend to view the self as interconnected with others whereas members of individualistic cultures consider the self as a unique entity independent from others (Gudykunst & Lee, 2003; Markus and Kitayama, 1991; Singelis, 1994). Although Markus and Kitayama (1991) stated that self-construal is a mediator in the culture-behaviour relationship, over time the independent–interdependent self-construals have been considered almost identical with I-C orientation and have dominated in the measurement (Owe et al., 2013).

Values. Beside the representation of the self, values form the second important dimension of the I-C orientation which has been suggested an appropriate construct to investigate the influence of societal changes over time (Owe et al., 2013). Values are expressions of the individuals' motivational goals and serve as guiding principles for attitude formation and behaviour (Schwartz, 1992). Currently, Schwartz's (1992) model of human values is the most well-established approach. The model describes an individual-level value structure of 10 value types. Gheorghiu et al. (2009) suggested to organize the values (except for hedonism) into two higher-order bipolar dimensions which express orientation towards individualism versus collectivism: (1) Openness to Change versus Conservation and (2) Self-enhancement versus Self-transcendence. These higher-order value dimensions converge well with Individualism (Openness to change and Self-enhancement) and Collectivism (Conservation and Self-transcendence).

Contextualism. Beside self-concepts and values, beliefs of personhood have been a less studied dimension of I-C, however, studies emphasize its growing importance (Bond et al., 2004; Owe et al., 2013). The construct of contextualism, specifically refers to the perceived importance of the context in understanding people. This includes social and relational contexts, such as family, social groups, and social positions, but also physical environments (Owe et al., 2013). There are cross-cultural differences in the way individuals use context in defining people (Shweder & Bourne, 1984; Owe et al., 2013). In understanding people, members of individualist cultures tend to provide a context-free description, whereas members of collectivistic cultures take into account the social context (Miller, 1984; Morris & Peng, 1994). Owe et al. (2013) propose contextualism as an essential facet of collectivism to measure beliefs about people.

Building on the research cited in the present paper, the goal of the present study is to investigate and compare the self-construct, value system and beliefs of personhood of two different generations of Hungarians: the older generation raised in a socialist regime and the younger 'Beta generation' being born already in a capitalist society. Based on the cited studies, we hypothesize that Hungarians can be characterized by individualistic tendencies. Regarding generational differences we assume that young Hungarians are more individualistic than the older generation. Given the international aspect of the original research project (including traditional Western European market economies and other post-socialist countries), we propose to interpret the results within a comparative framework.

Method

Sample

Two different datasets were obtained from a larger cross-cultural study (see Owe et al., 2013). For the first dataset, data was collected in four different Hungarian high schools in Budapest. Parental consents and permission from the principal of the schools were obtained prior to the data collection. Participants were high school students ($N = 239$) aged 16-20 (M=17.51, SD = .80). The sample consisted of 115 male (M_{age} = 17.57, SD_{age} = .73) and 123 female respondents (M_{age} = 17.45, SD_{age} = .86). In one case gender was not specified. The second dataset contained an adult sample with 122 individuals aged 37-75 (M = 40.02, SD = 12.17). It consisted of 71 male (M_{age} = 41.90, SD_{age} = 13.18) and 51 female (M_{age} = 37.41, SD_{age} = 10.16) respondents. Because one of the aims of the study was to explore the potential differences between generations socialized in different eras (before and after the end of the communist governance), participants of the original multination study who were under the age of 36 were removed from the sample. The age restriction indicated that participants under the given age limit were 10 years old or younger at the end of communist era in Hungary, thus they may have been less affected by the socialization process of the system.

Materials

Portrait Values. Value orientation was measured using Schwartz's 21-item *Portrait Value Questionnaire* (PVQ; Schwartz et al., 2001). Four higher-order values were calculated: *Self-transcendence* (Universalism, Benevolence), *Self-enhancement* (Achievement, Power), *Conservation* (Conformity, Traditio, Security) and *Openness to change (*Self-direction, Stimulation). Based on these dimensions, we further calculated two bipolar variables: *Self-focused (Self-enhancement) vs. other-focused* (*Self-transendence*) and *Independence (Openness to change) vs. Interdependence (Conservation)*. Responses were rated from *1 (Very much like me) to 6 (Not like me at all)*. Items were reversed and therefore higher scores indicate greater values. The internal consistency of the values were good/acceptable on the present sample (*Openness to change:* α = *.76; Self-transcendence:* α = *.63; Conservation:* α = *.66; Self-enhancement:* α = *.75*).

Contextualism (defined as a set of beliefs related to the context in understanding individuals) was measured with a 6-item scale, developed by Owe et al. (2013). Responses were rated from *1 (Completely disagree) to 6 (Completely agree)*. The scale included items such as *"To understand a person well, it is essential to know about which social groups he/she is a member of"*, or *"To understand a person well, it is essential to know about his/her family"*. The scale showed relatively good internal consistency on the present sample (α = *.77)*.

Self-construal among the high school students was measured using a short version of the *Gudykunst Self-construal Scale* (Gudykunst, Matsumoto, Ying-Toomey and Nishida, 1996), with the inclusion of 22 items. 13 items measured independence (e.g.: *"It is important for me to act as an independent person"*), and 9 items measured interdependence (e.g.: *"I will sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of my group"*). Responses were rated from *1 (completely disagree)* to *7 (completely agree)*. Both factors showed relatively good internal reliability on the present sample *(Independence:* α = *.72; Interdependence:* α = *.68)*.

The adult respondents completed a somewhat different version of the scale with reworded items. This way, sixteen items were included in the analysis, eight measuring *independence* (α = .61) and eight measuring *interdependence* (α = .63). This version of the scale rates responses from *1 (completely disagree)* to *9 (completely agree)*.

Results

Means and standard deviations are shown in Table 1.

Results show that when values were combined into the four higher order values, young respondents valued the dimensions in the following, descending order: *Openness to change (M = 4.52, SD = .98)*; *Self-transcendence (M = 4.36, SD = .87)*; *Self-enhancement (M = 4.01, SD = 1.01)*; *Conservation* (M = 3.30, SD = .85). Following Owe et al. (2013) procedure to define the position each group on the two bipolar dimensions we deducted 1. from the mean of *Openness to change* the mean of *Conservation* and this constituted the score of this group on the *Independence-interdependence* dimension; 2. from the mean of *Self-transcendence* the mean of *Self-enhancement* was deducted and this constituted the score of this group on the *Other-focused – self-focused* dimension. The *Independence – interdependence* dimension scored *1.22* in favour of *Independence*, whereas the *Other-focused- Self-Focused* dimension scored *0.35* in favour of *Other-focused values*.

Adult participants had the following mean scores on the PVQ's higher order dimensions in declining order: *Self-transcendence (M = 4.35, SD = .95); Openness to change (M = 4.16, SD = .87); Conservation (M = 3.88, SD = .87); Self-enhancement (M = 3.48, SD = 1.04)*. On the two bipolar dimensions the score was *0.28* for the *Independence – Interdependence* dimension in favour of *Independence* and *0.87* for the *Other-focused – self-focused* dimension, in favour of *Other-Focused* values.

Table 1
Descriptive statistics and between subject comparisons for the young and adult sample

		Young		Adult		F
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
PVQ	Openness to change	4.52	0.98	4.16	0.87	11.64*
	Self-trasendence	4.36	0.87	4.35	0.95	0.02
	Self-enhancement	4.01	1.01	3.48	1.04	21.21**
	Conservation	3.3	0.85	3.88	0.87	35.44**
	Independence-interdependence***	1.22	-	0.28	-	-
	Other focused-self focused ***	0.35	-	0.87	-	-
Contextualism		2.78	0.88	3.34	0.98	32.26**
Self-construal	Independence	6.93	0.9	6.15	1.01	-
	Interdependence	5.69	1.11	5.37	0.97	-

Note: *p<.05;**p<.001; *** bipolar means

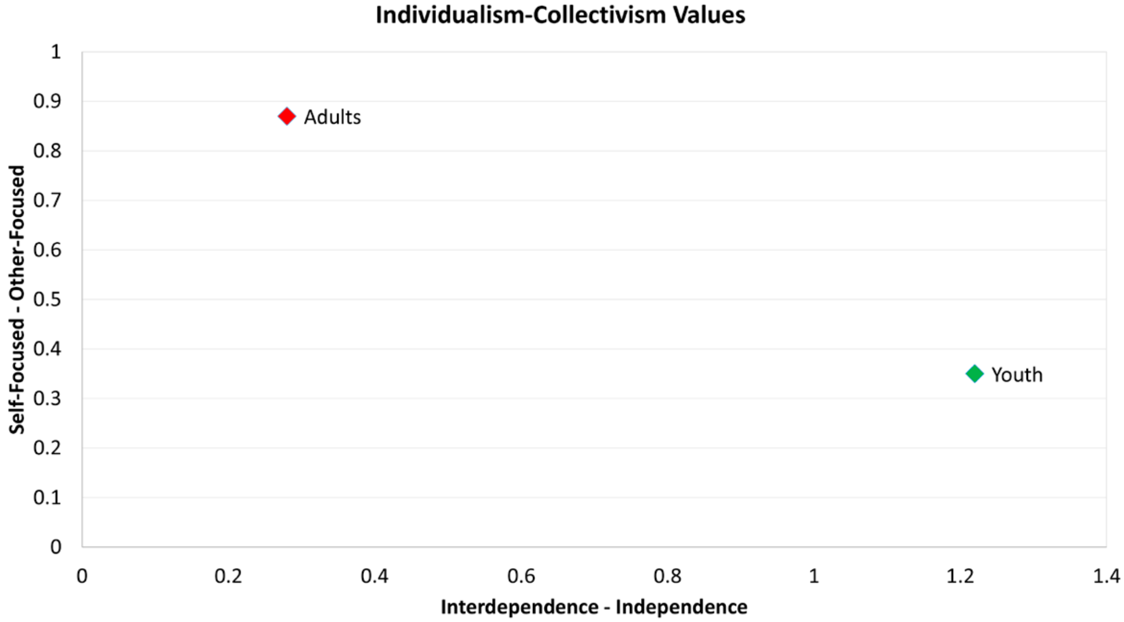

Figure 1. Vertical axis: Self-focused-Versus Other Focused: Adults: 0.87; Students: 0.35. Horizontal Axis: Interdependence-Independence: Adults: 0.28; Students: 1.22

The mean value of *Contextualism* was $M = 2.78$, $SD = .88$ in the high school sample which indicates that the high school respondents rather disagreed with statements that emphasized the context-embedded understanding of people. The average score of the adult sample on the *Contextualism* scale was $M = 3.34$, $SD = .98$, indicating that they attributed a moderately positive importance to the context in making a person who he or she is.

Analysis of the *Self-construal Scale* showed that the young respondents had significantly higher scores ($t(176) = 11.75$, $p < .001$) on the *Independence* scale ($M = 6.93$, $SD = .90$), compared to the *Interdependence* scale ($M = 5.69$, $SD = 1.11$).

Adult respondents gave significantly higher average ratings ($t(121) = 5.21$, $p < .001$) for questions regarding i*ndependence* ($M = 6.15$, $SD = 1.01$), compared to *interdependence* ($M = 5.37$, $SD = .97$) as well.

Generational differences

To analyse the differences between the two age groups, Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) was carried out on the *PVQ's* 4 higher order dimensions. Wilks's statistic revealed a significant effect between the two groups $\lambda = 0.84$, $F(4, 348) = 16.49$, $p = .000$. The follow-up univariate ANOVAs showed that adult respondents had significantly higher scores on the *Conservation* $F(1, 351) = 35{,}44$, $p = .000$ dimension, whereas young respondents had higher scores on the *Openness to change* $F(1, 351) = 11.64$, $p = .001$ and on the *Self-enhancement dimensions* $F(1, 351) = 21.21$, $p = .000$. Figure 1 shows that the young, high school student participants endorse other-focused values less and values of independence more than their adult counterparts.

In addition, a separate univariate ANOVA revealed that adult respondents had significantly higher scores on the *Contextualism* scale, compared to young respondents $F(1,371) = 32.26$, $p = .000$. Due to the administration of different versions of the *Self-construal scale*, comparisons in this case could not be carried out.

Discussion

Dimensions of values, self-construals and contextualism beliefs have been theorized as elements of the same cultural syndrome of individualism-collectivism (Triandis, 1993, Owe et al., 2013). The results of the present study consistently indicate individualistic tendencies both among the participating Hungarian adults who came to age in the socialist system (1948 – 1989) and among Hungarian adolescents, the post-socialist generation being born after the political system change in 1989. Although to different extent, but both age groups proved to be self-directed and open to challenges, however they both endorsed more other-focused than self-focused values. Young people's as well as adults' self-construal was characterized by more independence than interdependence. Young people tended to possess a more decontextualized conception of persons, while adults attributed more weight to contextual factors i.e. social position.

Beside the prevalence of individualism in both samples, the results also show generational differences. Young Hungarian people compared to the older generation are characterized by stronger individualistic tendencies: they are more open towards changes than adults, they value self-enhancement more while values related to conservation like acceptance of tradition and security are more important for the older generation. Hungarian adults appear to be more other-focused than the younger generation. They also define their self as less independent than young people and view others more in a contextual manner as opposed to the young who tend to decontextualize more.

These differences found between two generations of Hungarians could be attributed to age differences as well as cohort differences. Previous studies widely report age-related changes in values; age correlates positively with collectivistic values such as conservatism and self-transcendence and negatively with individualistic values such as self-enhancement and openness to change (Datler, Jagodzinski, & Schmidt, 2013; Ritter & Freund, 2014; Robinson, 2013; Schwartz & Rubel, 2005). More recently, Fung et al. (2016) revealed that age- related changes in values seem to be universal independent from cultural values; both individualistic and collectivistic cultures show the same pattern. An alternative or parallel explanation can be the cohort difference. The participating adults were exposed to the socialist ideology focusing on the collective and common goods and heavily despising self-interest and autonomy. The "Beta generation" of our study however experienced just the opposite, i.e. the overwhelming manifestation of self-interest and the ignorance of public interest. Therefore the stronger individualistic tendencies among the young may also be the consequence of a dramatically changed socio-political environment of the post-socialist Hungary emphasizing the importance of individual success, competition and entrepreneurship (Fülöp, 2005).

In Owe et al. (2013) study Hungarian young people when compared to their peers in other participating countries proved to be more individualistic (i.e. traditional Western European market economies like e.g. the UK or Belgium; other post-socialist countries like e.g. Poland or Romania and a number of countries outside Europe as well). They had almost the highest value on the interdependent-independent dimension towards independence and they were among the least other-focused groups on the self-focused – other-focused dimension. Fülöp et al. (2004) also found that Hungarian high school students had a more positive attitude towards the capitalist market economy and competition in the business life than French high school students growing up in a traditional market economy. The excessive individualism of Hungarian middle managers in the GLOBE study (House et al., 2004) and our results of high school students also indicating excessive individualism in international comparison (Owe et al., 2013) pose the question of a rebound effect, namely that the socialist regime could not indoctrinate Hungarians to be collectivistic, (e.g. Hankiss et al., 1983; Kertész et al., 1986; Hunyady, 1996), and the individualism which was suppressed or kept under control surfaced itself with "double strength" after the political changes when celebrating individualism became the norm.

Although we found age-related differences in relation to openness to change, self-enhancement and conservation values, surprisingly, our study did not reveal difference in self-transcendence values. Whereas previous studies showed that self-transcendence increases with age (Datler et al., 2013; Ritter & Freund, 2014; Robinson, 2013), in our study self-transcendence values emphasizing universalism and benevolence were almost equally important for the

Hungarian youth and adults. According to Inglehart (1997) economic development has a great influence on value system. Societies with increasing economic and existential security shift from materialist values toward post-materialist values emphasizing self-expression and quality of life over economic and physical security (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). The worldview and value system of those who experienced the system change in their young adulthood were shaped by an insecure environment in the turmoil of political, economic and social changes that resulted in the preference for materialist values (Inglehart, 1997). However, with age even in less affluent societies the importance of self-transcendence values is increasing. Hungarian high school students were already brought up well after socio-political changes in an economically more stable capitalist Hungary with increased financial security and abundant possibilities that open up a path towards a post-materialist value orientation. Recent Hungarian Youth Surveys indeed show that the importance of post-materialist and transcendence values are increasing and materialist value orientation is slightly decreasing in the value profile of young Hungarians (Bauer, 2002; Bauer & Szabó, 2005). Although post-materialism and self-transcendence are typically explained in different conceptual framework, there is a considerable overlap between the concepts both emphasizing non-materialist and humanistic goals like social justice, benevolence and nurture. Therefore, in case of self-transcendence, there seems to be a mixed effect of developmental and societal factors; the high prevalence of self-transcendence in the younger generation can be attributed to a gradual movement towards more post-materialistic values, whereas in the older generation who experienced a highly materialistic society after the system change in 1989 to becoming older i.e. to age-related changes.

Although the study provides an insight into how individualism and collectivism has changed in the post-socialist Hungary among two generations, it is not free from limitations. First, the study is a cross-sectional study and not a longitudinal one, which would be especially interesting in case of the adult sample. Unfortunately, historical changes cannot be predicted and be addressed in advance by a research design. In our study it is not possible to deconstruct what is age related change and what is a cohort effect which would be more directly related to socio-political changes. Moreover, the study focused on the effect of political transition, nevertheless there are still crucial changes (globalization, migration) that affect the Hungarian mindset. Future studies should apply a longitudinal design to investigate the value system and self- construct within the same person over time to gain a more thorough understanding of self, beliefs and values in a fast-changing environment.

In sum, the findings indicate that individualism is a deeply rooted cultural orientation in Hungary not influenced strongly by the principles and practices of the past political system. Individualistic tendencies might be controlled by political rules and social norms and prescriptions but the original common culture of Hungarians could not be erased even in the socialist system. The system change made it possible and encouraged to express this individualism without constraints and this is especially visible among the young participants who have never had to exert control on their individualism. In contrast to a kind of common sense belief that citizens of a post-socialist country should be more collectivistic as a result of the ideology of the former political system, the opposite is true in case of the examined Hungarian participants. When our results are placed into an international comparative framework both Hungarian adults and young people are among the most individualistic (Bakacsi et al., 2002; House et al., 2004; Owe et al., 2013).

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ORIGINAL

Validation of the Bolino and Turnley's Impression Management Scale in a Mexican Sample

Validación de la Escala de Manejo de Impresiones de Bolino y Turnley en una Muestra Mexicana

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Abstract
Impression Management (IM) states that: 1) People know how others perceive them, 2) People attempt to control such perceptions. Bolino and Turnley (1999) developed an IM Scale based on Jones and Pittman's (1982) taxonomy of five strategies: Self-promotion, Ingratiation, Exemplification, Intimidation, and Supplication. The purpose of this study was to validate the IM Scale using a Mexican sample, evaluating reliability scores and dimensionality. A nomological network for IM was performed considering the Five-factor Personality traits, Social desirability, and Sense of control. Results prove adequate internal reliability and confirm the instrument's five factor structure. Our psychometric findings support the premise that IM may overlap with other psychological constructs, providing evidence of its construct validity.

Keywords: Impression Management, Factor Analysis, Validity, Personality, Nomological Network

Resumen
El Manejo de Impresión (MI) se refiere a que: 1) Las personas generalmente saben cómo son percibidas por otras personas, 2) La gente intenta controlar dichas percepciones. Bolino y Turnley (1999) desarrollaron una Escala de MI con base en la taxonomía de Jones y Pittman (1982) de cinco estrategias: Autopromoción, Congraciamiento, Ejemplificación, Intimidación, y Súplica. El objetivo de este estudio fue validar la Escala de MI en una muestra mexicana, evaluando puntajes de consistencia interna y dimensionalidad. Se realizó una red nomológica para el MI considerando los Cinco Factores de Personalidad, Deseabilidad Social, y Control Percibido. Los resultados muestran una consistencia interna adecuada y confirman las cinco estrategias originalmente planteadas. Los hallazgos apoyan la premisa de que el MI incluye otros constructos psicológicos, dando evidencia adicional de su validez de constructo.

Palabras Clave: Manejo de Impresiones, Análisis Factorial, Validez, Personalidad, Red Nomológica

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Impression Management (IM), works on a basic premise: It refers to the idea that people are aware of how others usually perceive and judge them, and it also refers to the means and efforts by which people attempt to control those perceptions (Bolino & Turnley, 2003b; Kacmar, Harris, & Nagy, 2007; Leary & Kowalsky, 1990; Paulhus, 2002; Paulhus & Trapnell, 2008; Rosenfeld, Giacalone, & Riordan, 1995). The purpose of this study was to develop a nomological network for IM and to provide evidence of convergent and divergent validity. A nomological network refers to the ways in which different variables relate to each other hypothetically. In Psychology, it refers to one of the many ways one can achieve construct validity (Borsboom, Cramer, Kient, Scholten & Franic, 2009).

Bolino and Turnley (2003a, 2003b), and Harris, Kacmar, Ziunuska and Shaw (2007), state that the ability to manage and control expressive behaviors is a prerequisite to effective social and interpersonal functioning. They claim that people high on self-monitoring are more likely to observe and control their IM behaviors perceived on situational cues to what an acceptable behavior is, similar to what happens with Social Desirability (SD). According to Nichols (2011), social desirability and IM are clearly correlated, although little has been done as means to link them as part of a conceptual framework. These two concepts could be linked on the premise that SD is based on the premise that individuals make an effort to portray themselves favorably, enhancing his skills, prowess, and social values avoiding social disapproval (Acosta & Dominguez, 2012, 2014; Dominguez & Van de Vijver, 2014; Lalwani, Shrum & Chiu, 2009; Paulhus, 1984, 2002). In this line of reasoning, SD is not a manifestation of a deliberately distorted self-presentation, but reflects the tendency to manage one's self-image within social contexts and demands in order to adapt in a favorable way.

As previously stated, IM refers to the many ways individuals have of controlling their image to others. In any given situation, people integrate what they know about the social interaction with what they know about themselves with information specific to the current context to create socially acceptable self-images or behaviors (Nichols, 2011). This motivation for presentation is based upon the desire of avoiding being seen negatively (Domínguez & Van de Vijver, 2014; Lalwani et al., 2009). Some IM scales have measured the extent to which individuals purposely deceive others so they will be perceived more favorably. In Paulhus' words (1998, 2002), respondents to any scale systematically overreport their performance in a wide variety of desirable behaviors and underreport undesirable conducts.

The existing empirical research of IM has had important issues. Namely, it has mainly focused on only a few IM strategies, relied heavily on student samples, and lacked empirical assessments of previous IM frameworks (Bolino & Turnley, 2003; Kacmar et al., 2007); which is all probably due to the absence of a widely accepted measure of IM (Rao, Schmidt, & Murray, 1995). Another limitation are the measures employed to assess IM. Researchers have generally assessed it using either the Wayne and Ferris (1990), the Kumar and Beyerlein (1991), or Paulhus' BIDR (1984, 1998) scales. Bolino and Turnley (1999) argue that, in spite of their advantages, these scales have limitations in their use. About the Wayne and Ferris one (1990), they argue that it lacks sufficient reliability and validity properties of one of its subscales and many of its items, and ambiguity in the meaning of the dimensions it measures. Shortcomings of the Kumar and Beyerlein scale (1991) include its specific focus on ingratiation, and validity issues.

Jones and Pittman (1982) introduced a broad taxonomy composed of five theoretical groupings of IM strategies: Self-promotion, in which individuals point out their abilities or accomplishments with the purpose of being seen as competent; Ingratiation, or the employment of favors and flattery to attain likeability from observers; Exemplification, involves the use of self-sacrifice or going "above and beyond" in a task; Intimidation, where people signal their power or potential to punish and are perceived as dangerous by others; and Supplication, or the advertising of one's weakness in order to be seen as needy.

Bolino and Turnley (1999, 2003b) set to develop a measure that addressed the taxonomy proposed by Jones and Pittman (1982). The authors employed the first five steps of the procedure that Hinkin (1998) suggested to develop a scale: 1) item generation, 2) questionnaire administration, 3) initial item reduction, 4) confirmatory factor analysis, and 5) convergent/discriminant validity. A 22-item measure resulted, with evidence of acceptable levels of reliability and validity. However, the authors suggested further testing of the instrument to corroborate that the guidelines established by Hinkin had been met.

To date, a valid instrument to assess IM is non-existent in Mexico. Therefore, the objective of the present study is to parallel Bolino and Turnley's validation efforts of an IM scale (1999) in a Mexican population. Taking into consideration the authors' theoretical framework and suggestions for future research, this study is divided into two phases, each one pursuing a different objective. The first one evaluates internal reliability and factor structure of the IM Scale; and the second one assesses a nomological network for IM by testing its relationship with other variables (the five-factor model of personality traits, social desirability, and sense of control).

Several empirical studies have found IM to be significantly and positively related with personality traits such as agreeableness and conscientiousness (Barrick & Mount, 1996; Kacmar et al., 2007; Li & Bagger, 2006; Meston, Heiman, Trapnell, & Paulhus, 1998; Robie, Komar, & Brown, 2010), friendliness, emotional stability, and control. Also, sense of control has been found to have a positive relationship with IM (Silvester, Anderson-Gough, Anderson, & Mohamed, 2002). However, there are still some psychological constructs, such as social desirability, that have only been suggested as theoretically relevant in the field of IM research (Nichols, 2011; Karam, Sekaja, & Geldenhuys, 2016), or haven't been widely evaluated

Therefore, our hypotheses were as follows: 1) The five factor structure reported by Bolino and Turnley (1999) will be replicated in a Mexican sample, and 2) IM will correlate positively and significantly with personality, SD, and sense of control.

Study 1

The purpose of this study was to translate and validate Bolino and Turnley's IM Scale, based on Jones and Pittman's taxonomy, on a Mexican sample.

Method

Participants

A total convenience sample of 741 Mexicans (435 women, 306 men) was used for this study, with ages ranging from 15 to 70 years (M=31.11 years, SD=13.21). 51% of the participants reported having high school education, 61% reported being single, and 44% reported being active students.

Instrument

Using the procedure proposed by Brislin (1970), the Bolino and Turnley IM Scale (1999) was translated from english into spanish, and back-translated into english by a third party in order to verify the initial translation's precision. The scale consists of 22 items that measure five IM strategies: 1) Self-promotion (e.g., Make people aware of your accomplishements), 2) Ingratiation (e.g., Use flattery and favors to make your colleagues like you more), 3) Exemplification (e.g., Arrive early at school in order to look dedicated), 4) Intimidation (e.g., Deal strongly or aggressively with coworkers who interfere in your business), and 5) Supplication (e.g., Pretend not to understand something to gain someone's help). Bolino and Turnley report Cronbach Alpha's reliability coefficients for each of the five dimensions are .73, .83, .75, .86, and .88, respectively. Moreover, the authors reported adequate fit indices for the scale, as assessed by the Goodness of Fit Index (GFI= .91), the Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI= .92), and the Comparative Fit Index (CFI= .94). The scale was presented in a five-point Likert format from *I totally disagree* (1) to *I totally agree* (5).

Procedure

The instrument was applied in public spaces, both individually and in groups. All participation for this study was anonymous and voluntary, and no monetary compensation was offered for any participation.

Results

Reliability analysis were conducted for each of the five strategies, obtaining Cronbach's Alpha scores as follows: Ingratiation (Ingr) = .79, supplication (Sup)

= .84; self-promotion (Self) = .77; Exemplification (Exem) = .70; and Intimidation (Int)= .77.

Congruent to Jones and Pittman's proposal, we decided to force the item pool's factor analysis to a five factor solution (see Table 1). It can be observed that the factor loading of Sup12 item (Try to gain assistance or sympathy from people by appearing needy in some area) does not correspond with the rest of its dimension's items, despite having an adequate communality (.53). The Sup18 item (Act like you know less than you do so people will help you out) loads with nearly .40 in two factors. As for the Int11 item (Deal strongly or aggressively with coworkers who interfere in your business), it resulted with a communality of .27 and a marginal factor loading of .39. Finally, the Exem8 item (Try to appear busy, even at times when things are slower) fails to load distinctively in correspondence with its dimension's items, and has no factor loadings equal or greater than .40. All five factors of this second EFA's solution had at least three items in them with relevant factor loadings. This suggests that, even though some items can have ambiguous loadings, the scale can be considered multidimensional with five factors, partially supporting our first hypothesis.

In order to verify if the five-factor solution was psychometrically adequate, a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was performed, proposing a recursive

Table 1
Factor loadings of an analysis by maximum verosimilitude in a forced five-factor solution

Items	1	2	3	4	5	Communalities
Ingr1	-.13	-.01	**.65**	-.08	.21	.41
Ingr 7	-.03	.08	**.82**	-.14	.02	.61
Ingr 15	.18	.04	**.62**	.11	-.12	.59
Ingr 20	.02	.03	**.53**	.31	-.10	.53
Sup2	-.06	.01	.15	-.16	**.79**	.54
Sup3	.05	.06	-.04	-.04	**.80**	.63
Sup6	.05	-.04	-.01	.31	**.51**	.60
Sup12	.18	-.07	.07	.36	.25	.53
Sup18	.07	-.07	-.08	**.40**	.39	.51
Self4	-.05	**.60**	.12	.01	.10	.45
Self10	-.06	**.60**	-.01	.01	-.05	.33
Self17	.10	**.73**	.03	.03	-.02	.64
Self22	.01	**.69**	-.01	.07	.01	.51
Exem5	-.06	.02	.31	**.41**	.02	.39
Exem8	.32	-.11	.32	.02	.06	.33
Exem13	-.02	.02	-.08	**.85**	-.04	.59
Exem19	-.09	.08	.01	**.72**	-.08	.41
Int9	**.70**	-.08	.12	-.11	.03	.47
Int11	.39	.31	-.14	-.09	.11	.27
Int14	**.70**	.01	.01	.04	-.04	.51
Int16	**.83**	.07	-.09	-.08	-.05	.55
Int21	**.60**	-.07	-.02	.11	.04	.46
Eigenvalues	*7.41*	*2.36*	*1.47*	*1.05*	*0.99*	
% explained variance	*31.46*	*8.5*	*4.3*	*2.47*	*2.43*	

Note: Bold-faced numbers have >.40 factor loadings. Ingr = ingratiation; Sup = supplication; Self = self-promotion; Exem = exemplification; and Int= intimidation.

model based on a maximum likelihood estimation (see Figure 1). Since the sample's size was large, the chi-squared statistic became very sensitive and suggested a poor fit $\chi^2(196, N = 741) = 680.800$, $p < .001$. However, by using the descriptive goodness-of-fit indexes of the original scale and a discrepancy index, the model turned out satisfactory (GFI=.92, TLI=.91, CFI=.92, RMSEA=.05) and fits the observed data. The correlations between the five strategies range from .24 to .81 and are all significant to the $p<.001$ level, being the highest correlation the one between Supplication and Exemplification (r=.86). It can be observed in this model that, unlike Table 1's results, no item is ambiguous because they all have factor loadings superior to .40 and are significant to the p. <.001 level. This provides additional evidence to our first hypothesis.

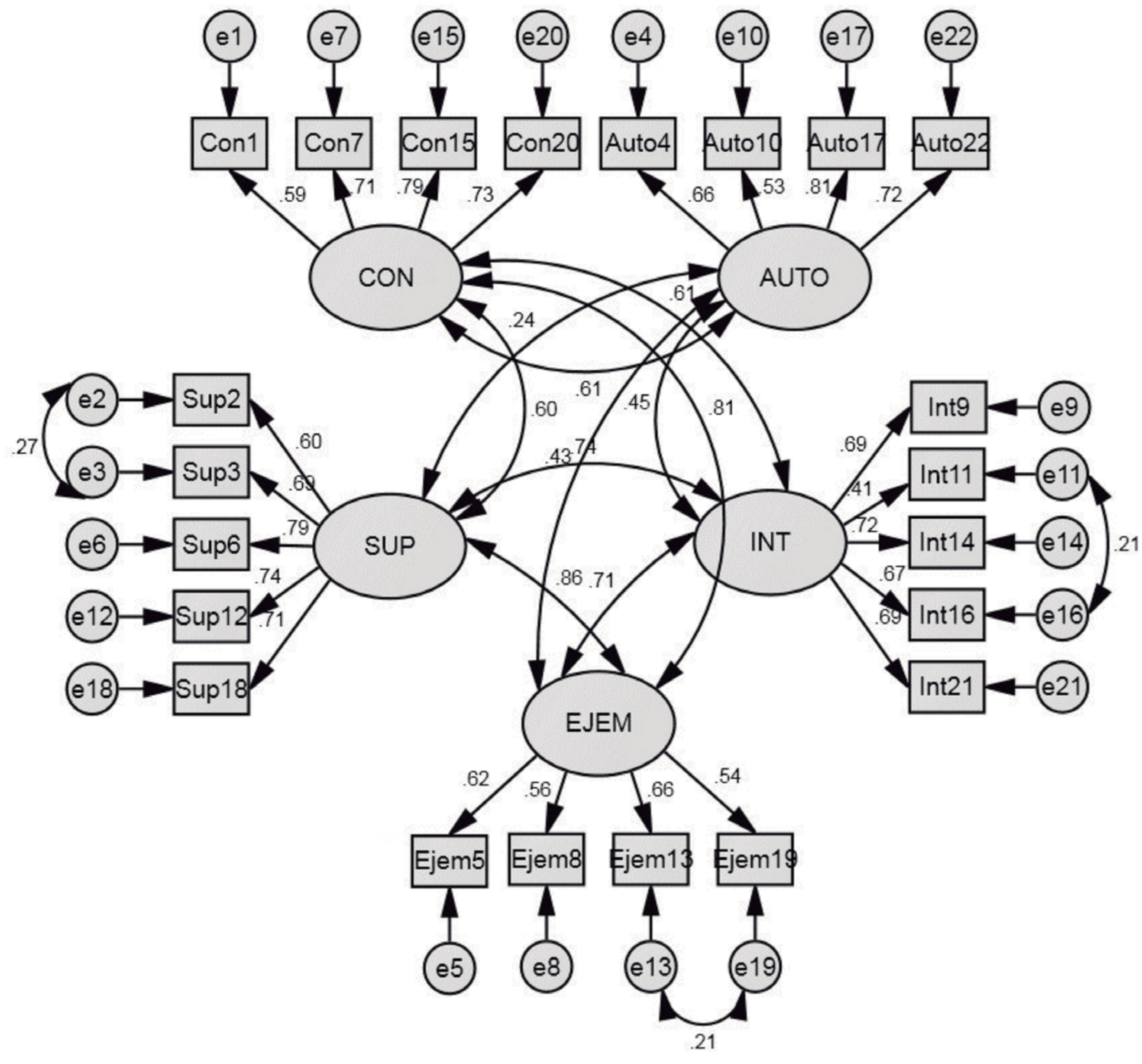

Figure 1. Standarized coefficients of the final model fit for the Bolino and Turnely IM Scale. Ingr = ingratiation; Sup = supplication; Self = self-promotion; Ejem = exemplification; and Int= intimidation. Latent constructs are shown in ellipses and observable variables in rectangles.

Study 2

The goal of this study was to establish a nomological network of IM, providing construct validity.

Method

Participants

A total convenience sample of 434 women and 237 men were used for this study, with ages from 15 to 70 years (M=30.5 years, SD=13.13).

Instruments

a) *The IM Scale* (Bolino & Turnley, 1999), validated in Study 1.
b) *NEO-FFi Personality Inventory* (McCrae & Costa Jr, 2004): Consisting of 60 items that measure five dimensions, with 12 items each: 1) Neuroticism, which measures the tendency to experience negative feelings such as fear, embarrassment, ire, etc. (e.g., I am not a persona who worries much); 2) Extraversion, assessing sociability, and preference for company and excitement (e.g., I really like having a lot of people around me); 3) Openness, measuring the interest for the external world and new experiences (e.g., I frequently try new foods or food from other countries); 4) Agreeableness, which assesses altruism and sympathy toward the others (e.g., I try to be friendly toward everyone I meet); and 5) Conscientiousness, which measures the capacity for self-control of desires and impulses in order to attain goals (e.g., I keep my belongings clean and in order).
c) *Indigenous Social Desirability Scale* (Domínguez Espinosa & Van de Vijver, 2014): Conformed by 14 items, the scale measures two dimensions of social desirability: a positive one with six items (e.g., I easily forgive those who offend me) and a negative one with eight items (e.g., I tell lies if I know I won't be caught). The scale's fit measures for its bi-factorial solution have been reported as adequate.
d) *Sense of Control Scale* (Ross & Mirowsky, 1989): An instrument with a total of eight items, four of which measure the level of perceived control (e.g., I am responsible of my own success), and the rest measure the lack of control (e.g., I have little control over the bad things that happen to me).

The internal consistency for all scales was assessed by Cronbach's Alpha, and values for each instrument are presented on Table 2.

Results

Table 2 shows that the average scores for the Supplication and Exemplification strategies are the lowest, whereas the highest scores correspond to conscientiousness, agreeableness, and negative social desirability. It must be noted that all of the scores averaged under the theoretical mean (3).

Table 2
Descriptive analysis of the IM and personality variables

	M	SD	α
1. Ingratiation	2.38	0.92	.79
2. Supplication	1.82	0.74	.84
3. Self-promotion	2.97	0.92	.77
4. Exemplification	1.95	0.70	.70
5. Intimidation	2.03	0.77	.78
6. Neuroticism	2.65	0.58	.71
7. Extraversion	3.43	0.51	.72
8. Openness	3.41	0.64	.67
9. Agreeableness	3.59	0.57	.68
10.Conscientiousness	3.69	0.62	.81
11. P-SD	3.12	0.72	.70
12. N-SD	3.56	0.63	.80
13. Sense of Control	2.17	0.79	.71

Note: All variables range from 1 to 5. Variables numbered 1 through 5 are IM Strategies; variables 6 through 10 correspond to the five-factor model of personality; variables 11 and 12 are Positive SD and Negative SD; and variable 13 is the one factor solution for Sense of Control.

The correlations between IM strategies and other variables can be seen on Table 3. Note that neuroticism correlated positively and significantly with all of the IM strategies; the highest being its correlation with supplication. Extraversion correlated negatively with supplication and positively with self-promotion, Openness had a negative and moderate correlation with supplication, Agreeableness correlated negatively with all of the strategies, particularly with intimidation, and Conscientiousness did not correlate significantly with Self-promotion, although it correlated negatively with the rest of the strategies. As for social desirability, the positive dimension correlated negatively with intimidation, while the negative dimension did so with all of the strategies, especially with supplication and intimidation. Finally, the sense of control trait correlated positively with all the strategies, except for Self-promotion. Our second hypothesis is only partially supported.

In order to establish the correlation between the set of predictors with the set of five IM strategies, we ran a canonical correlation analysis, results that are presented on Table 4. Since there are five dependent variables, the same number of roots were obtained, out of which three have the most practical utility because their canonical correlation is greater than .30. The first root has the greatest significance and is therefore generally the only one to be interpreted. However, the other roots reflect interesting results. The first root suggests that intimidation and supplication are greater when there is less agreeableness and acceptance of errors. The second root indicates that, with more extraversion and less agreeableness, there is more intimidation and self-promotion. It can be seen in the third root that there is more self-promotion and ingratiation when there is more extraversion and positive social desirability. Then, the fourth root shows that with less conscientiousness there is less exemplification. Lastly, in the fifth root one can observe that with less narcissism and sense of control there is less ingratiation. The five roots, in total, explain 24% of the variance for IM.

Discussion

Our effort to parallel the validation of Bolino and Turnley's IM scale has been fruitful, translated into Spanish, supporting evidence of its validity in a Mexican sample. The factor analysis confirms the presence of a five-factor solution, as reported previously by the instrument's authors (Bolino & Turnley, 1999, 2003a, 2003b). Not only this confirms the original configuration of the five dimensions but also stretches its temporal stability across time. The psychometric evidence shows that our translation replicates Jones and Pittman's (1982) taxonomy, maintaining its stability in a different cultural context (Karam et al., 2016). These psychometric properties enhance the scale's usefulness and its attractiveness to students and scholars worldwide.

Although the scale was originally developed for its use in organizations (Bolino & Turnley, 2003a, 2003b; Harris et al., 2007), it has proven useful in evaluating IM in other contexts, such as ours. Not only this confirms that the construct's structure is stable across contexts but it also supports Jones and Pittman's (1982) theory and Kacmar et al.'s (2007) findings. Our results suggest how big can the scope be with IM, and how it can be used in everyday contexts. Also, almost any given psychological construct can manifest distinctively in different cultural contexts. Triandis, Bontempo, Leung & Hui (1990) state that

Table 3
Inter-scale correlations of the IM dimensions and the personality traits

	Ingratiation	Supplication	Self-promotion	Exemplification	Intimidation
Neuroticism	.32**	.45**	.11*	.30**	.37**
Extraversion	-.04	-.31**	.24**	-.14**	-.11**
Openness	-.05	-.24**	.10*	-.15**	-.09*
Agreeableness	-.19**	-.45**	-.11**	-.29**	-.60**
Conscientiousness	-.24**	-.51**	-.01	-.28**	-.36**
P-SD	.08	-.08	.06	.02	-.22**
N-SD	-.40**	-.61**	-.21**	-.44**	-.54**
Sense of control	.31**	.44**	.05	.32**	.29**

Note: P-SD = positive social desirability; N-SD= negative social desirability. ***p*<.001, **p*<.01.

Table 4
Canonical correlation analysis of the IM strategies and the personality traits

	First root		Second root		Third root		Fourth root		Fifth root	
	Canonical Coefficients	r	Canonical Coefficients	r	Canonical Coefficients	r	Canonical Coefficients	r	Canonical Coefficients	r
Personality Traits										
Neuroticism	.20	.62	-.10	-.15	.32	.17	.40	.33	-.51	**-.40**
Extraversion	.02	-.36	.59	**.50**	.58	**.64**	.12	-.03	.16	.12
Openness	-.10	-.27	.24	.33	.22	.30	.55	.41	-.32	-.30
Agreeableness	-.36	**-.77**	-.73	**-.42**	.41	.32	.54	.13	.37	.13
Conscientousness	-.13	-.68	.26	.27	.16	.18	-.82	**-.45**	-.50	-.22
P-SD	-.03	-.23	-.40	-.37	.32	**.52**	-.48	-.35	-.08	-.03
N-SD	-.47	**-.87**	.02	.06	-.59	-.26	.21	.07	-.70	-.27
Sense of Control	.13	.57	-.22	-.36	.09	.12	-.22	-.08	-.70	**-.48**
IM strategies										
Ingratiation	-.02	.52	-.40	-.21	.59	**.69**	.64	.09	-.97	**-.45**
Supplication	.61	**.89**	-.63	-.36	-.13	.07	.49	.03	.92	.24
Self-promotion	-.11	.22	.40	**.42**	.74	**.83**	-.03	-.07	.81	.29
Exemplification	-.01	.60	-.20	-.22	.04	.34	-1.35	**-.67**	-.14	-.14
Intimidation	.55	**.85**	.95	**.49**	-.45	.05	.05	-.05	-.49	-.18
Canonical correlation	*.76*		*.47*		*.36*		*.12*		*.09*	
% of variance explained	*19.79*		*2.47*		*1.66*		*.12*		*.06*	

Note: P-SD = positive social desirability; N-SD= negative social desirability. The bold-faced coefficients are the highest ones in each root.

three different cultural levels (regional-geographical, socio-demographic, and individual) may shape the way different variables interact with each other. However, our findings suggest that some core characteristics exist within the original five-dimensional configuration that go beyond these cultural limitations and manifest in a relatively permanent fashion.

Just as Karam et al. (2016), Bolino and Turnley (1999), Clark (2011), and Kacmar et al. (2007) proposed, we included social desirability as one of the theoretically relevant variables linked to IM. Key constructs such as personality and social desirability moderate several processes such as need for power, self-monitoring, self-esteem, social performance and self-promotion, which shows the overall potential of the IM scale. Considering that IM has been considered as one of the many ways in which social desirability can arise, Uziel (2010) has proposed that when used not as a "validity tool", IM scales provide much substance. Uziel (2010) has proposed through an extensive review that, when used as an approach to measure traits, IM may be associated and used as indicator for approval, defensiveness, self-esteem, agreeableness, emotional stability, among other constructs.

Social behavior moderated by IM scores may have underlying desires to belong according to Baumeister & Leary (1995), Acosta and Domínguez (2012), Domínguez and Van de Vijver, (2014), and Lalwani et al. (2009), and considering that IM and its outcomes in other domains has been widely reviewed (Uziel, 2010), we may suggest, shedding some light in turn of our recent findings, that the implications of IM extend beyond social behavior and reflect a self-regulatory capacity.

Although the overall consistency of the scale was put to test and it rendered positive outcomes, a second look at the items could improve the coefficients in our results. Being able to identify poorly performing items could produce an even better scale and stronger statistical results. Other theoretically relevant variables could be included in further research, as the treatment of IM may have versatile applications in clinical, social, and even organizational approaches in psychology.

Finally, the examination of IM's nomological network suggests evidence of validity. Although the correlations could be higher, we demonstrated convergent validity between several subscales. Results from these tests demonstrate the overlap between different variables and shed some useful information for future research. These findings are even more impressive given that most of the research is conducted in Anglo-American and European contexts, which tend to differ significantly from Collectivist-Hispanic-Latin-American contexts such as the Mexican one. Our results, as well as Nichols' (2011) are not conclusive, there's still a whole field left to explore. Theoretical frameworks between our variables are quite similar, which could lead to thinking that we may be measuring interaction of these variables when trying to create favorable impressions, considering both internal thoughts and overt, expressed behaviors.

IM works in such a way that in gives people strategies to cope and blend into society and their social network (Dominguez & Van de Vijver, 2014; Lalwani et al., 2009; Tetlock & Manstead, 1985). IM allows every person to be conscious about how he or she projects into the world, satisfying personal and social needs. According to Acosta and Dominguez (2014), a solid understanding of IM, and how it relates to other variables can shed some light into understanding how and why people adjust their images in several social contexts, which could then in turn promote their wellbeing.

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ORIGINAL

The Psychosocial Factors of Academic Achievement: Three Different Theoretical Models

Factores Psicosociales del Logro Académico: Tres Modelos Teóricos Diferentes

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Abstract
Within individual factors that affect academic achievement, personality traits have been the least explored even though there is evidence that suggest conscientiousness, neuroticism and self-efficacy are direct contributors of academic achievement. We used a sample of 725 Mexican public high school students (M_{age} =18, SD_{age} =1.09, 59% female) to test three Path Analysis models based on those proposed by Stajkovic, Bandura, Locke, Lee and Sergent, (2018). Although the models present very similar fit statistics and explanatory power, the intrapersonal model is more parsimonious, presents better fit indices and was therefore chosen as our final model. The model identifies middle school GPA, self-efficacy, neuroticism and conscientiousness as direct predictors of high school academic achievement, and both extraversion and academic self-concept as indirect predictors when mediated by self-efficacy. Students can use the power of their own self-efficacy beliefs as support for staying in school, boosting their aptitudes and enhancing previously acquired knowledge. We would suggest the addition of stronger correlates to high school academic achievement such as self-control as well as experimental data on how easy cognitions and capabilities can change in the sample.

Keywords: Academic Achievement, HEXACO, High School Education, Self-efficacy

Resumen
Dentro de los factores académicos que afectan el logro académico, los rasgos de personalidad son de los factores menos explorados, aunque hay gran cantidad de evidencia que sugiere que la escrupulosidad, el neuroticismo y la autoeficacia contribuyen directamente al logro académico. Se utilizó una muestra de 725 estudiantes de escuelas preparatorias públicas (M_{edad}=18, DE_{edad}=1.09, 59% mujer) para poner a prueba tres modelos de trayectorias basados en los propuestos por Stajkovic, Bandura, Locke, Lee y Sergent, (2018). Aunque los modelos muestran índices de ajuste muy similares y poder explicativo, el modelo intrapersonal es más parsimonioso, presenta mejores índices de ajuste y por ende fue elegido como el modelo final. El modelo identifica el promedio de secundaria, la autoeficacia, el neuroticismo y la escrupulosidad como predictores directos del logro académico en preparatoria, y tanto la extroversión como el autoconcepto académico son predictores indirectos cuando son

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mediados por la autoeficacia. Los estudiantes pueden utilizar el poder de las creencias de su propia autoeficacia como apoyo para permanecer en la escuela, potenciando sus aptitudes y promoviendo el conocimiento adquirido previamente. Se sugiere la adición de correlatos más sólidos para el logro académico de preparatoria, tales como el autocontrol, así como datos experimentales para ver qué tan fácilmente pueden cambiar en la muestra, las cogniciones y capacidades.

Palabras Clave: **Logro Académico, HEXACO, Educación Preparatoria, Autoeficacia**

The International Program of Student Evaluation (Programa Internacional de Evaluación de Estudiantes [PISA], in Spanish), defines students with "low achievement" as those that obtain grades lower than Level 2 in the PISA exams for math, reading and science, provided Level 2 is considered the basic level of knowledge required to fully participate in a modern society. Mexico has a very high percentage of Level 2 students in science, mathematics and reading (47.8, 56.6, and 41.7, respectively), which locates them well above the levels of the whole OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) (21.2, 23.4, and 20.1 respectively) and the United States of America (20.3, 29.4 and 19 respectively) (OECD, 2018).

Academic achievement is a multidimensional variable that is related to structural (i.e., group size) (Rué et al., 2013), economic (i.e., family income) (Baoyan & Minggang, 2015; Chittleborough et al., 2014), pedagogical (i.e., type of teaching) (Ahmad et al., 2017; Guirguis & Pankowski, 2017), educational (i.e., previous GPA) (Cortés Flores & Palomar Lever, 2008; Geiser & Santelices, 2007; Pike & Saupe, 2002) and psychosocial factors (i.e., family support) (Shahed et al., 2016). The importance of researching academic achievement lies in its predictive power of social and occupational insertion (Flores-Crespo, 2002; Villarreal Guevara et al., 2009), higher income (Carrillo Regalado & Ríos Almodóvar, 2013; Post & Pong, 2009) and better quality of life (INEE, 2015).

The influence each of these factors have on academic achievement vary according to the different education levels students are attending. In basic education for instance, academic achievement is heavily influenced by parental support and supervision, while in high school and college, tutor supervision of compliance to academic goals is lower and more dependent on individual factors (Bornstein, 2002; Camacho-Thompson, Gillen-O'Neel, Gonzales, & Fuligni, 2016).

In practice, the vast majority of research destined to explain academic success or failure, measure academic achievement through the Grade Point Average or student academic certification (Tejedor, 2003). Achievement is defined as the process through which a person acquires knowledge, aptitudes, abilities, attitudes and skills. It supposes an adaptive chance and is a result of environmental interaction (Canda, 2010).

Within individual factors that affect academic achievement, personality traits have been the least explored. There is evidence that suggest some personality traits influence academic achievement (Banai & Perin, 2016; Poropat, 2011). Explicitly: responsibility, neuroticism and self-efficacy have been indicated as contributors in explaining academic achievement (Stajkovic, Bandura, Locke, Lee, & Sergent, 2018); nonetheless there are doubts about the replicability of these findings in different populations given that academic, structural and interpersonal conditions vary across students and cultures (e.g., Marconi, 2015) mentions that the average number of pupils in a United States classroom is 16, while in Mexico the average number of pupils is 35. In order to understand achievement, it is also essential to address interpersonal relationships within a sociocultural environment given that they include among other things, the level of agreement with cultural premises which might vary from culture to culture (Palacios & Martínez, 2017).

Personality traits that influence academic achievement

Neuroticism is a negative predictor of academic achievement. Stress, impulsiveness and anxiety are behaviors that are related to neuroticism and can influence academic achievement (Chamorro-Premuzic & Furnham, 2002). Responsibility is due to the motivational properties of this factor that is reflected in the effort and persistence that students with high levels of this trait report (Chamorro-Premuzic & Furnham, 2003). Openness is positively associated to academic achievement through tasks of verbal communication, language and math (Gargurevich & Soenens, 2016). Agreeableness might have a positive impact on academic achievement given that it facilitates cooperation during the learning process (De Raad & Schouwenburg, 1996). Extraversion has been negatively associated to academic achievement given that it suggests that introverts spend more time studying while extroverts spend more of their time socializing (Chamorro-Premuzic & Furnham, 2005). Honesty and humility is divided into 4 dimensions (Lee & Ashton, 2004), sincerity (the tendency towards sincerity and not manipulative), equity (the tendency to follow impartiality and integrity), greed aversion (low luxury and commodity greed) and modesty (low levels of feelings of superiority and entitlement). De Vries, De Vries and Born (2011) demonstrated the utility of the honesty-humility dimensions to predict GPA.

Personality traits predispose individuals to engage in behavior paterns that are coherent with the traits, and can also result in higher self-efficacy towards those same activities given the repetitive practice, somewhat like the concept of approved domain. Self-efficacy is not obliged by personality traits. Given that self-efficacy depends on the experience an individual has with a particular challenge, it is adaptable and can be enhanced through the decreed domain, indirect learning and verbal persuasion. In other words: it is the students' perception of the characteristics in their social environment such as impediments and opportunities that influence their actions. Those with low self-efficacy convince themselves of the futility behind their efforts when facing academic obstacles, while those with high self-efficacy find the way to overcome them (Stajkovic et al., 2018).

Brown, Lent, Telander, and Tramayne (2011) fond that the Big Five significantly correlated with both academic achievement and self-efficacy, and in contrast to previous literature, self-efficacy also correlated with achievement (Caprara, Vecchione, Alessandri, Gerbino, & Barbaranelli, 2011; Pérez, Cupani, & Ayllón, 2005).

Personality traits that influence self-efficacy

Self-efficacy has been substantially related to some personality traits, particularly to extraversion, openness and responsibility, while demonstrating no relation with agreeableness (Judge & Ilies, 2002). Self-efficacy is an important mediator of the responsibility-performance relationship. Responsibility is a trait that includes general motivation tendencies, involves the degree to which an individual is efficient, hard-working and dedicated (Chen, Casper, & Cortina, 2001). Self-efficacy suggests that when people are willing to undergo new experiences (openness), it might be partly due to a higher feeling of self-efficacy, which also increases their compromise (Sanchez-Cardona et al., 2012). Extraversion is a personality trait that reflects qualties such as excitation, sociability, high energy and positive emotion. High levels of excitation (high energy), found in extroverted individuals also coincided with high levels of self-efficacy (Esfandagheh, Harris, & Oreyzi, 2012). In contrast, people with high levels of neuroticism lack self-confidence and do not believe in their capabilities to perform tasks effectively (Thoms, Moore, & Scott, 1996).

The influence of self-efficacy in academic achievement

Academic self-efficacy is understood as personal beliefs about the capabilities of organizing and executing actions to reach the desired levels of academic achievement (Zimmerman, 1995). In academic self-efficacy, beliefs are positively related to performance, achievement and effort. The relation between self-efficacy with academic achievement varies according to the level of student achievement, between those students with low levels of achievement and those that have an expected level of academic achievement. This suggests how the effects of self-efficacy can act as a facilitator for those students with low levels of achievement by aiming to value development and evaluation in order to promote the perceptions of academic self-efficacy among these students (Multon et al., 1991). Bandura (1977) specifies that perceived academic self-efficacy is defined as personal judgements about the individual's capabilities to organize and execute courses of action in order to reach designed types of academic achievements.

According to cognitive theory, self-efficacy influences the election of behavioral responses, cognitive patterns and emotional responses, it determines the effort individuals invest in an activity and how persevering they will be when facing obstacles, allowing the individual to produce their own future and not only predict it (Caballero, Abello, & Palacio, 2007).

Perceived self-efficacy has a central place in the causal structure of cognitive theory as beliefs of self-efficacy affect adaptation. Such beliefs influence individuals to have a more pessimistic or optimistic way of thinking and the ways in which they hamper or better themselves (Usher & Pajares, 2006). Efficacy beliefs also play a central role in motivation self-regulation through challenges and result expectations. In social cognitive theory, socio-structural factors operate through psychological mechanisms in the self that produce behavioral effects (Bandura, 2001).

The mediating role of self-efficacy in behavior is developed through four sources: domain experience (i.e. students with higher GPAs develop a strong sense of self-confidence towards their capabilities), vicarious experience (i.e., effects produced by the actions of others), social persuasions (i.e., messages that are received from other favoring self-efficacy beliefs) and physiological states associated to anxiety, tension, excitation, fatigue and mood (i.e., individuals estimate their levels of confidence based on the mood they experience when doing an action) (Bandura in Usher & Pajares, 2006). Self-efficacy plays an important role in the prediction of academic achievement (Multon, Brown, & Lent, 1991; Zimmerman, 1995), while personality traits also help shape achievement in an individual (de Vrieset al., 2011; Poropat, 2009).

Three conceptual models of joint influences

Stajkovic et al. (2018) examined joint variables of the Big Five and self-efficacy as part of a conceptual model with mixed findings. They put to the test three conceptual models about the influence certain variables have on college academic achievement throughout a semester given that there was an active interest in the participants to better understand their achievement. The study collected data from five different samples enrolled in three universities from two different countries N=875 and performed a meta-analysis on student academic paths. Controlling for general mental ability (GMA) and considered GPA as achievement. Results show that self-efficacy is positively related to academic achievement in all models that specified this relationship, while responsibility and mental stability (neuroticism) predicted self-efficacy and academic achievement in some analyses.

1. Trait model

In this model, the impact personality traits, self-concept and middle school GPA have on highschool GPA are mediated by self-efficacy (Fig. 1). The mediating role of self-efficacy is based on the claim that self-efficacy represents a mechanism through which generalized tendencies are expressed (Stajkovic et al., 2018).

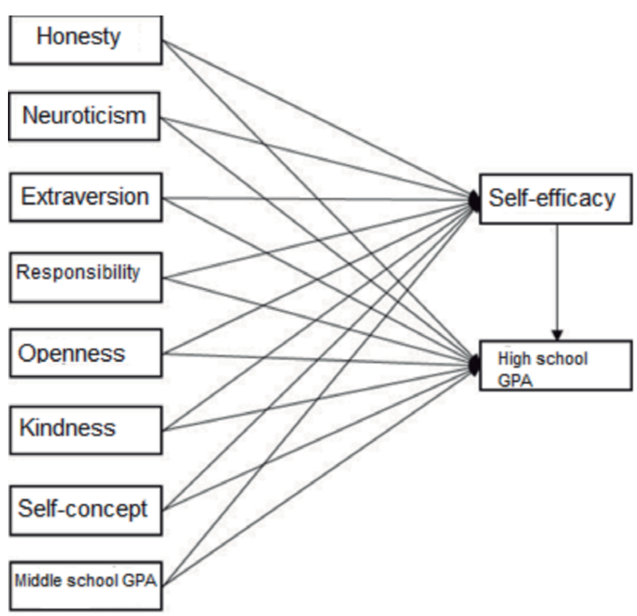

Figure 1. Trait model. The endogenous variables are Honesty, Neuroticism, Extraversion, Responsibility, Openness, Kindness, Self-concept and middle school GPA. The exogenous variables are shown through standardized estimations: Self-efficacy and high school GPA (Academic achievement). Adapted from "Test of three conceptual models of influence of the big five personality traits and self-efficacy on academic performance: A meta-analytic path-analysis" (Stajkovic et al., 2018). Personality and Individual Differences. Copyright (2018) Elsevier Ltd.

2. Independent model

In this model (Fig. 2), personality traits, self-concept and middle school GPA influence both academic achievement and self-efficacy independently, without a mediatory path from self-efficacy to academic achievement. This model is based on the findings about the effects of self-efficacy in academic achievement (Stajkovic et al., 2018).

3. Intrapersonal model

In this model (Fig. 3), the effect personality traits have on highschool GPA is indirect and mediated by self-efficacy. Given that academic achievement occurs dynamically in different content areas and under a plethora of circumstances, previous studies are not clear enough as to demonstrate that personality traits are effective as non-conditional generalities to predict academic achievement variance as opposed to self-efficacy (Stajkovic et al., 2018).

Although both personality traits and self-efficacy have been studied separate and jointly, there is still no clear explanation on how other personality traits and self-efficacy interact to influence academic achievement. There is very little evidence of research done in Mexico about the existing interrelations between personality traits, self-efficacy, self-concept and academic achievement in high school students, and that is why his research project is relevant.

Aiming to further comprehend the characteristics that contribute to high school academic achievement in Mexican youth, the individual and joint contributions of personality traits and self-efficacy to academic achievement were based on the three conceptual Path Analysis models of academic achievement proposed by Stajkovic, et al, (2018) while also adding academic self-concept and previous academic achievement (middle school GPA). We included self-concept because it is related to academic success, student health and long term wellbeing (Cooperation, Development, & Statistics, 2003), while also performing a critical role in academic interest and satisfaction among students by underpinning their academic achievements

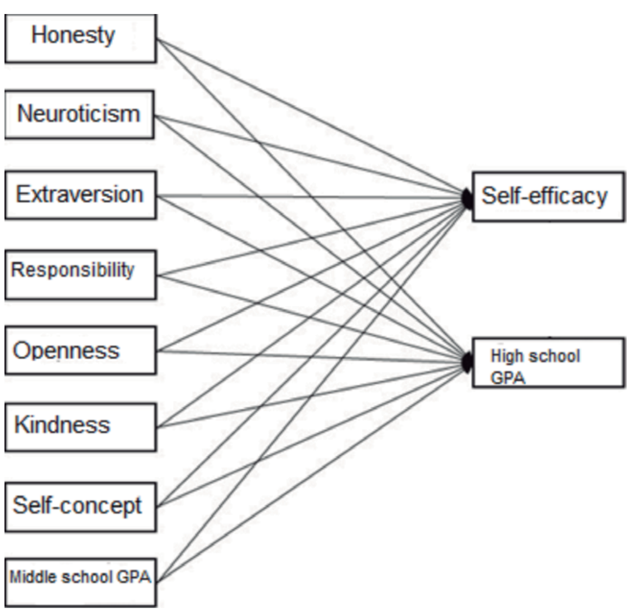

Figure 2. Independent model. The endogenous variables are Honesty, Neuroticism, Extraversion, Responsibility, Openness, Kindness, Self-concept and middle school GPA. The exogenous variables are shown through standardized estimations: Self-efficacy and high school GPA (Academic achievement). Adapted from "Test of three conceptual models of influence of the big five personality traits and self-efficacy on academic performance: A meta-analytic path-analysis" (Stajkovic et al., 2018). Personality and Individual Differences. Copyright (2018) Elsevier Ltd.

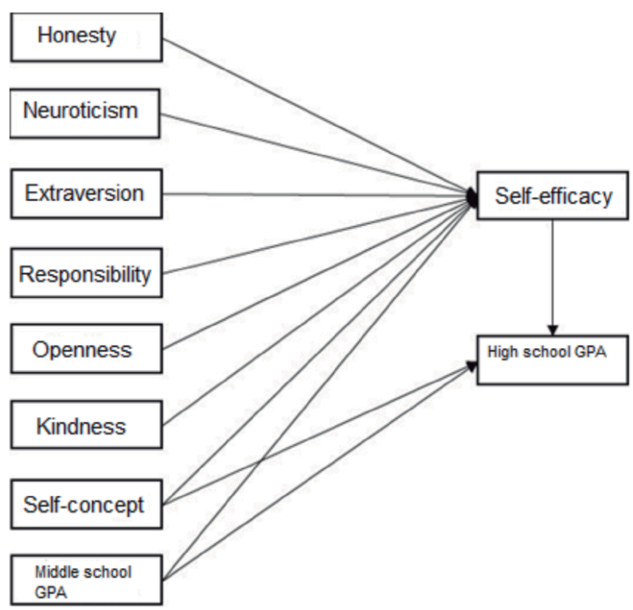

Figure 3. Intrapersonal model. The endogenous variables are Honesty, Neuroticism, Extraversion, Responsibility, Openness, Kindness, Self-concept and middle school GPA. The exogenous variables are shown through standardized estimations: Self-efficacy and high school GPA (Academic achievement). Adapted from "Test of three conceptual models of influence of the big five personality traits and self-efficacy on academic performance: A meta-analytic path-analysis" (Stajkovic et al., 2018). Personality and Individual Differences. Copyright (2018) Elsevier Ltd.

(Marsh & Martin, 2011). We also included middle school GPA given that various studies (Choi, 2005; Cortés Flores & Palomar Lever, 2008; Marsh & Martin, 2011; Moreano, 2005) have emphasized its role as predictor of highschool GPA. We did not include a general mental ability measure as both Grigorenko et al. (2009) and Stajkovic et al. (2018) have shown that middle school GPA is the best predictor of highschool academic achievement even when compared to the SSAT (Secondary School Admission Test).

Method

Sample

During spring 2017, the PI approached the authorities of a public high school in the western part of Mexico City to ask for their permission to approach students and parents, and consequently send informative documents about the reaches, potential risks, confidentiality and anonymity in the research process and collect data. Data recollection began June 2017, where students enrolled in the last semester of high school from both morning and afternoon shifts signed an informed consent and then filled out an electronic questionnaire through SurveyMonkey® in the computer classrooms of the school.

The application was approximately 45 minutes long, participants were asked to answer the scales in the most clear and sincere way possible. Throughout the process, response anonymity was emphasized and the participants were reminded that their responses would not be judged as incorrect, nor would they help or impair them in any way.

Our analytic sample was comprised by 725 Mexican public high school students enrolled in the last semester of high school in both morning and afternoon shifts with an age range between 17 and 23 years of age which is normal for public high schools in Mexico as the last level of education concluded for the average Mexican is middle school (M = 18, SD = 1.09), 291 males, 434 females.

Measurements

The online self-report that was answered by students consisted of a sociodemographic questionnaire and five scales. Questions regarding their current GPA, their middle school GPA were added as well. Once participants entered the computer classroom, they were reminded about both the anonymity and confidentiality of the research process and were explicitly told this would not affect their current GPA in any way. There were no missing values, as the PI specified the electronic platform to not allow the submission of the questionnaire if there were missing data. The scales we used were:

Self-efficacy scale (Owen & Froman, 1988) adapted by Becerra- González and Reidl (2015) into Spanish. The original scale consists of 31 items responded by a 4 point Likert type scale ranging from 1 (not self-efficacious at all) to 4 (I feel completely efficacious) (e.g. take organized notes in class, do a test, ask the teacher about something that was not clear to you, paying careful attention in a class about a hard topic) where higher scores are indicative of higher self-efficacy.

The Academic Self-Concept Scale for Adolescents (Ordaz-Villegas, Acle-Tomasini, & Isabel Reyes-Lagunes, 2013) consists of 28 items answered by a 5 point Likert type scale ranging from 1 (never) to 5 (always) (e.g., Before beginning a task, I analyze the different ways to carry it out, I verbally express my ideas in a clear manner, I read and re-read a text many times to fin the principal idea, When I encounter a problem I find new strategies to solve it) higher scores mean higher academic self-concept.

HEXACO-Personality Inventory Revised (Lee & Ashton, 2004) which evaluates six personality dimensions: Honesty-humility, Emotionality (Neuroticism), Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness and Openness to experience (e.g., I would be very bored if I visited an art gallery, I plan ahead and organize things to avoid rushing, I rarely resent people, even towards those that have offended me, I feel pretty satisfied with myself, I would be afraid to travel in bad weather, I would not use flattery to obtain a better GPA). The inventory has 60 items that are answered by a 5 point Likert type scale ranging from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Totally agree). The total internal consistency was α = .82, the internal consistencies for the dimensions were as follows:

Honesty-humility α = .62, Emotionality (Neuroticism) α = .61, Extraversion α = .71, Agreeableness α = .58, Conscientiousness α = .68 and Openness to experience α = .67.

Academic achievement was measured through self-reported GPA for the last semester of high school. This measurement could not be extracted from the institution's system for confidentiality reasons.

Middle school academic achievement was measured through self-reported middle school GPA for the same reasons as high school GPA.

Analysis

The study began with internal consistency and exploratory factor analyses in order to derive valid and reliable measures of the different constructs. Items with low explained variances and communalities across all scales were eliminated and thus the remaining items and resulting factorial structure had to be analyzed. All factors were extracted using principal components analysis, both the self-efficacy scale and the academic self-concept scale structures were constrained to one factor for parsimony reasons. The EFA on the HEXACO inventory followed Kaiser's criterion with varimax rotation.

Using SPSS, descriptive statistics were used to obtain information about the sample's characteristics. In order to find out the level participants were in related to the variables, measures of central tendency and dispersion were calculated. Relationships between variables were analyzed using Pearson's correlation coefficient. Furthermore, the three conceptual models of influence for personality traits and/or self-efficacy on academic achievement (Stajkovic et al., 2018) were replicated through Path Analyses in AMOS. All three models were specified by adding covariances between all endogenous variables, coefficients were computed using Maximum Likelihood estimation.

Results

After performing exploratory factor analyses, our obtained self-efficacy scale consisted of 26 items grouped in a single dimension (KMO = .92, significant sphericity, and 33% of explained variance) with high internal consistency (α = .93). Similarly, our obtained academic self-concept scale consisted of 26 items arranged in a single dimension with high internal consistency (α = .91, KMO = .93, significant sphericity, and 35% of explained variance). With the exception of HEXACO's agreeableness scale, all personality trait subscales presented internal consistencies higher than α=.6, which suggests adequate reliability across all our measures. Although variables were not normally distributed, skewness and kurtosis absolute values were not over the absolute value thresholds (2 and 6 respectively) that would suggest the need for data transformation before the analyses.

It was observed that students enrolled in the afternoon shift were significantly older given that some of them work during the mornings due to economic reasons $t(524.5) = 45.35^{***}$ Cohen's d = .30. Additionally, students enrolled in the afternoon shift had significantly worse high school academic achievement when compared to the morning shift $t(722.05) = 4.13^{***}$ Cohen's d = .31. Measures of central tendency, dispersion and distribution are shown in Table 1.

A correlation analysis between all variables was run in order to verify the level of connection among them. The variables that presented the highest correlations with high school academic achievement were: Middle school GPA ($r = .48^{**}$), Conscientiousness ($r = .29^{**}$) and Self-efficacy ($r = .26^{**}$). Self-efficacy was significantly correlated with Academic self-concept ($r = .74^{**}$), Extraversion ($r = .43^{**}$), Conscientiousness ($r = .43^{**}$) and negatively correlated to Emotionality (Neuroticism) ($r = -.08^{*}$). Conscientiousness if highly correlated to Academic self-concept ($r = .46^{**}$).

In Table 3, standardized regression weights (paths) across the three models are presented. Neuroticism and Conscientiousness were the only personality traits that were significant predictors of high school academic achievement. For both the trait and intrapersonal models, self-efficacy was a significant predictor of high school academic achievement; being that Extraversion and Academic self-concept were the only variables that significantly predicted self-efficacy, there was evidence of a possible mediation effect where self-efficacy intervened in a possible indirect effect from Extraversion and Academic self-concept on high school academic achievement.

Table 1
Univariate properties of the main variables related to academic achievement in Mexican high school students.

	M	SD	Rank		Skewness	Kurtosis
			Potential	Real		
High school Academic Achievement	8.03	0.69	5 - 10	0 -10	0.17	-0.32
Self-efficacy	2.89	0.49	1 - 4	1.44 - 4	0.02	-0.22
Academic self-concept	3.39	0.64	1 - 5	1.73 - 5	-0.31	-0.35
Middle school GPA	8.8	0.75	5 - 10	0 - 10	-0.57	-0.17
Personality traits						
Honesty-Humility	3.34	0.61	1 - 5	1.5 - 5	0.13	0.08
Emotionality (Neuroticism)	3.07	0.58	1 - 5	1.1 - 4	-0.11	0.02
Extraversion	3.3	0.62	1 - 5	1 - 5	-0.19	0.49
Agreeableness	2.97	0.56	1 - 5	1.3 - 4.9	-0.07	0.33
Conscientiousness	3.33	0.6	1 - 5	1.6 - 5	0.21	-0.07
Openness to Experience	3.42	0.59	1 - 5	1.3 - 5	0.12	-0.44

Note: n= 725

Table 2
Correlations between academic performance, self-efficacy and other predictive variables

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	High school Academic Achievement	-									
2	Academic self-concept	.17**	-								
3	Self-efficacy	.26**	.74**	-							
4	Honesty/Humility	.14**	.09*	.05	-						
5	Emotionality (Neuroticism)	.12**	-.08*	-.08*	.06	-					
6	Extraversion	.12**	.4**	.44**	0	-.05	-				
7	Agreeableness	.05	.15**	.12**	.23**	.05	.15**	-			
8	Conscientiousness	.29**	.46**	.43**	.28**	-.06	.33**	.12**	-		
9	Openness	.08*	.26**	.24**	.20**	.06	.21**	.14**	.26**	-	
10	Secondary school GPA	.48**	.11**	.15**	.17**	.08*	.12**	.10**	.21**	.07	-

Note: * p<.05, ** p<.01

Different Sobel tests with Bonferroni's adjustment were performed in order to quantify the indirect effects Extraversion and Academic self-concept had over high school academic achievement when mediated by self-efficacy. The unstandardized paths and standard errors were combined and determined significant through a Wald test. Both models presented the same standardized indirect effects on high school academic achievement (Extraversion $\beta = .04^{***}$ and Self-concept $\beta = .15^{***}$) thus rendering self-efficacy as a significant mediator.

Table 3
Standardized regression weights between variables across models

Criterion variable		Predictor variable	Trait model	Independent model	Intrapersonal model
Self-efficacy	<--	Honesty-Humility	-.03	-.03	-.03
Self-efficacy	<--	Emotionality (Neuroticism)	-.02	-.02	-.02
Self-efficacy	<--	Extraversion	.15**	.16**	.16**
Self-efficacy	<--	Conscientiousness	.07	.07	.08
Self-efficacy	<--	Openness to Experience	.02	.02	.03
Self-efficacy	<--	Agreeableness	-.01	-.01	-.01
Self-efficacy	<--	Academic self-concept	.64**	.64**	.64**
Self-efficacy	<--	Middle school GPA	.05	.04	.05
High school Academic Achievement	<--	Honesty-Humility	.02	.01	.
High school Academic Achievement	<--	Emotionality (Neuroticism)	.11**	.1*	.
High school Academic Achievement	<--	Extraversion	-.04	0	.
High school Academic Achievement	<--	Conscientiousness	.2**	.19**	.
High school Academic Achievement	<--	Openness to Experience	-.03	-.02	.
High school Academic Achievement	<--	Agreeableness	-.02	-.03	.
High school Academic Achievement	<--	Academic self-concept	-.1	.05	-.06
High school Academic Achievement	<--	Middle school GPA	.41**	.43**	.45**
High school Academic Achievement	<--	Self-efficacy	.23**	.	.24**

Note:* p<.05, ** p<.01

As to the comparison between the Path Analysis models based on Stajkovic et al. (2018), the trait model is a specified and saturated model meaning it presents perfect fit statistics by default. In contrast, both the independent and intrapersonal models are unsaturated, therefore they are conceptually more parsimonious than the trait model. In Table 4, it can be seen that the trait model was slightly more effective in explaining high school academic achievement (R^2 = . 30), while the level of explanatory power for self-efficacy was almost identical across all models. All models explain more self-efficacy variance than academic achievement variance given that academic self-concept is a more significant predictor of self-efficacy than of high school academic achievement. Previous academic achievement (middle school GPA) was the best predictor for high school academic achievement. The path between self-efficacy and high school academic achievement can be explained by a variation of 33% and 34% in the trait and intrapersonal models respectively, nonetheless this does not affect the independent model where this path is non-existent.

As to model comparison, the trait model was only directly comparable to the other two models through Akaike's and Schwarz's Bayesian Information Criteria given that it presented perfect fit indexes by default. Although the trait model presented the lowest AIC, the RMSEA was beyond the .05 threshold, indicating the model's close fit was poor and therefore implying the absolute fit was deficient as well. A chi-squared test between the intrapersonal and independent model rendered marginally significant results ($\Delta\chi^2(5)$ = 10.11 p < .10), meaning both models fit the data similarly. When compared to the independent model, the intrapersonal model presented higher values for both the CFI and TLI, similar values for the AIC, a lower BIC and an RMSEA that contains the .05 threshold value in its confidence interval and thus was chosen as our final model.

Table 4
Fit statistics across all models

	Trait model	Independent Model	Intrapersonal Model
R^2 Self-efficacy	.59	.59	.58
R^2 High school Academic Achievement	.3	.28	.27
df	0	1	6
χ^2	.	23.3***	33.41***
CFI	1	.96	.98
TLI	1	.32	.86
RMSEA	.21 (.2-.22)	.17*** (.11-.24)	.07* (.05-.11)
SRMR	.00	.01	.02
AIC	110	131.27	131.41
BIC	362.23	378.92	356.14

Note: * p<.05, ** p<.01, *** p<.001.

Discussion

Amidst the findings of this study, the model comparison supports the intrapersonal model as our final model given that it provides a more parsimonious explanation of the existing relationship between the present variables for Mexican public high school students. Despite the fact that structural and academic conditions in high schools are not the same in the United States and Mexico, this study shows similarities to the study carried out by Stajkovic et al. (2018) as middle school GPA, self-efficacy, neuroticism and conscientiousness were significant predictors of high school academic achievement in this study as well. As opposed to the independent and trait models, the intrapersonal model supports the relationship between self-efficacy and high school academic achievement while subtracting the direct effects personality traits have on academic achievement, thus resulting in a mediation effect between traits and achievement through self-efficacy.

The squared multiple correlations for both criterion variables across all three models were very similar and the three models explained a higher proportion of self-efficacy as opposed to high school academic achievement due that academic self-concept is a much stronger predictor of self-efficacy. Even though the link between self-efficacy and high school academic achievement adds a very small proportion to the trait and intrapersonal models explanatory power of academic achievement, the independent model was not the best fitting model and therefore disproved previous claims where personality traits are not mediated by self-efficacy (Chen, Casper & Cortina, 2001). An important difference between the independent and the trait model is that when the path from self-efficacy to high school academic achievement is absent (independent model), the path coefficients from both conscientiousness and neuroticism to academic achievement actually are smaller than those reported in the trait model, which also supports the mediation of personality traits through self-efficacy that was proposed by previous research (Fosse, Buch, Säfvenbom, & Martinussen, 2015).

In this study, the best predictor of high school academic achievement was middle school academic achievement which indicates that high school years are indicative of hard conscientious work, resilience and persistence (Lee, Baring, & Sta. Maria, 2016). As to personality traits, neuroticism was significantly related to high school academic achievement as well, given that students with high levels of neuroticism have developed better strategies in managing their own emotional responses (O'Connor & Paunonen, 2007; Poropat, 2009). On the other hand, conscientiousness was significantly related to high school academic achievement probably because those students that are organized, disciplined, skilled and are accomplishment oriented perform better in academic tasks when compared to students without these personal characteristics (Tomas & Adrian, 2003).

As to self-efficacy, extraversion is a significant predictor given that as it increases, peer positive reactions may raise self-efficacy levels with it. Academic self-concept is also significantly related to self-efficacy as it provides a cognitive base upon which students develop their academic self-efficacy beliefs (Bong & Skaalvik, 2003).

The transition from middle to high school is a challenging time for adolescents. Not only are adolescents dealing with a real change to a new school, but are also handling maturity, education as well as new interpersonal challenges that affect academic achievement (Leeson, Ciarrochi, & Heaven, 2008). Currently in the Mexican public education system there is no influence that motivates and aids personality regulation in these adolescents or aids them in their adaptation process, which is why the Mexican education system in close cooperation to families should improve the motivational factors to obtain better results in the future (Ruiz, Contreras, & Oliver, 2017).

Conclusion

This study contributes to the knowledge of high school academic achievement and its relation with certain psychological factors through the comparison of three conceptual models that consist of the following: Personality traits (HEXACO), self-efficacy in academic achievement (Stajkovic et al., 2018), academic self-concept and middle school academic achievement in Mexican public high school students. The results show that these factors can also help define the student's profile once they enroll in high school, which would result in lower rates of academic failure as well as helping students develop the necessary abilities for a successful experience in middle and high school. Students may use the strength of the beliefs of their own self-efficacy in order to help themselves remain in school and boost their previously acquired aptitudes and knowledge.

The findings of this study can aid in the development of new study plans and syllabi in high school, it is advisable to develop certain psychological aspects that will in turn improve high school academic achievement. This information can also be used to inform high schools about the importance of middle school GPA when they are admitting students.

As to further directions, we would suggest the addition of stronger correlates to high school academic achievement such as self-control (Duckworth, Taxer, Eskreis-Winkler, Galla, & Gross, 2019) in order to increase explanatory power. Although we do not doubt the veracity of student-reported GPA, having access to the institution's records would be more convenient as this data would allow testing for subject/area academic achievement instead of global academic achievement. For future investigations, the sample could be composed differently or subdivided as further comparisons between shifts, or semesters might provide valuable insights on achievement. Additionally, it would be useful to have experimental data on how easily cognitions and capabilities can change in adolescents, by different periods of time and due to different circumstances in order to answer the question: To what extent do these changes impact GPA? On the other hand, theory based interventions might help students to optimize their potential to reach their desired levels of academic achievement.

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ORIGINAL

Destructive Conflict Resolution, Acculturation Orientations, and Relationship Satisfaction among Ethnic Groups in the Netherlands[1]

Estrategias de Resolución de Conflictos, Preferencias de Aculturación y Satisfacción de Pareja en los Grupos Étnicos de los Países Bajos

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Abstract
We aimed at disentangling the role of ethnicity and of acculturation in relation to destructive conflict resolution and relationship satisfaction among 600 individuals of different ethnicity living in the Netherlands. Ethnic group differences were obtained for destructive conflict resolution and similarities appeared for relationship satisfaction after controlling for age, education, and income. As for cultural differences, the Turkish-Moroccan group was higher on destructive conflict management than the ethnic Dutch group. Turkish-Moroccans also indicated that they continue the argument without listening to their partners more than Antillean-Surinamese individuals. As for relationship satisfaction, immigrants with an Indonesian background reported higher relationship satisfaction than Turkish-Moroccans. Regarding gender differences, females scored higher than males in relation to destructive conflict management and relationship satisfaction. Finally, groups were invariant in relation to the negative relationship between destructive conflict resolution and relationship satisfaction. Yet, cultural maintenance was more strongly and positively related to satisfaction among immigrants with Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds than with Antillean, Surinamese, and Indonesian origins. Nevertheless, cultural adoption was more strongly and positively related to satisfaction among immigrants with Antillean, Surinamese, and Indonesian origins compared to people with Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds. Cultural maintenance was more salient than cultural adoption in relation to satisfaction.

Keywords: **Relationship satisfaction, Conflict resolution, Acculturation, Ethnicity, Turkish immigrants**

Resumen
El objetivo de la presente investigación consistió en examinar el rol de la etnicidad y la aculturación en relación a la resolución de conflicto destructiva y la satisfacción de la relación en 600 habitantes en los Países Bajos que

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1 This article is part of the doctoral thesis of the first author at Tilburg University under the supervision of second and third authors; first and third author wish to dedicate this work to the memory of Fons J. R. Van de Vijver († deceased June 1, 2019), an outstanding scholar, cross-cultural researcher, mentor, and human being. This research was partly supported by a grant from the Basque Government Research Groups (IT-1187-19).

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se identificaban como holandeses nativos, o inmigrantes con orígenes turcos, marroquíes, antillanos, surinamés, o indonesios. Se observaron diferencias entre los grupos étnicos en la resolución de conflicto destructiva, así como semejanzas en la satisfacción de pareja tras controlar la edad, nivel educativo y nivel de ingresos. Con relación a las diferencias manifestadas entre los grupos étnicos, el formado por turcos-marroquíes obtuvo puntuaciones más elevadas en el manejo del conflicto destructivo (i.e., golpear, empujar, abofetear, dejar la discusión a la pareja, y continuar la discusión sin escuchar a la pareja) que el grupo compuesto por holandeses nativos. El grupo turco-marroquí también indicó continuar la discusión sin escuchar a la pareja en mayor medida que el grupo antillano-surinamés. Con respecto a la satisfacción en la relación, los inmigrantes de origen indonesio informaron sentirse más felices en su relación de pareja en comparación con los inmigrantes de origen turco-marroquí. Por otra parte, también se analizaron las diferencias y similitudes de género, encontrándose que las mujeres puntuaron más alto que los hombres en la resolución del conflicto destructiva (excepto en dejar la discusión a la pareja) y en la satisfacción de pareja (pero en este caso solamente con respecto a la relación con los hijos). Como objetivo final, se analizaron las relaciones, mostrándose los grupos invariantes en conexión a la relación negativa entre resolución del conflicto negativa y satisfacción en la pareja. Con respecto a las orientaciones de aculturación, el mantenimiento de la cultura propia se relacionó de manera positiva y en mayor medida con la satisfacción en la pareja entre inmigrantes de origen turco y marroquí que aquellos con origen antillano, surinamés e indonesio. No obstante, la adopción cultural se relacionó de manera positiva y en mayor medida con la satisfacción de pareja entre inmigrantes de origen antillano, surinamés e indonesio en comparación con aquellos de origen turco y marroquí. El mantenimiento de la cultura de origen fue más relevante que la adopción cultural con respecto a la satisfacción de pareja.

Palabras Clave: Satisfacción marital, Resolución de conflictos, Aculturación, Grupos étnicos, Inmigrantes turcos

No matter how happy you are in a close relationship, at certain moments conflict is inevitable (Canary, Cupach, & Messman, 1995).The strategies partners use (e.g., constructive and destructive) to resolve conflicts in close relationships is associated with their happiness (Fincham, Beach, & Davila, 2004); happier partners use constructive strategies more often. Despite the fact that this association between constructive (e.g., talking, listening), destructive conflict resolution (e.g., yelling, dominating the conversation), and happiness has been tested and supported previously, the extent to which it occurs among different ethnic groups needs further examination. In a previous study, we found that Turkish and Dutch as well as Turkish-Dutch immigrant couples used similar conflict resolution strategies (i.e., approach and withdrawal; Celenk & van de Vijver, 2013a).

In the present article, the main objective is to unravel the role of ethnicity in conflict resolution and its association with satisfaction in close relationships. Secondly, we aim at examining the role of acculturation orientations in these aspects among all major immigrant groups in the Netherlands. Acculturation orientations (i.e., cultural maintenance and adoption) among the immigrants are also believed to influence relationship satisfaction (Celenk & van de Vijver, 2019a). We are interested in similarities and differences in destructive conflict resolution and relationship satisfaction among ethnic groups in the Netherlands. For the immigrant groups, the relations between conflict resolution, acculturation orientations, and satisfaction are also examined.

Destructive Conflict Resolution and Satisfaction in Close Relationships

Happiness in close relationships is important as it affects psychological and physical well-being of the partners (Hicks & Diamond, 2008). It has been argued that constructive conflict resolution is positively related to happiness, whereas destructive conflict resolution is negatively associated with happiness (Noller & Fitzpatrick, 1990).

Research from different perspectives on conflict resolution has identified several strategies to solve arguments. Rahim and Blum (1994) argued that a conflict can be resolved in five different ways: integrating, dominating, compromising, avoiding, and obliging (Rahim, 2002). Furthermore, destructive (e.g., physical, verbal aggression, criticizing, avoiding) and constructive (e.g., listening, compromising, integrating) strategies have often been named in the literature as possible ways couples use to manage their conflicts (Jensen-Campbell & Graziano, 2001; Noller & Fitzpatrick, 1990; Schneewind & Gerhard, 2002).

In the present study, our focus and definition of conflict resolution are based on the typologies of responses to dissatisfaction in couple relationships proposed by Rusbult, Zembrodt, and Gunn (1982). Constructive conflict strategies can be defined as "positive" ways couples use to solve the conflict and end the discussion. On the other hand, destructive strategies are more "negative" tactics used by couples which are considered as harmful because they have not the real intention of solving the conflict (Rusbult, Verette, Whitney, Slovik, & Lipkus, 1991). Rusbult and colleagues (1982) identified four typologies — voice, loyalty, exit and neglect— related to responses to dissatisfaction in couple relationships along the underlying dimensions of constructiveness and destructiveness. The former two have been considered as constructive ways with the main goal of maintaining the couple relationship by using various strategies, such as discussing the problems, talking with friends, focusing on solving the problem, waiting to solve the problem, and compromising. The latter two have been identified as destructive strategies without the real intention of repairing the relationship by avoiding, withdrawing, yelling, being physically aggressive, and leaving the room (for details, see Rusbult et al., 1982). It is important to note that the use of "constructive" and "destructive" is not based on couples' consideration but rather on their effect on the relationship. For instance, a so-called destructive strategy (e.g., yelling at the partner) may be defined as positive, helpful, and constructive by the person who engages in the behavior; however, these kinds of behaviors have been found to be negatively related to satisfaction (Rusbult et al., 1991). Destructive conflict resolution is associated with more negative partner behavior than is constructive conflict resolution. We found evidence in a previous study for ethnic group differences in negative partner behavior in line with this argument. We found people with a non-Western immigration background displaying more negative partner behaviors than people with a Western immigration origin and mainstream Dutch background (Celenk & van de Vijver, 2019b).

Despite the fact that constructive and destructive dimensions co-exist in a couple relationship, in the present study our focus is only on destructive strategies. The reason is the higher impact of the destructive dimension. It has been observed that there is 5:1 ratio of positive to negative behaviors in couple relationships; in other words, stable and happy relationships can only be achieved by displaying five times more positive than negative behaviors in the relationships (Gottman, 1993; Gottman & Levenson, 1992). Moreover, Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenauer, and Vohs in their review emphasized the salience of "bad" over "good"; in other words, a key to happiness is exhibiting fewer bad behaviors than more good ones. Similarly, Rusbult, Johnson, and Morrow (1986) concluded that destructive behaviors predict distress more strongly than constructive behaviors.

The role of ethnicity. It has been argued that ethnicity has an effect on the way individuals deal with conflicts. For instance, Americans were found to be higher on the dominating style compared to Japanese and Koreans, whereas the latter two groups were higher on obliging and avoiding than Americans (Ting-Toomey et al., 1991). Furthermore, Cingoz-Ulu and Lalonde (2007) found Canadians to confront more in a conflict situation than Turks. These cultural/ethnic group differences can be understood in terms of differing culture value orientations.

Power distance and hierarchy may be used as a framework to understand these ethnic group differences. In Western cultures (supposedly more individualistic and affluent; Hofstede, 1991) interpersonal relationships are believed to be based more on equality. Similarly, couple relationships are more equalitarian and mutual, and individual autonomy is highly valued (MacDonald, Marshall, Gere, Shimotomai, & Lies, 2012). In non-Western cultures (presumed to be more collectivistic and less affluent; Hofstede, 1991), interpersonal relationships are shaped more by a larger power distance. Hierarchy has a bearing on couple relationships as males are generally more dominant and relationships are less equal (Celenk & van de Vijver, 2019a). Regarding the destructive conflict resolution, previous research has shown that individuals in collectivistic cultures mostly avoid or withdraw in a conflict situation whereas individuals in individualistic cultures mostly confront or dominate while managing a conflict (Cingoz-Ulu & Lalonde, 2007; Holt & deVore, 2005; Ting-Toomey, 2005; Ting-Toomey et al., 1991). In a cross-cultural study, Thomas and Au (2002) found individuals from Hong Kong (higher on vertical collectivism; Triandis, 1995) to be higher on "neglect" and lower on "loyalty", whereas individuals from New Zealand (higher on horizontal individualism; Triandis, 1995) are higher on "voice". Strategies, such as avoiding, exiting, and neglecting, are preferred more by people in more collectivistic cultures to maintain peace and not to create any conflict in close relationships. People in more individualistic cultures are presumed to hold different strategies, such as dominating and voice, which can be considered as the emphasis on the autonomous self and individual gains and goals (Triandis, 1995).

We believe that strategies such as exit and neglect are the destructive replies by the submissive part in a hierarchical relationship (e.g., among females involved in couple relationships with male dominance). The part of the relationship that is higher in power is presumed to show a dominating/voice response (e.g., among males involved in couple relationships with male dominance). In other words, destructive conflict resolution is believed to be more likely among couples who are more dissimilar (unequal) in power.

Therefore, ethnic groups in the Netherlands including mainstream Dutch and individuals with different immigration backgrounds are believed to differ in destructive couple conflict resolution (e.g., neglecting, exiting, and being verbally and physically aggressive). Destructive conflict resolution is claimed to be preferred more by people who are supposedly involved in more hierarchical, male-dominated couple relationships. Destructive conflict management is negatively related to relationship satisfaction, which is believed to be less among dissimilar couples with larger power distance. Similarly, we found marital dissatisfaction to be higher among Turkish-Dutch immigrants than Dutch mainstreamers (Celenk & van de Vijver, 2019a) and satisfaction to be higher among individuals with a Western immigration background compared to individuals with a non-Western immigration background (Celenk & van de Vijver, 2013b).

Immigration Background in the Netherlands

In the last century there have been three separate immigrant waves in the Netherlands, each time with different reasons. The first wave mainly involved former colonies of the country; Indonesian (around 1950s), Surinamese, Antillean, and Aruban (around 1965) people migrated to the Netherlands. The second wave was mostly due to employment; Southern European (around 1950s), Turkish, and Moroccan (around 1960s) individuals migrated to the Netherlands. The last wave mainly included political and religious refugees from former East Bloc countries (around 1970s) and Yugoslavia around 1980s (Schalk-Soekar, van de Vijver, & Hoogsteder, 2004). Since the 1980s, the main source of migration has been family reunification and formation (Celenk & van de Vijver, 2013b).

Individuals with Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, and Antillean/Aruban background are classified as having a non-Western immigration background. Individuals with an Indonesian background are classified as having a Western immigration background, because members of this group have lived in the Netherlands for a long time and have shown a strong pattern of assimilation (Statistics Netherlands, 2012). Figures of the Statistics Netherlands reveal that approximately 21% of the whole Dutch population has an immigration background. Turkish-Dutch group is the largest group with a non-Western immigration background, followed by individuals with Moroccan-Dutch, Surinamese-Dutch, Antillean-Dutch, and Aruban-Dutch backgrounds, respectively.

Individuals with Turkish and Moroccan background are more similar to each other and the same is true for individuals with Antillean and Surinamese background (van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998). Furthermore, they perceive more distance from the mainstream Dutch individuals compared to individuals of Antillean and Surinamese background (Schalk-Soekar, van de Vijver, & Hoogsteder, 2004). Similarly, Turkish-Dutch couples were found to prefer cultural maintenance in couple relationships (Celenk & van de Vijver, 2019a; for details of acculturation theory, see Celenk & van de Vijver, 2011).

The Present Study

The present study included six ethnic groups (mainstream Dutch and individuals with Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillean, and Indonesian immigration backgrounds) living in the Netherlands. We examined three distinct aspects: (a) the association of ethnicity with destructive conflict resolution strategies and satisfaction among all groups; (b) the association of gender with these aspects and its interaction with ethnicity; (c) the role of acculturation orientations in relation to destructive conflict resolution and satisfaction among groups with an immigration background.

Regarding the first goal on the role of ethnicity, we hypothesized that:

Hypothesis 1: Destructive conflict resolution is reported more by individuals with a Turkish, Moroccan, Antillean, and Surinamese background compared to individuals with an Indonesian background and mainstream Dutch.

Hypothesis 2: Relationship satisfaction is reported less by individuals with a Turkish, Moroccan, Antillean, and Surinamese background than by individuals with an Indonesian background and mainstream Dutch.

Regarding the second goal on the role of acculturation orientations, we hypothesized that:

Hypothesis 3: Destructive conflict is negatively associated with relationship satisfaction and cultural maintenance and adoption are positively related to relationship satisfaction in all groups with an immigration background.

Method

Sample

The present study included a total of 600 individuals living in the Netherlands. Respondents were members of the Tilburg Immigrant Panel[1]1 that is based on a stratified random sample of immigrant groups in the Netherlands (including a random sample of the mainstream group). The Immigrant Panel is an independent part of the LISS panel of the MESS project (Measurement and Experimentation in the Social Sciences; for details of the panel, see Scherpenzeel & Das, 2010). Mainstream (non-immigrant) Dutch group had 391 individuals; there were 29 Turkish-Dutch and 29 Antillean-Dutch individuals, 34 Moroccan-Dutch, and 34 Surinamese-Dutch participants; 83 of the participants were Indonesian-Dutch. Details of the sample can be seen in Table 1.

As the sample size per group was not sufficient to make group comparisons and test the relationships across groups, we had to combine certain similar groups in line with the previous literature[2]2. We combined people with a Turkish background and Moroccan background and people with Antillean and Surinamese background in order to reach adequate sample sizes (Schalk-Soekar, van de Vijver, & Hoogsteder, 2004).

Results revealed significant group differences for age ($F(3, 596) = 23.08$, $p < .001$, (partial) $h^2 = .10$), net family income ($F(3, 544) = 3.07$, $p < .05$, (partial) $h^2 = .02$), and education ($\chi^2(15, N = 595) = 40.98$, $p < .001$). Therefore, we controlled for the effect of age, net family income, and education in the analyses including all groups.

1 The immigrant panel data were collected by CentERdata (Tilburg University, The Netherlands) through its MESS project funded by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research.

2 We had four groups: mainstream/non-immigrant Dutch, the Turkish-Moroccan group which was composed of people with Turkish and Moroccan immigration background, the third group were Antillean-Surinamese involving people with Antillean as well as Surinamese background. The final group included participants with an Indonesian background.

Table 1
Sample Descriptive Statistics per Ethnic Group

Background	Ethnic Group			
	Mainstream Dutch	**Turkish-Moroccan**	**Antillean-Surinamese**	**Indonesian**
Mean age (years)	50.03	37.05	45.40	51.31
Females[a]	49.11	52.38	52.38	48.19
Mean monthly net family income (Euro)	3244	1840	5669	4243
Living with the partner[a]	96.42	90.48	79.37	87.95
Education[a]				
Primary School	5.37	18.97	11.11	3.61
Lower secondary education	19.95	20.69	12.70	14.46
Higher secondary education	10.23	12.07	1.59	15.66
Secondary vocational education	25.83	31.03	30.16	19.28
Higher vocational education	24.81	13.79	30.16	24.10
University education	13.81	3.45	14.28	22.89

Note. [a] Percentage

Instruments

Destructive conflict resolution. In order to assess destructive conflict resolution, we included four items (scale developed by the authors). Each item started with: After an argument: and continued as "I slam doors or yell", "I leave it to my partner to solve the conflict", "I continue the conflict without listening to my partner", and "I hit, push, or slap occasionally". Participants were asked to indicate their agreement on a 7-point Likert scale from *completely disagree* (1) to *completely agree* (7).

Relationship satisfaction. The scale to measure relationship satisfaction has already been used in previous studies and it was developed by Celenk and van de Vijver (2013b; adapted from the Satisfaction with Life Scale by Diener, Emmons, Larson, & Griffin, 1985). The measure included six items in order to examine the happiness of the participants in their close relationships. Items were "Overall, I am happy with relationship", "In most ways, my relationship is close to ideal", "I am happy with my nuclear family (children and partner)", "I am happy with my relationship with my children", "I am happy with my relationship with my spouse", and "In most ways, my nuclear family (children and partner) is close to ideal. Each participant evaluated their happiness on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7).

Acculturation orientations. Acculturation preferences of the participants with an immigration background were assessed by a shorter version of a scale developed by the authors (Celenk & van de Vijver, 2019a; adapted from Acculturation Orientations Scale, Galchenko & van de Vijver, 2007). This self-report scale was composed of 12 items to assess cultural maintenance and adoption. Each item started with: I find it important to: and for preference for cultural maintenance; six items continued as "Have close contact with families from my own ethnic group", "Have family relationships as my own ethnic group does", "Have a relationship with my partner as my own ethnic group does", "Raise my children as my own ethnic group does", "Watch my own ethnic group's television channels", "Speak language of my own ethnic group". For preference for cultural adoption; they were "Have close contact with Dutch mainstream families", "Have family relationships as Dutch mainstreamers do", "Have a relationship with my partner as Dutch mainstreamers do", "Raise my children as Dutch mainstreamers do", "Watch Dutch television channels", and "Speak Dutch".

Procedure

Members of the Tilburg Immigrant Panel completed the questionnaires online by logging in to their panel accounts. All participants were either married (81.67%) or involved in a relationship longer than five years (18.33%). All the scales were developed in English and were translated to Dutch by using a committee approach. As panel members complete questionnaires on various topics each month; the time needed to complete a questionnaire is approximately 15 minutes per month.

Results

Psychometric Properties

Internal consistencies of the scales. Cronbach's alpha values are presented in Table 2. As can be seen there, these values were mostly adequate (except for destructive conflict resolution in the Antillean-Surinamese and Indonesian groups, which were just below the threshold value of .70; Cicchetti, 1994).

Missing Value Analysis. In order to replace the missing values in the data, we computed Missing Value analysis in SPSS19 separately for destructive conflict resolution, satisfaction, and acculturation orientations. Results revealed that the average of missing values for destructive conflict resolution was 7.75%, it was 6.57% for satisfaction, 14.47% for cultural adoption, and 18.08% for cultural maintenance. Results of the Little's MCAR test were $\chi^2(20) = 29.18$, $p > .05$ for destructive conflict resolution, $\chi^2(33) = 28.44$, $p > .05$ for satisfaction, and $\chi^2(252) = 308.96$, $p < .001$ for acculturation orientations (only for groups with an immigration background). Results for acculturation orientations revealed that missing values were not completely at random. However, percentages of the missing values were not very high; therefore, we replaced them and included the scales in the analyses. For all scales, the EM algorithm was used.

Invariance of the scales. We computed confirmatory factor analysis to test the equivalence of the construct (structural equivalence) as well as to identify whether they are on the same scale in each ethnic group (scalar equivalence; for details of the equivalence, see van de Vijver and Leung, 1997). Results are shown in Table 3. For the destructive conflict and satisfaction scales, measurement weights were invariant and the drop from weights to intercepts was not substantial, which supported both structural and scalar equivalence. However, this level of invariance could not be found for the acculturation orientations measures. The poor fit of the metric and scalar inequivalence probably resulted from the small sample size, as for the acculturation orientations, we could only include the groups with an immigration background; as a consequence, the data did not comply with the rule of thumb that for every estimated parameter (between 20 and 30 depending on the invariance model), there should be 10 observations. Therefore, we also computed a principal component analysis in SPSS19 to identify the factorial structure of the scales. Scree tests confirmed that all scales were unifactorial. For the acculturation orientations among people with an immigration background, the cultural maintenance factor explained 58.02% of the total variance and the cultural adoption factor explained 47.62%. All factor loadings were higher than .45, which is believed to be sufficient by common standards (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

Table 2
Internal Consistencies per Ethnic Group

Scale	Ethnic Group			
	Mainstream Dutch	Turkish-Moroccan	Antillean-Surinamese	Indonesian
Destructive Conflict Resolution	.70	.73	.67	.65
Relationship Satisfaction	.92	.95	.92	.90
Cultural Maintenance	-	.81	.82	.89
Cultural Adoption	-	.73	.71	.86

Table 3
Measurement Invariance of the Scales: Measurement Weights and Intercept Invariance

Scale	Invariance	χ^2/df	TLI	CFI	RMSEA	AIC	BCC
Destructive Conflict	MW	2.49**	.93	.95	.05	120.33	125.70
	Intercepts	2.06**	.95	.94	.04	113.80	117.52
Satisfaction	MW	5.91***	.92	.95	.09	368.39	381.81
	Intercepts	4.34***	.94	.95	.08	349.52	359.44
Acculturation Orientations Cultural Maintenance	MW	3.21***	.85	.88	.10	204.47	215.17
	Intercepts	3.37***	.84	.84	.11	223.48	231.85
Acculturation Orientations Cultural Adoption	MW	3.26***	.78	.85	.11	202.46	213.86
	Intercepts	3.52***	.76	.74	.11	226.02	235.09

Note. TLI = Tucker-Lewis Index. CFI = Comparative Fit Index. RMSEA = Root Mean Square Error of Approximation. AIC = Akaike Information Criterion. BCC = Browne-Cudeck Criterion. MW = Measurement Weights.

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

Then, in order to examine the equivalence of the acculturation orientations scales included in the present study, we computed Tucker's phi values based on the factor loadings we obtained in Principal Component Analysis (values above .90 is considered as being structurally equivalent). All the Tucker's phi values were higher than .90 across the groups, which support the structural equivalence all scales (van de Vijver & Leung, 1997).

Ethnic Group Similarities and Differences

To test the hypotheses on ethnic group similarities and differences and the interaction with gender, we computed separate multivariate analysis of covariance. Ethnic group (Mainstream Dutch vs. Turkish-Moroccan vs. Surinamese-Antillean vs. Indonesian) and gender (male vs. female) were the independent variables. We included four items of the destructive conflict resolution scale as well as the single construct, which was the average of the four items (first analysis), and six items of the satisfaction scale as well as the single satisfaction construct that was the average of the six items (second analysis) as the separate dependent variables. A single factor was extracted for age, education, and net family income and included as a covariate.

We found a significant multivariate main effect of ethnic group for destructive conflict resolution (four items and the average score as an approximation of the construct score), Wilks' Lambda= .96, $F(12, 1407) = 1.83$, $p < .05$, (partial) $h^2 = .01$. While focusing on the univariate effects, three items were significantly different across groups (or bordered on significance); leaving it to the partner to solve the argument, $F(3, 535) = 2.54$, $p = .06$, (partial) $h^2 = .01$ (Turkish-Moroccan group scored higher than the mainstream Dutch group); continuing the argument without listening the spouse, $F(3, 535) = 3.16$, $p < .05$, (partial) $h^2 = .02$ (Turkish-Moroccan group scored higher than mainstream Dutch and Antillean-Surinamese groups, respectively), and hitting, pushing, and slapping occasionally; $F(3, 535) = 2.69$, $p < .05$, (partial) $h^2 = .02$ (Turkish-Moroccan group was higher than the mainstream Dutch). Only the item "slamming the doors and yelling" yielded nonsignificant results, $F(3, 535) = .05$, $p > .05$, (partial) $h^2 = .00$, The univariate effect of destructive conflict as a single construct (average of the four items) was marginally different across groups; $F(3, 535) = 2.54$, $p = .06$, (partial) $h^2 = .01$. *Hypothesis 1* was partially supported as overall destructive conflict was significantly different across the groups; yet, the only difference was between the mainstream Dutch and Turkish-Moroccan immigrant groups as the latter being higher than the former (see Table 4).

The multivariate main effect for satisfaction was nonsignificant (for six items and the average score as an approximation of the construct score) of the scale, Wilks' Lambda= .96, $F(18, 1500) = 1.20$, $p > .05$, (partial) $h^2 = .01$. All of the univariate effects were nonsignificant except "Overall, I am happy with my

Table 4
Estimated Marginal means per Subscale for Ethnic Group

	Ethnic group				Gender	
	Mainstream Dutch	Turkish-Moroccan	Antillean-Surinamese	Indonesian	Males	Females
Destructive Conflict Resolution	2.23_a	2.61_b	$2.16_{a,b}$	$2.27_{a,b}$	2.19a	2.45_b
Slamming or yelling	2.52	2.55	2.53	2.59	2.38_a	2.73_b
Leaving to solve to the partner	2.63_a	3.19_b	$2.54_{a,b}$	$2.61_{a,b}$	2.73	2.75
Continuing without listening	2.30_a	2.83_b	2.12_a	$2.32_{a,b}$	2.18_a	2.61_b
Hitting, Pushing, Slapping	1.48_a	1.88_b	$1.45_{a,b}$	$1.54_{a,b}$	1.47_a	1.71_b
Relationship Satisfaction	5.87	5.68	5.87	6.06	5.86	5.89
Being happy with the relationship	$5.97_{a,b}$	5.65_a	$6.08_{a,b}$	6.17_b	5.99	5.95
Relationship close to ideal	5.48	5.32	5.5	5.75	5.46	5.56
Being happy with nuclear family	6.08	5.81	6.1	6.21	6.05	6.05
Being happy with relationship with children	6.09	5.96	5.96	6.22	5.94_a	6.18_b
Being happy with the relationship with partner	5.97	5.73	6.02	6.18	5.97	5.97
In most case. my nuclear family is close to ideal	5.65	5.61	5.58	5.85	5.72	5.63

Note. Means with different subscripts are significantly different (Bonferroni adjustments were used for pairwise comparisons).

relationship", $F(3, 535) = 2.77$, $p < .05$, (partial) $h^2 = .02$. Therefore, *Hypothesis 2* was rejected (see Table 4).

The multivariate effect of gender on destructive conflict resolution was significant, Wilks' Lambda = .98, $F(4, 532) = 2.89$, $p <.05$, (partial) $h^2 = .02$ as well as all the univariate effects except leaving the argument to the partner, $F(1, 535) = .01$, $p > .05$, (partial) $h^2 = .00$. Overall, females scored higher than males on all items. The multivariate effect of gender on satisfaction items was also significant, Wilks' Lambda= .97, $F(6, 530) = 3.08$, $p < .01$, (partial) $h^2 = .03$; there was only one significant univariate effect: being happy with the relationship with children, $F(1, 535) = 4.68$, $p < .05$, (partial) $h^2 = .01$.

Regarding the interactions between ethnicity and gender the only significant univariate effect was "continuing the argument without listening to the spouse", $F(3, 535) = 2.85$, $p < .05$, (partial) $h^2 = .02$.

Relationships between Destructive Conflict Resolution, Acculturation Orientations, and Satisfaction (for Immigrant Groups)

In order to examine the relationships between destructive conflict resolution, acculturation orientations, and satisfaction for participants with an immigration background, we computed a multigroup analysis in Amos (Arbuckle, 2009). We tested a model in which destructive conflict and acculturation orientations predicted satisfaction for all immigrant groups (See Figure 1).

We first computed a structural weights model in which regression coefficients were identical across

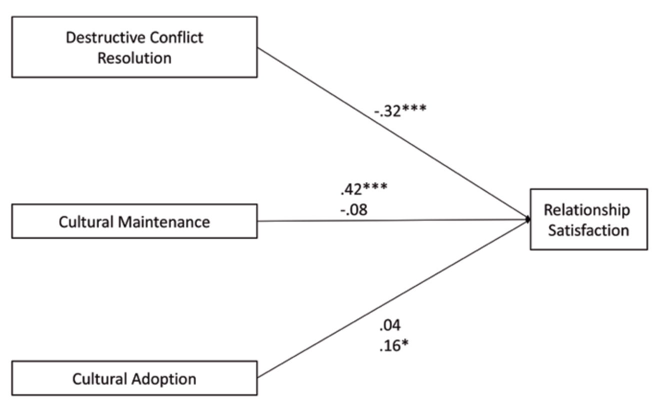

Figure 1. Partial structural weights model with satisfaction as outcome for all immigrant groups. Standardized regression coefficients are given next to the arrows. Arrows with one number denote parameters that are identical for each group; arrows with two numbers present parameters for Turkish-Moroccan (the coefficient above) and the average of Antillean-Surinamese and Indonesian groups (the coefficient below), respectively. $^{*}p < .05$. $^{***}p < .001$.

groups. The model had a poor fit (see Table 5). Based on an analysis of modification indices, we computed a partial structural weights model in which regression coefficients were identical for destructive conflict resolution across the groups; however, for the acculturation orientations coefficients were only invariant among Antillean-Surinamese and Indonesian groups. Results of the partial structural weights model showed a good fit; $\chi^2(4, N = 209) = 2.25$, $p > .05$, $\chi^2/df = .56$, TLI = 1.19, CFI = 1.00, RMSEA = .00 (see Table 5).

In line with our expectation (*Hypothesis 3*), there was a significant negative relationship between destructive conflict resolution and satisfaction for all groups. However, for cultural maintenance and satisfaction the only significant and positive relationship was found for participants with Turkish-Moroccan background. For cultural adoption, significant positive relationships between satisfaction and adoption were only found for participants with Antillean-Surinamese and Indonesian backgrounds, the groups that are more adjusted to the Dutch society. In sum, the salience of the effect of destructive conflict resolution on satisfaction was identical across the groups; however, the impact of cultural maintenance on satisfaction was more salient among the participants with Turkish-Moroccan background compared to the participants with Antillean-Surinamese and Indonesian background. Nevertheless, the influence of cultural adoption on satisfaction was stronger for participants with Antillean-Surinamese and Indonesian background than their participants in the Turkish-Moroccan group. Therefore, *Hypothesis 3* was partially confirmed.

Discussion

In the present study, we focused on three aspects in couple relationships. Firstly, we examined the relationships between destructive conflict resolution, acculturation orientations, and relationship satisfaction among individuals with an immigration background (i.e., Turkish, Moroccan, Antillean, Surinamese, and Indonesian) living in the Netherlands. Secondly, we addressed the extent to which destructive conflict resolution and satisfaction show similarities and differences across individuals with an immigration background and mainstream Dutch living in the Netherlands. Finally, we examined the extent to which ethnic group differences and similarities interact with gender differences and similarities among these groups.

Destructive Conflict Resolution, Acculturation Orientations, and Satisfaction Ethnic Group Similarities and Differences

Results of the study revealed that while controlling for age, education, and income, overall (multivariate effects) groups were different in destructive conflict resolution and similar in satisfaction. Destructive conflict resolution in couple relationships was assessed by focusing on exiting (e.g., leaving it to the partner to solve the conflict), neglecting (e.g., continuing the argument without listening to the partner), and being physically and verbally aggressive (e.g., slamming, yelling, hitting, pushing). While concentrating on each item and their average as a single construct (e.g., destructive conflict resolution and individual four items), we found that the similarity was related to an item which can be considered as the only item

Table 5
Results of the Multigroup Analysis

	χ^2/df	CFI	GFI	AGFI	TLI	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δdf
Structural weights	2.43*	.79	.97	.84	.37	.08	14.58*	6
Partial structural weights	.56	1.00	1.00	.96	1.19	.00	2.25	4
Structural covariances[a]	1.46	.80	.94	.90	.80	.05	11.66	12
Structural residuals[a]	1.46	.78	.93	.90	.80	.05	14.68	14

Note. [a] The structural covariances constraints the variance of the factors to be identical across groups, structural residuals refer to error residual variances related to the dependent factors. Most restrictive model with a good fit is printed in italics. $^*p < .05$.

that does not involve the other party; the partner (i.e., slamming the doors and yelling). All the other items (i.e., leaving the argument to the partner, continuing without listening the partner, hitting, pushing the partner) included the involvement of the partner. Therefore, our study supports the idea that cultural value dimensions (individualism-collectivism, power distance) are more salient in understanding destructive conflict resolution strategies across ethnic groups when these strategies include both dyads and when the resolution is believed to be reached through the partner.

The main group differences were between mainstream Dutch and immigrants with Turkish and Moroccan origin. The only difference between the Turkish-Moroccan group and Antillean-Surinamese group was on "continue the argument without listening to the partner", in which the former scored higher than the latter. Mainstream Dutch and people with Antillean-Surinamese and Indonesian immigration backgrounds were similar in all items. These differences and similarities could be related to cultural distance of the ethnic groups to the Dutch mainstream group; the largest differences are mostly obtained for the groups that perceive the largest cultural distance to the ethnic Dutch group (e.g., Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch). For instance, it has been argued that immigrants with a Turkish and Moroccan background perceive a larger distance to the ethnic Dutch than immigrants with Antillean and Surinamese backgrounds (Merz, Ozeke-Kocabas, Oort, & Schuengel, 2009). Furthermore, Turkish and Moroccan immigrants migrated for employment reasons whereas Antillean and Surinamese immigrants come from former colonies where encounters with the Dutch language and culture are common.

Similarities in relationship satisfaction are relatively in line with previous studies in which we did not find any differences among the ethnic groups in the Netherlands regarding relationship satisfaction (Celenk & van de Vijver, 2019b). Firstly, our results indicated that group differences in destructive conflict resolution are not associated with similar group differences in satisfaction; ethnic group differences obtained in destructive conflict resolution (multivariate and fewer univariate differences) were not obtained in satisfaction. This suggests that individual and group differences in both constructs do not have the same meaning. There may be two explanations for this discrepancy. Kelley and Burgoon (1991) concluded that marital satisfaction is predicted by the inconsistency between expectation and perception (what you expect from your partner and how you perceive your partner's behavior). It may well be that expectations vis-à-vis relationship satisfaction are lower in groups with more arranged marriages (the Turkish- and Moroccan-Dutch groups). Therefore, the point of reference (what does it mean to be high or low in marital satisfaction) may be different across groups. A second issue involves ceiling effects; participants in all groups had the tendency to score towards the extreme of the satisfaction scale (7 point), which may have reduced the power of the statistical analyses to identify group differences (for a discussion of acquiescence and other response styles across cultures, see He, van de Vijver, Dominguez-Espinosa, & Mui, 2014).

As an aside, it may be noted that more educated couples have more equalitarian relationships and that presumed cross-cultural differences in hierarchy largely reside in differences in educational levels. It could also be argued that our findings are contaminated by response styles. VanLear (1990) concluded that the relationships between sharing, satisfaction, and traditionalism might have been expanded by social desirability bias. After controlling for this bias, the differences on satisfaction disappeared among couples named as "independent" and "traditional". In order to test the associations between social desirability bias and destructive conflict management and satisfaction, we obtained social desirability scores from a previous panel wave and computed correlation analyses. Results revealed significant positive correlations between social desirability and satisfaction and negative relationships between social desirability and destructive conflict resolution.

Gender Similarities and Differences

While concentrating on the differences and similarities between males and females on destructive conflict management, and satisfaction, the only difference between the sexes was on destructive conflict resolution; females reported using more destructive conflict resolution than males. Firstly, we recomputed the analysis on the item level and found that females indicated more "slamming the doors, yelling, hitting, pushing, continuing the argument without listening their partner", whereas both males and females indicated similar levels of "leaving it to the partner to solve the argument". Even though the items we used in the present study cannot be classified as assessing "demanding" or "withdrawing" patterns during conflict, our results are partially in line with previous research which has concluded that males withdraw and females demand more during conflict in couple relationships (Christensen, Eldridge, Catta-Preta, Lim, & Santagata, 2006). Although we did not find any differences on the withdrawing pattern "leaving the argument to the partner", females' higher scores on "being actively and aggressively involved in the argument" may be understood in terms of their "demand" to discuss and resolve the argument.

Apart from destructive conflict resolution, males and females reported similar levels of satisfaction (except happiness with the relationship with children). Hyde (2005), in her meta-analysis, concluded that males and females are more similar than different on most of the psychological variables (named as the gender similarities hypothesis). Likewise, in a previous study we found males and females to report similar levels of satisfaction in their couple relationships (Celenk & van de Vijver, 2019b). In a study by Schulz, Cowan, Cowan, and Brennan (2004), males and females did not differ on "typical" marital behavior either.

Relationships among Individuals with an Immigration Background

In order to assess the associations between destructive conflict resolution, acculturation orientations (i.e., cultural maintenance and adoption), and relationship satisfaction among immigrant groups in the Netherlands, we computed a multigroup analysis. We found that groups are invariant regarding the effect of destructive conflict management on satisfaction. More specifically, destructive conflict resolution was negatively related to satisfaction in all groups. Previous studies have reported similar results (e.g., Papp, Kouros, & Cummings, 2009). In addition, we were interested in the role of cultural maintenance and cultural adoption in relationship satisfaction. Cultural maintenance was only salient for satisfaction among the Turkish-Moroccan group and it was unrelated among participants with Antillean-Surinamese and Indonesian backgrounds. On the other hand, the salience of cultural adoption varied among the groups as well in the sense that cultural adoption was positively related to satisfaction but this relationship only existed among Antillean-Surinamese and Indonesian groups. The salience of the relationships is quite in line with the acculturation literature. Firstly, in a previous study we found a similar pattern in the sense that acculturation preferences do not mirror each other (Berry, 1992; Celenk & van de Vijver, 2019a). Cultural maintenance has been found to be more important in relation to marriage-related dynamics compared to cultural adoption among Turkish-Dutch immigrant couples (Celenk & van de Vijver, 2019a). Our results take this finding a step further and supported the salience of cultural adoption among Antillean-Surinamese and Indonesian immigrants. In other words, while there is a preference for maintaining the ethnic culture among the Turkish-Moroccan immigrant group and it more strongly relates to satisfaction among this group than Antillean-Surinamese and Indonesian immigrants, a different pattern occurs for the latter groups; cultural adoption is more important in relation to satisfaction than cultural maintenance among Antillean-Surinamese and Indonesians compared to Turkish-Moroccan immigrants.

Implications, Limitations, and Conclusion

Our study has limitations. Firstly, our study design included self-report data on couple relationships and acculturation preferences which are known to be subject to response bias (Paulhus, 1991). Secondly, panel members have limited time to complete the questionnaires. Therefore, each construct was measured by only a few items. We believe measuring destructive conflict resolution by including four items makes it difficult to generalize our findings, which may have caused the lower reliabilities for two ethnic groups; further studies should consider developing a longer scale of destructive conflict resolution. Our sample size per group (e.g., 29 individuals with Turkish and with Antillean origins) did not allow us to focus each group separately, instead we had to combine ethnic groups (i.e., Turkish and Moroccan, Antillean and Surinamese) to reach sufficient sample sizes, which questions the generalizability of the findings. Similarly, immigrant groups were too small to examine generation differences. In addition, ethnic groups differed on certain background variables and we controlled for these differences (i.e., age, education, and income). However, additional background variables (e.g., length of the relationship) might have an effect in our results which can be included in future studies. For instance, a recent study with Turkish couples observed a negative correlation between marital quality and relationship length (Cirhinlioglu, Özdikmenli-Demir, Kindap Tepe, & Cirhinlioglu, 2019). We suggest replicating our findings by focusing on the role of generational status as well as ethnicity.

Despite these limitations, we believe that our study has both theoretical and practical implications. More groups were studied than in earlier couple studies that addressed Moroccan and Turkish immigrants; the present research has taken into account all major immigrant groups in the Netherlands, which includes both immigrants with a Western and non-Western origin. Multiculturalism has been one of the leading topics among counseling researchers as well as practitioners and previous research has appreciated the sensitivity to and awareness of cross-cultural differences and similarities. Yet, most research was conducted in the United States and mainly focused on various groups living in the United States (e.g., Kinnier, Dixon, Barrett, & Moyer, 2008). We found that relationship satisfaction could be enhanced by emphasizing the reduction of destructive conflict resolution strategies to the extent possible. The mechanism seems to be applicable in various ethnic groups. Yet, the influence of cultural maintenance on satisfaction was more salient among immigrants with a Turkish and Moroccan backgrounds compared to individuals with Antillean, Surinamese, and Indonesian backgrounds. The general theme behind these findings seems to be that it is important to link to the dominant ethnic identity of the group, which could involve either the immigrant ethnicity or the mainstream ethnicity.

In conclusion, we believe our results will shed light on how to proceed and will give clues to policy makers as well as counselors in multicultural societies. The present study points out the core dimensions in destructive conflict resolution and satisfaction across different ethnic groups as well as the applicability (destructive conflict resolution to satisfaction) and the variance (in acculturation preferences) of these associations among groups with an immigration background living in the Netherlands. Indeed, this provides a valuable starting point for professionals working towards improving relation satisfaction of couples of different ethnic backgrounds.

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