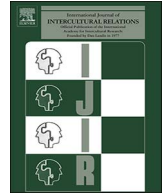


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Values and acculturation: A Native Canadian exploration



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ABSTRACT

The cultural context for Native Canadians is unique compared to Canadians of other descent as they are Indigenous peoples and the historical inhabitants of this country; however, much literature describing Aboriginal culture and values is non-empirical. Acculturation literature primarily examines cognitive and psychosocial phenomena relative to immigration-based and globalization-based acculturation; yet, little research examines the relationship between acculturation and values, especially in relation to colonized peoples. The present research addresses these gaps in the literature by empirically examining the relationship between values and acculturation (cultural attachment) from the context of indigenous inhabitants subsumed in a non-indigenous society.

Exploring values in combination with acculturation moves beyond anecdotes and assumptions and paves the way toward a deeper understanding of a rich culture and value system which constitutes an important part of Canada's cultural mosaic. Not surprisingly, these data revealed that heritage acculturation was strongly endorsed; however, a strong connection to the mainstream culture was also found. Exploratory cluster analyses revealed a four cluster solution with clusters falling along a continuum from relatively higher attachment with both cultures to comparatively lower attachment to both. This finding is consistent with bidimensional theories of acculturation. Value endorsements for each cluster are discussed.

Introduction

The cultural context for Native Canadians, or “First Nations” is unique compared to Canadians of other descent as they are Indigenous peoples and the historical inhabitants of this country (*cf.*, [Government of Canada Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples \(RRCAP\), 1996](#), for a comprehensive review of the history Native Canadians; see also [Cardinal, 1969](#); [Carter, 1999](#); [Fitzgerald, 2010](#); [McPherson & Rabb, 2011](#) for varying perspectives and accounts of effects of colonization on Native tradition, language, and culture); however, much literature describing Aboriginal culture and values is non-empirical. Much of the acculturation literature examines cognitive and psychosocial phenomena relative to immigration-based ([Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005](#); [Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002](#); [Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000](#)) and globalization-based acculturation ([Arnett, 2002](#); [Chen et al., 2008](#)); however, little research examines the relationship between acculturation and values, especially in relation to colonized peoples. More recent research suggests a unique acculturation response for colonized peoples – “pantraditionalism” whereby individuals in colonized groups deal with acculturative stress by reconnecting with traditional values, beliefs, and activities ([Herring, 1996](#)). An integrated and explicit examination of the acculturation dynamics and subsequent outcomes of non-immigrant individuals is notably lacking in the literature. The limited empirical literature (*cf.* [LaFromboise, Albright, & Harris, 2010](#); [Oetting & Beauvois, 1990](#); [Oetting, Swaim, & Chiarell, 1998](#)) that does exist suggests that the similarities and differences between native

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Table 1
TUV Values (from Schwartz et al., 2012, p. 7) and Corresponding Native Worldviews.

Value	Conceptual definitions in terms of motivational goals	Native Worldview
Power-dominance	Power through exercising control over people	Decentralized leadership (negatively)
Power-resources	Power through control of material and social resources	Immanent value (negatively); Image projection (negatively)
Face	Security and power through maintaining one's public image and avoiding humiliation	Image projection (negatively)
Self-direction – Thought	Freedom to cultivate one's own ideas and abilities	Non-interference
Self-direction – Action	Freedom to determine one's own actions	Non-interference
Tradition	Maintaining and preserving cultural, family, or religious traditions	Non-interference; "Indian Time"
Conformity-interpersonal	Avoidance of upsetting or harming other people	Collectivist decision making
Humility	Recognizing one's insignificance in the larger scheme of things	Decentralized leadership; Immanent value; Image projection
Benevolence-dependability	Being a reliable and trustworthy member of the ingroup	Non-interference; "Indian Time"; Collectivist decision making
Benevolence-caring	Devotion to the welfare of ingroup members	Non-interference; "Indian Time"; Collectivist decision making
Universalism-concern	Commitment to equality, justice, and protection for all people	Decentralized leadership; "Indian Time"; Collectivist decision making
Universalism-nature	Preservation of the natural environment	Immanent value; Non-interference; "Indian Time"; Collectivist decision making
Universalism-tolerance	Acceptance and understanding of those who are different from oneself	Immanent value
Achievement	Success according to social standards	–
Stimulation	Seeking excitement, novelty and change	–
Hedonism	Pleasure and sensuous gratification	–
Conformity-rules	Compliance with rules, laws, and formal obligations	–
Security-personal	Safety in one's immediate environment	–
Security-societal	Safety and stability in the wider society	–

and non-native worldviews, as well as the circumstances under which acculturation decisions are made, is important to understanding individual level outcomes. The present research addresses these gaps in the literature by empirically examining the relationship between values and acculturation (cultural attachment) from the context of indigenous inhabitants subsumed in a non-indigenous society.

Contemporary value research – theory of universal values

Values are generally expressed in terms of beliefs and associated motivational goals. For example, an individual who values achievement is motivated by the attainment of success according to what cultural (social) experiences suggest are adequate measures of success (Schwartz et al., 2012). Values are transmitted through familial socialization from birth and continue to develop within the context of one's socio-cultural environment. Defined as "the criteria people use to evaluate actions, people, and events" (Schwartz, 2006, p. 1), values vary in degree of importance, and serve as guiding principles which focus and direct individuals' actions and interactions (Schwartz, 1994) and influence attitudes, behaviours, and social experiences (Ros, Schwartz, & Surkiss, 1999). The Theory of Universal Values (TUV; Schwartz, 1994; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987; Schwartz et al., 2012) describes 19 motivationally distinct basic values. See Table 1 for examples of Schwartz and colleagues' values and commonalities with the Native worldviews discussed below. Culture plays a significant role in shaping core values and norms of group members (Erez & Gati, 2004; Matsumoto & Juang, 2013), who in turn exert influence over the meaning and expression of culture. Culture and values, while often thought of as interchangeable, are not, as each concept remains distinct while exerting influence over the other.

Acculturation

Acculturation occurs when two or more groups with different cultures come into continuous contact with one another resulting in change in one or more of the groups. It remains salient even if not always explicit. As noted by Choney, Berryhill-Paapke and Robbins (1995), "...acculturation is not an issue that imbues the thinking of all Indian people, but it remains a subliminal presence ready to erupt into consciousness at the slightest provocation" (p. 79). Acculturation may be viewed as a component of the cultural identity process (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010); however, culture, values, and identity are distinct, so too are culture and acculturation. Building on earlier work by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits (1936), Berry's (1997) model of acculturation suggests that in deciding *how* to acculturate, individuals and groups must determine the value placed on maintaining heritage culture identity and characteristics versus forging relationships with the new culture. Resolving this issue, according to this model, results in the adoption of one of four acculturation strategies: integration, assimilation, separation/segregation, or marginalization.

When a minority group develops close relationships with the host culture while simultaneously adhering to heritage culture, it is said to be integrated or bicultural (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; LaFromboise et al., 1993); both groups must be open to full inclusion into mainstream, or host culture, society. Assimilation occurs when the minority group relinquishes their cultural identity in favour of

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