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Expanding the Margins of Identity: A Critique of Marginalization in a Globalized World

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In an increasingly globalized world, global culture may constitute an alternative cultural resource, especially for members of ethnic minority groups who have often been described as marginalized in acculturation research. In the present study, we investigated the role that global identity may play for the self-concept and the psychological and sociocultural adaptation of ethnic minority members, especially those who score high on marginalization. We explored these relationships in 848 European Muslim minority members. Marginalized participants showed lower ethnic identity but the same or even stronger global identity compared with nonmarginalized participants. No difference in sociocultural adaptation was observed between nonmarginalized participants and marginalized individuals, when the latter expressed strong global identification. Moreover, in terms of ethnic discrimination, increasing one's global identity was related to better psychological adaptation compared with increasing one's ethnic identity, although coefficients remained small. Based on our results, we, in line with other researchers, argue for a reevaluation and differentiation of the concept "marginalization," which has mostly been viewed in negative terms. Additional available cultural resources, such as global identity, may offset the negative relation between marginalization and adaptation and may mediate the effect of ethnic discrimination on psychological adaptation.

Keywords: marginalization, acculturation, globalization, discrimination, identity

Acculturation can be viewed as an umbrella term that describes cultural changes that occur among ethnic minorities, immigrants and majority groups during intercultural contact. Four distinct acculturation strategies—integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization—have been proposed to describe how ethnic minorities relate to the culture of their heritage and the culture of their society of residence (Berry, 1997). *Integration* is the term used to describe the acculturation strategy of individuals who choose to engage and identify with both the dominant culture (i.e., the national culture of the host society) and their heritage culture (i.e., the cul-

ture of their ethnic group). *Assimilation* describes the strategy in which individuals adopt the culture of the dominant society while giving up their own heritage culture. In contrast, those choosing the strategy of *separation* maintain their heritage culture but do not adopt the dominant culture. Last, and most important for the present study, some individuals choose to give up their heritage culture and see little value in adopting the dominant culture. This strategy has been described as *marginalization*. While integration is the most preferred strategy among ethnic minorities, immigrants, marginalization has been found to be the least preferred of the four acculturation strategies (Berry, 2006a).

Traditionally, the view on cultural marginalization has been negative. As early as 1935, in his article "The problem of the marginal man," Stonequist stated that belonging to two cultures most often involved "some cultural conflict and racial prejudice" and as in general having a "problematic character" (Stonequist, 1935, p. 6). And also in contemporary research, margin-

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alization is described with negative connotations, for instance as “being caught between two cultures” (Yeh, 2003, p. 43) or as being “alienated from both cultures” (Unger, Ritt-Olson, Wagner, Soto, & Baezconde-Garbanati, 2007, p. 556). Possibly one reason for this tendency is that marginalization constitutes the acculturation strategy that is most often associated with negative acculturation outcomes, such as low psychological adaptation (e.g., psychological well-being and health) and sociocultural adaptation (i.e., the ability to function effectively in one’s sociocultural living environment; also see Ward, 2001). These relations have been confirmed across a wide range of cultural groups (e.g., Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006b).

Although there is substantial empirical evidence for the negative association between marginalization and psychological and sociocultural adaptation, the reasons for these findings remain unclear (Berry, 2006b). One possible explanation may be that marginalization provides “no cultural resources to cope with acculturation problems and stress” (Zheng, Sang, & Wang, 2004, p. 69). For instance, marginalized individuals are regarded as lacking social support from members of both their ethnic group and the dominant society (Berry, 2006b) and as experiencing more cultural conflicts, which result in stress (Berry, 2005).

Rethinking Cultural Marginalization in an Increasingly Globalized World

For ethnic minorities, the concept of cultural marginalization in its essence involves neither adopting the dominant culture nor maintaining their heritage culture (Berry, 1990). In recent years, some researchers have started to question the validity of this conceptualization, as it suggests a cultural identity that essentially is free of culture (Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008). Marginalization may, in fact, correctly describe individuals who express low identification with both their heritage culture and the dominant culture. However, in light of an increasingly globalized world, we propose that ethnic minority members in the West are no longer under pressure or required to define themselves in ethnic or national terms, but can choose between a wide range of cultural spheres and communities. Specifically, we hypothesize that the involvement with a third cultural sphere—a

global culture—may make presumably marginalized individuals less marginalized than they on first sight seem to be.

Because of the facilitation of transnational communication and travel, people in different parts of the world can meet, communicate, share and make use of cultural content that is different from their own (Arnett, 2002). Indeed, globalization seems to be related to higher degrees of positive social interconnectedness between individuals from otherwise distant cultural spheres (Buchan et al., 2009). Whereas scholars have been mostly occupied with the effects of globalization on economies and intra- and international relations, Arnett (2002) has been concerned with the psychological implications of globalization, particularly for individuals’ self-concepts. One of his assumptions is that individuals, regardless of their place of living, are part of a global community and may consequently develop a global identity (Arnett, 2002). Accordingly, individuals may use not only their heritage culture and the dominant culture but also the global culture as a source from which to form their cultural identities. In fact, research indicates that national majority members in different countries are aware of, and identify with, a global culture (Türken & Rudmin, 2013).

Yet, global identity and its correlates have not been investigated among ethnic minority members to date. However, particularly for those ethnic minority members who choose to identify with neither their heritage nor the dominant culture, global identification may be of importance. As Boski (2008) states:

In the case of marginalization, individuals not only live in a multicultural society, have not only developed a cognitive and affective perspective, and skills that enable them living in a pluralistic world, but they are also able to maintain a distance to cultural conventions in which they participate. A fully integrated person is—paradoxically again—someone who, because of his or her ethno-relativism, can transcend the limitations of any culture. A person like this is not a flag-bearer of any single group nor of any larger number of groups (p. 150).

Accordingly, those specific individuals who research with concern has described as marginalized members of ethnic minorities may have “the keener intelligence, the wider horizon, the more detached and rational viewpoint” (Park

(1950) as cited in Neto, 2002, p. 632). Thus, marginalization may in fact involve not an empty or confused cultural self-concept, but simply a self-concept that transcends the ethno-national paradigm by, for instance, taking the form of identification with a world community. As culture in general can strengthen individuals' self-concepts and increase their well-being and adaptation (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993), such a global identity may not only provide a positive self but also mediate the otherwise negative relationship that has been observed between marginalization and adaptation.

Global Identity as an Alternative Cultural Resource When Coping With Stigma

Although a global identity may be particularly relevant for marginalized ethnic minority members, it may also be relevant for ethnic minorities in general. Ethnic discrimination has been shown to negatively influence ethnic minorities' psychological adaptation (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). A possible reason for this negative effect may be that ethnic discrimination "can convey to individuals that they are devalued because of their ethnic group" (Wong, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2003, p. 1201). Given that group membership, and thereby social identity, has a substantial influence on how we think about ourselves (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), individuals can perceive ethnic discrimination as a threat to the self (Major & O'Brien, 2005).

Research has identified several ways in which members of stigmatized and disparaged minorities cope with such identity threats and thereby can overcome the otherwise detrimental effects of discrimination on psychological adaptation. When social mobility is limited, as is often the case for ascribed group memberships such as ethnicity, one strategy may be to increase the level of identification with the devalued group one belongs to (Ellemers, 1993). Building on this assumption, the Rejection-Identification Model (RIM; Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999) asserts that reacting to discrimination by increasing the level of identification with one's ethnic group may somewhat ease the otherwise negative effects of discrimination on psychological adaptation. One reason for this effect may be that ethnic identification is a cultural resource that is mostly positively related to psychological adaptation (Liebkind, 2006). This

notion somewhat coincides with studies identifying ethnic identity as resilience factor with regard to the discrimination-health relationship among ethnic minorities (e.g., Lee, 2003).

Notwithstanding, in certain situations an increased ethnic identification may not always be beneficial but have drawbacks. For some ethnic minorities, increased group identification may increase the likelihood of future discrimination (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, & Solheim, 2009). For instance in the context of the present study, majority members may perceive increases in ethnic identification among certain minority members as "a shift toward radicalism" (Kunst, Tajamal, Sam, & Ulleberg, 2012, p. 527). This perception, in turn, may reinforce negative stereotypes and attitudes toward the minority group, and increase the likelihood of discrimination and prejudice. These possible negative outcomes may explain why some studies have failed to detect any relation between discrimination and ethnic identification (see Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2009; Kunst et al., 2012).

Given that increasing one's ethnic identification may not always be an adaptive response to discrimination, we propose global identity as an alternative and potential cultural resource in light of the discrimination-identification paradigm. Increasing one's global identification may have certain advantages over increasing one's ethnic identity:

- In contrast to increasing one's ethnic identity, increasing one's global identity will most likely not increase the likelihood of, or constitute the basis for, future discrimination.
- Research shows that having to relate to different cultural spheres can be a stressful experience, especially when these spheres are perceived as incompatible (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). Although most ethnic minority members seem interested in incorporating both their heritage culture and the dominant culture into their self-concepts, the experience of discrimination may reinforce the perception of one's ethnic culture and the dominant culture being irreconcilable (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). As such, identifying with a global culture may be an alternative strategy that circumvents the need to reconcile two apparently incompatible cultural spheres.
- One way to respond to threats induced by discrimination is to disengage with the threatening domain (see Major & O'Brien, 2005).

Devalued ethnic minorities often experience pressure to assimilate into the society in which they reside (Kunst & Sam, 2013), whereas they themselves are mostly interested in maintaining their heritage culture (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006a). As Türken and Rudmin (2013) point out, particularly in such a “forced choice context” (p. 69), some individuals may “choose loyalty to the wider world, transcending their local and national boundaries” (p. 69). Being torn between their will to maintain their heritage culture and a society that endorses assimilation, identifying with a global culture may offer a way for devalued ethnic minorities to transcend this “acculturation dilemma.”

Comparing the Study Populations

The study sample in the present research comprised members of three ethnic minority groups living in the three largest western European multicultural societies by population: German-Turks, French-Maghrebis, and British-Pakistanis. The groups can be seen as comparable along several dimensions. In addition to constituting one of the largest ethnic minorities in their country of residence, these groups form the largest Muslim minority group in their respective country. In light of the rising anti-Muslim sentiments in the Western World (EUMC, 2005, 2006), this characteristic makes them a particularly devalued social group. Moreover, in each group, the majority arrived as, or are descendants of, labor immigrants. Regarding their structural integration into their country of residence, the groups are also comparable, as they often have been described as educationally and occupationally less successful compared with other ethnic minority groups (see, e.g., Algan, Landais, & Senik, 2010; Connor, Tyers, Modood, & Hillage, 2004; Haug, Müssig, & Sticks, 2009).

Research Goals and Hypotheses

Although little is currently known about global identification and its psychological correlates among ethnic minorities, we set out to test some specific hypotheses. First, we tested whether individuals who, from a classical acculturation perspective, would be described as marginalized express an equal or even greater global identity than nonmarginalized individuals. Our rationale

here is that marginalization not always symbolizes an involuntary “loss of culture” but also can constitute a cultural preference. Global identity (i.e., identification with a world community that transcends local cultural borders) can be seen as representing the opposite of low marginalization (i.e., marked identification in terms of nationality and/or ethnicity). Therefore, highly marginalized individuals may express particularly high global identification. In addition, owing to the various reasons outlined in the previous sections, global identity may be adaptive for marginalized individuals. As such, we tested whether global identity would moderate the negative relation between marginalization and psychological and sociocultural adaptation that has been observed in earlier studies.

Second, we explore whether identifying with a global culture would be more adaptive with respect to discrimination than identifying with one’s ethnic group (see Figure 1). Thus, we set out to test whether global identity would mediate the relationship between discrimination and adaptation. Experimental studies have shown that discrimination causally predicts psychological adaptation (e.g., Jones, Harrell, Morris-Prather, Thomas, & Omowale, 1996; Schmitt, Branscombe, & Postmes, 2003). In contrast, there seems to be no empirical data on the causality between discrimination and sociocultural adaptation. Therefore, we chose to include only the psychological adaptation variables (i.e., stress and life satisfaction) as dependent variables in the model. The hypotheses were as follows:

1. Individuals who score high on marginalization will express lower ethnic identity but higher global identity than those who score low on marginalization.
2. Marginalized individuals who express a high global identity will report better psychological adaptation (i.e., score lower on perceived stress and higher on life satisfaction) and better sociocultural adaptation than marginalized individuals with a low global identity.
3. There will be no difference in psychological and sociocultural adaptation between marginalized individuals with high global identity and nonmarginalized individuals.
4. Discrimination is indirectly and positively related to psychological adaptation (i.e., associated with more life satisfaction and less

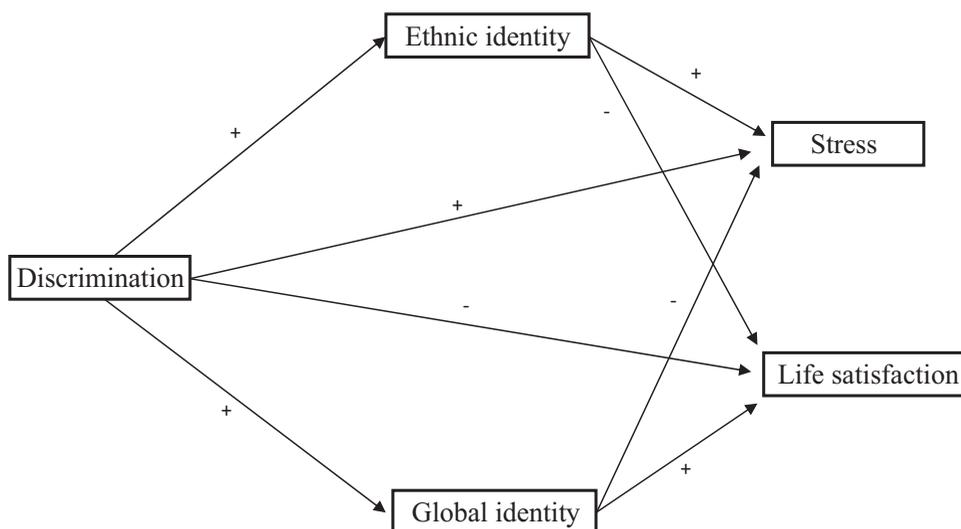


Figure 1. Hypothesized model.

perceived stress) mediated by global identity, whereas discrimination is indirectly and negatively related to psychological adaptation mediated by ethnic identity.

Methods

Participants

In all, 848 European Muslim minority members (297 German-Turks, 293 French-Maghrebis, and 258 British-Pakistanis) participated in the study. Most participants were young adults, $M_{\text{age}} =$

25.1, $SD = 5.8$, and no differences were observed between the samples in terms of age, $F(2, 845) = 0.74, p = .475$, and gender, $F(2, 845) = 1.69, p = .186$ (see Table 1). The groups, however, differed in terms of generational status, $F(2, 845) = 64.18, p < .001$ (see Table 1 for the distribution in each sample).

Procedure

Data were collected through online surveys between February and March 2012. Respondents were recruited through cultural organizations, rel-

Table 1
General Characteristics of the Population

Characteristic	German-Turks ($n = 297$)	French-Maghrebis ($n = 293$)	British-Pakistanis ($n = 258$)	All ($N = 848$)
Age M (SD)	25.4 (5.5)	25.0 (5.0)	24.8 (7.1)	25.1 (5.8)
Gender in female %	47.1	49.5	41.5	46.4
Second-generation immigrants %	87.4	56.0	46.5	64.3
Education in %				
Secondary school	79.8	30.4	42.2	51.1
University degree	20.2	69.6	57.8	48.9
Reason for own or family migration				
Work	79.1	45.4	39.9	55.5
Family reunion	9.8	14.3	11.2	11.9
Studies	2.0	21.5	22.5	15.0
Political reasons/Asylum	0.7	6.5	5.4	4.3
Foreign citizenship	42.1	33.8	30.1	13.2

Note. Missing percentage corresponds to "other."

evant online newspapers and Web sites, social networks, research assistants in the respective countries, and personal contacts. Before responding to the survey, respondents were informed about the confidentiality of the study and their right to withdraw from participation at any given time. To encourage participation, participants could win a cash voucher equivalent to 50 Euros.

Instruments

Unless stated otherwise, responses were scored on 6-point Likert scales ranging from 1 (*totally disagree*) to 6 (*totally agree*). The instruments were translated from English to German and French using forward-back translation by a German and a French bilingual team. Specifically, in the first step, one person in each team translated the survey from English into French or German. In the second step, the second person translated the French or German translation back to English. Third, both teams compared the resulting English back-translation with the original English version of the survey and, in case of nonoverlap, discussed and altered the French or German translations. Finally, a person with German and French as a mother tongue and good English proficiency compared the final German, French, and English translations and made small alterations if necessary.

In cross-cultural research, investigating structural equivalence constitutes a prerequisite (Matsumoto & van de Vijver, 2012). Fit indices deriving from multigroup structural equation modeling indicated satisfactory structural equivalence for the measures used in the present study (see Table 2).

Ethnic discrimination. We used a scale developed by Flores et al. (2008) to measure the

degree to which respondents experienced discrimination based on their ethnicity. On a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 4 (*very often*), respondents answered questions such as "How often are you discriminated against because you are German-Turkish?" The scale of Flores et al. has heretofore mostly been used in research involving Latin American minorities. After deleting five items that showed substantial cross-loadings in a factor analyses, both the reliability (German-Turks: $\alpha = .87$; French-Maghrebis: $\alpha = .85$; British-Pakistanis: $\alpha = .92$) and structural equivalence of the scale were satisfactory (see Table 2).

Ethnic identity. The degree to which the participants identified with their ethnicity was assessed using the revised Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM; Phinney & Ong, 2007; German-Turks: $\alpha = .86$; French-Maghrebis: $\alpha = .87$; British-Pakistanis: $\alpha = .89$). Like the name implies, Phinney and Ong's revised measure is intended for use across a variety of cultural groups and constitutes an advancement of the original MEIM (Phinney, 1992). Participants had to indicate the degree to which they agreed with six items, such as "I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group."

Global identity. Five items based on Türken and Rudmin's Global Identity Scale (Türken & Rudmin, 2013) assessed the degree to which the participants identified with a global culture. Türken and Rudmin's scale was developed with a bottom-up approach drawing on a thorough literature review and refined by respondents' own conceptualizations of global identity. The crux of global identification, as measured by this scale, is to be understood as an orientation toward and

Table 2
Psychometric Properties and Structural Equivalence for the Study Variables

Scale	Items	α				CFA unconstraint			CFA constraint			$\Delta\chi^2$
		GT	FM	BP	ALL	χ^2	CFI	RMSEA	χ^2	CFI	RMSEA	
1. Discrimination	9	.87	.85	.92	.88	135.85	.980	.034	176.03	.975	.033	40.18*
2. Ethnic identity	6	.86	.87	.89	.88	22.19	.995	.042	65.43	.987	.036	43.24*
3. Global identity	5	.75	.73	.74	.75	26.31	.986	.048	54.29	.973	.043	27.98*
4. Stress	6	.83	.82	.88	.84	49.68	.985	.040	73.51	.980	.036	23.26
5. Life satisfaction	5	.87	.86	.88	.86	22.82	.993	.043	39.13	.991	.032	16.31
6. Marginalization	7	.83	.65	.76	.77	38.78	.993	.019	83.99	.974	.028	45.21*
7. Sociocultural adaptation	5	.87	.85	.91	.88	12.19	.997	.035	35.78	.992	.031	23.59*

Note. GT = German-Turks ($n = 297$); FM = French-Maghrebis ($n = 293$); BP = British Pakistanis ($n = 258$); CFI = Comparative Fit Index; RMSEA = Root Mean Square Error of Approximation.

* $p < .05$.

attachment to a nonlocal, hence global, world community beyond traditional cultural borders of nationality and ethnicity (Türken & Rudmin, 2013). In their study, the scale was validated in western and nonwestern countries and shown to be positively correlated with cosmopolitanism and with the number of languages spoken by the respondents across the different study samples (Türken & Rudmin, 2013).

In the present study, participants had to indicate the extent of their agreement with five statements, such as “I identify with a world community” or “I consider myself more as a citizen of the world, than a citizen of some nation.” Although this scale consisted of only five items, it obtained relatively good reliability (German-Turks: $\alpha = .75$; French-Maghrebis: $\alpha = .73$; British-Pakistanis: $\alpha = .74$), and the factor structure seemed to be invariant across the samples (see Table 2).

Cultural marginalization. The degree to which the participants expressed marginalization as an acculturation strategy was assessed using the four-statement method that is often applied in acculturation research (see Arends-Toth & van de Vijver, 2006a for further information about the method). Specifically, participants were asked to indicate the degree to which they preferred marginalization in different cultural domains, such as identity, cultural habits, language, and friends (German-Turks: $\alpha = .83$; French-Maghrebis: $\alpha = .65$; British-Pakistanis: $\alpha = .76$). An example item is “I identify neither with being British nor with being Pakistani.”

Perceived stress. Based on findings of earlier research (e.g., Öricü & Demir, 2009), we used a six-item version of the Perceived Stress Scale (Cohen, Kamarck, & Mermelstein, 1983) to assess the frequency with which participants had perceived stress in their lives within the previous month (German-Turks: $\alpha = .83$; French-Maghrebis: $\alpha = .82$; British-Pakistanis: $\alpha = .88$). The perceived stress scale is commonly used in studies dealing with the acculturation of minorities (Rudmin, 2009) and has been shown to have good psychometric properties in studies with various minority groups (see, e.g., Kausar & Anwar, 2010; Öricü & Demir, 2009). Responses to items, such as “How often have you felt nervous and “stressed” during the last month?” were scored on 5-point scales ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*very often*).

Life satisfaction. The Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985) was used to assess the degree to which participants were satisfied with their lives. Participants had to indicate their agreement with five items including “I am satisfied with life.” Factorial analyses (see Table 2) and reliability coefficients indicated that the scale worked comparably well across the samples (German-Turks: $\alpha = .87$; French-Maghrebis: $\alpha = .86$; British-Pakistanis: $\alpha = .88$).

Sociocultural adaptation. Five items were adopted from the revised Sociocultural Adaptation Scale (Wilson & Ward, 2013). The scale constitutes an advancement of the initial sociocultural adaptation scale (Ward & Kennedy, 1999), which has shown satisfactory psychometric properties across different countries (e.g., Brisset, Safdar, Lewis, & Sabatier, 2010; Spencer-Oatey & Xiong, 2006). Participants were asked to rate their experienced cultural competence across different intercultural contexts on 6-point scales with 1 (*very difficult*) and 6 (*very easy*) as the endpoints. More specifically, the five items were “Changing my behavior to suit social norms, rules, attitudes, beliefs, and customs,” “Building and maintaining relationships to other people,” “Accurately interpreting and responding to other people’s gestures and facial expressions,” “Varying the rate of my speaking in a culturally appropriate manner,” and “Accurately interpreting and responding to other people’s emotions.” Although no studies other than the unpublished material by Wilson and Ward (2013) currently provide information about the psychometric properties of the scale, it seemed to have satisfactory reliability and structural equivalence across the samples (German-Turks: $\alpha = .86$; French-Maghrebis: $\alpha = .87$; British-Pakistanis: $\alpha = .89$; see Table 2).

Analysis

Recently, cluster analysis has gained popularity in acculturation research. As this type of analysis, however, would make the test of our first three hypotheses dependent on which clusters that are identified, we instead divided the sample into groups based on the subsamples’ top and bottom thirds of the distribution of the marginalization measure (i.e., division into nonmarginalized and marginalized individuals) and the global identity

measure (i.e., division into high and low global identifiers). The resulting categorical variables were used in 2×2 MANCOVA analyses controlling for age, gender, and generational status. As a substitute to these analyzes, moderated regression analyses were conducted to gain further information about potential moderation.

The fourth hypothesis was tested using the following steps. First, bivariate correlation analyses of the study variables were conducted for each subsample and for the total sample to verify whether the relations between the variables would justify a multigroup estimation of our hypothesized model or an estimation based on the total sample. Next, paths between the independent (i.e., ethnic discrimination), mediating (i.e., global identity and ethnic identity), and outcome variables (i.e., perceived stress and life satisfaction) were drawn as displayed in Figure 1, and paths that remained insignificant were deleted. Last, the significance of indirect effects and the difference between the effects were tested using bootstrapping with a sample of 5000 at the 95% confidence interval.

Results

Global Identity and Generational Status

Because little is known about global identification, we tested whether there were differences in the mean global identities owing to demographic variables. MANCOVA analyses for French-Maghrebis, $F(1, 188) = 4.53, p = .012, \omega^2 = .03$, and the total sample, $F(1, 527) =$

$8.93, p = .003, \omega^2 = .01$, indicated that global identity was higher among first-generation participants (French-Maghrebis: $M = 5.20, SE = 0.09$; total sample: $M = 4.92, SE = 0.07$) than second-generation participants (French-Maghrebis: $M = 4.87, SE = 0.09$; total sample: $M = 4.67, SE = 0.05$).

Hypothesis 1

In accord with our hypothesis, marginalization had a significant main effect on global identity, $F(1, 189) = 4.13, p = .044, \omega^2 = .02$, and ethnic identity, $F(1, 189) = 29.91, p < .001, \omega^2 = .11$, in the German-Turkish subsample. German-Turks high on marginalization expressed stronger global ($M = 4.64, SE = 0.12$) but lower ethnic identifications ($M = 4.05, SE = 0.12$) than those who scored low on marginalization (global identity: $M = 4.33, SE = 0.08$; ethnic identity: $M = 4.82, SE = 0.08$; see Figure 2). Analogously, in the total sample, participants high on marginalization scored higher on global identity ($M = 4.85, SE = 0.06$) and lower on ethnic identity ($M = 4.34, SE = 0.06$) than nonmarginalized participants (global identity: $M = 4.68, SE = 0.06, F(1, 527) = 3.47, p = .037, \omega^2 = .01$; ethnic identity: $M = 4.88, SE = 0.06, F(1, 527) = 36.95, p < .001, \omega^2 = .07$).

For French-Maghrebis and British-Pakistanis, marginalization only had a significant effect on ethnic identity. Participants who scored high on cultural marginalization reported weaker ethnic identification (French-

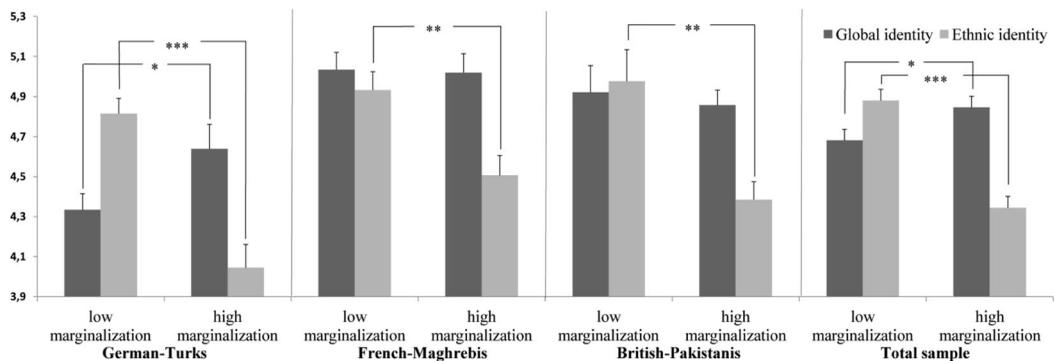


Figure 2. Differences in the marginal means for global identity and ethnic identity between non-marginalized (bottom third of distribution) and marginalized participants (upper third of distribution). * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Maghrebis: $M = 4.51$, $SE = 0.10$; British-Pakistanis: $M = 4.39$, $SE = 0.09$) than those who scored low on cultural marginalization (French-Maghrebis: $M = 4.93$, $SE = 0.09$, $F(1, 172) = 10.03$, $p = .002$, $\omega^2 = .05$; British-Pakistanis: $M = 4.98$, $SE = 0.16$, $F(1, 156) = 10.64$, $p = .001$, $\omega^2 = .06$).

Hypothesis 2 and 3

We expected marginalized individuals who expressed high global identity to display a better psychological and sociocultural adaptation than those who expressed low global identity. This hypothesis was supported for sociocultural adaptation but not for psychological adaptation. The MANCOVA results indicated a significant interaction effect between marginalization and global identity on sociocultural adaptation, $F(1, 324) = 4.85$, $p = .026$, $\omega^2 = .01$. Post hoc comparisons of the marginal means with Bonferroni correction indicated that individuals who scored high on cultural marginalization and had high global identity showed a better sociocultural adaptation ($M = 4.69$, $SE = 0.11$) than marginalized individuals with a low global identity ($M = 4.17$, $SE = 0.11$; $p = .003$, 95% CI [.135, .958], $d = .52$; see Figure 3).

In addition, as expected in hypothesis 3, only marginalized individuals who displayed low global identification showed significantly worse sociocultural adaptation than nonmarginalized individuals with low ($M = 4.84$, $SE = 0.11$; $p < .001$, 95% CI [-1.117, -.283], $d = .67$) or high global identification ($M = 4.89$, $SE =$

0.12; $p < .001$, 95% CI [-1.178, -.322], $d = .72$).

A moderated hierarchical regression analysis, $F(7, 843) = 9.76$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .08$, gave further support for, and information regarding, the hypotheses (see Table 3). Global identity ($\beta = .10$, $p = .004$) and marginalization ($\beta = -.20$, $p < .001$) both had a significant effect on sociocultural adaptation in the second step of the analysis. When added in the third step, the interaction between global identity and sociocultural adaptation obtained significance ($\beta = .10$, $p = .005$). The simple slopes (see Figure 4) indicated that global identity moderated the negative relation between marginalization and sociocultural adaptation.

Hypothesis 4

In accord with our hypothesized model (see Figure 1), the correlation matrix showed that global identity was positively related to discrimination in all samples (see Table 4). However, because global identity was significantly related to both perceived stress and life satisfaction only for the total sample, the structural equation model was estimated for the total sample. All paths of our hypothesized model, other than that between ethnic identity and life satisfaction, obtained significance. Hence, only this insignificant path was deleted from the model. Our final model (see Figure 5) showed a good fit to the data, $\chi^2(2, N = 844) = 2.16$, $p = .340$, CFI = 1.00, SRMR = .014, with the lower

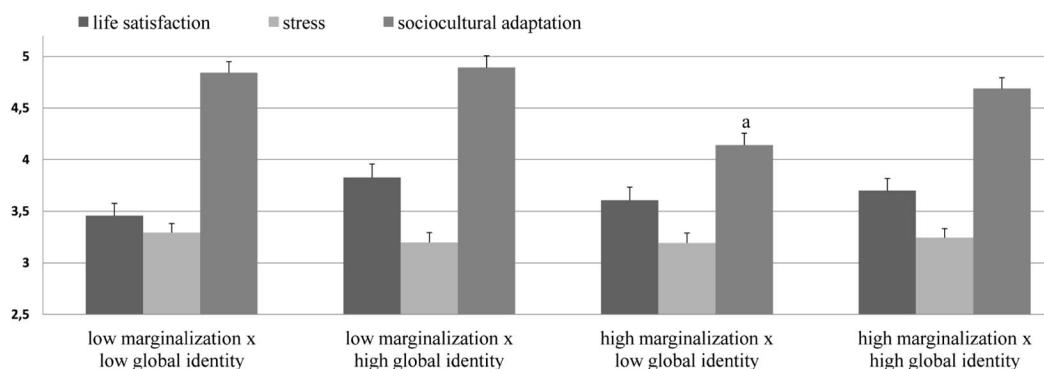


Figure 3. Results from MANCOVA displayed. Marginal means for psychological adaptation (i.e., stress and life satisfaction) and sociocultural adaptation. ^a The marginal mean for sociocultural adaptation in group 3 differed significantly from the marginal mean in the other groups.

Table 3
Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analyses Predicting the Different Adaptation Variables

Predictor	Life satisfaction		Stress		Sociocultural adaptation	
	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β	ΔR^2	β
Step 1	.02***		.06***		.02***	
Age		-.09**		-.08*		-.05
Gender ^a		-.09*		.08*		.07
Generational status ^b		-.12**		.12***		.10**
Ethnic identity		-.02		.14***		.03
Step 2	.01		.00		.04***	
Age		-.09*		-.08*		-.05
Gender		.08*		.08*		.06
Generational status		-.11**		.12**		.09**
Ethnic identity		-.03		.15***		-.02
Global identity		.06		-.04		.10**
Marginalization		-.04		.04		-.20***
Step 3	.00		.00		.01**	
Age		-.10**		-.08*		-.04
Gender		.08*		.09*		.07
Generational status		-.11**		.12**		.08*
Ethnic identity		-.03		.15***		-.03
Global identity		.06		-.03		.10**
Marginalization		-.03		-.03		-.21***
Global identity × marginalization		-.02		.05		.10**

^a 1 = male, 2 = female. ^b 1 = first generation, 2 = second generation.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

boundary of the RMSEA indicating a very close fit, RMSEA = .010, 90% CI [.000, .070].

As expected, ethnic discrimination was positively related to global identity ($\beta = .10, p = .004$), which was positively related to life satisfaction ($\beta = .09, p = .008$) and negatively related to perceived stress ($\beta = -.08, p = .008$). As a result, ethnic discrimination had a weak indirect and positive relationship with life satisfaction ($\beta = .01, p = .006$) and a weak indirect negative relationship with perceived stress ($\beta = -.01, p = .008$), both mediated by

global identity. In contrast, ethnic discrimination had a weak positive relationship with perceived stress that was mediated by ethnic identity ($\beta = .03, p = .007$). A comparison between this indirect effect and the respective indirect effect that was mediated by global identity was significant at $p = .001$.

Discussion

In an increasingly globalized world, many individuals may develop identification with a

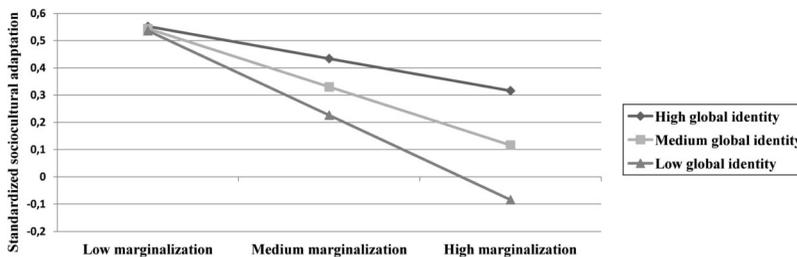


Figure 4. The interaction between global identity (high, low, and medium identification), marginalization and socio-cultural adaptation.

Table 4
Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations Between the Study Variables for Each Sample

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Discrimination								
German-Turks	2.43	0.61	.21***	.12*	.31***	-.14*	-.01	-.13*
French-Maghrebis	2.38	0.57	.26***	.12*	.33***	-.21***	-.06	.09
British-Pakistanis	2.17	0.74	.17**	.15*	.37***	-.29***	.17**	-.19***
All	2.32	0.65	.17***	.08*	.34***	-.23***	-.00	-.12***
2. Ethnic identity								
German-Turks	4.48	0.98	—	-.12*	.15**	-.07	-.31***	.06
French-Maghrebis	4.78	0.91	—	.02	.23***	.04	-.28***	-.02
British-Pakistanis	4.63	1.02	—	.16**	.16*	.01	-.18**	.13
All	4.61	0.99	—	.04	.16***	-.01	-.24***	.05
3. Global identity								
German-Turks	4.43	0.95	—	—	-.09	.07	.20**	.04
French-Maghrebis	5.04	0.83	—	—	.01	-.00	-.01	.05
British-Pakistanis	4.87	0.85	—	—	.04	.08	-.00	.20***
All	4.77	0.92	—	—	-.09**	.09*	.09**	.07
4. Stress								
German-Turks	3.34	0.82	—	—	—	-.51***	-.04	-.15**
French-Maghrebis	3.14	0.85	—	—	—	-.41***	-.06	-.17***
British-Pakistanis	3.10	0.92	—	—	—	-.41***	.07	-.10
All	3.18	0.85	—	—	—	-.46***	-.05	-.13***
5. Life Satisfaction								
German-Turks	3.51	1.15	—	—	—	—	.00	.30***
French-Maghrebis	3.63	1.10	—	—	—	—	-.09	.27***
British-Pakistanis	3.78	1.17	—	—	—	—	-.04	.30***
All	3.64	1.13	—	—	—	—	-.01	.28***
6. Marginalization								
German-Turks	1.58	0.80	—	—	—	—	—	-.25***
French-Maghrebis	1.66	0.63	—	—	—	—	—	-.11
British-Pakistanis	2.01	0.80	—	—	—	—	—	-.21**
All	1.74	0.77	—	—	—	—	—	-.21***
7. Sociocultural Adaptation								
German-Turks	4.79	0.97	—	—	—	—	—	—
French-Maghrebis	4.64	0.94	—	—	—	—	—	—
British-Pakistanis	4.57	1.05	—	—	—	—	—	—
All	4.67	0.99	—	—	—	—	—	—

Note. German-Turks: $n = 297$; French-Maghrebis: $n = 293$; British-Pakistanis: $n = 258$. All: $N = 843$.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

global culture or world community (Arnett, 2002; Türken & Rudmin, 2013). Our study investigated whether identifying with a global culture may be an alternative cultural resource for individuals who are often described as marginalized in acculturation research. Second, our study explored whether global identity may serve as a cultural resource when individuals experience ethnic discrimination. Our results provide some support for both assumptions.

Global Identity and Marginalized Individuals' Self-Concepts

For individuals high on cultural marginalization, identifying with a world community rather

than a specific cultural group may be an alternative way to make sense of who they are. Whereas marginalized individuals in our study generally displayed lower ethnic identification than their nonmarginalized counterparts, which is in line with the original definition of marginalization, they displayed an equally high or even higher global identification. As Arnett (2002) notes, a global culture in essence celebrates differences instead of condemning them and does "not condone suppression of people or groups who have a point of view or a way of life that is different from that of the majority" (p. 779). Individuals who identify with neither a nation nor an ethnicity can be described as

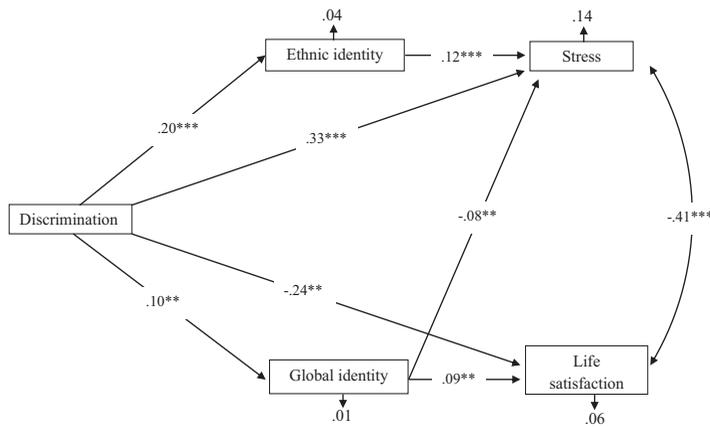


Figure 5. Estimated Structural Equation Model. Standardized coefficients and explained variances presented. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

“outsiders” who differ from most of their peers who prefer to identify with at least one, if not both, of these cultural spheres. Most people are interested in holding positive self-concepts (Kitayama, Markus, Matsumoto, & Norasakkunkit, 1997), and one way to achieve this is to belong to a group that is positively valued by society. Therefore, for marginalized individuals in particular, identifying with a world community and as a world citizen may provide such a positive self-concept.

In this respect, an interesting question remains: do individuals choose to identify with a global culture *because* they are marginalized, or does the emergence of a global identity obviate the need for identification in terms of ethnicity and nationality? On the one hand, the assertion that individuals affiliate with groups for uncertainty reduction (Hogg, 2007) seems to suggest that marginalized individuals choose global identity to secure a stable sense of who they are. This interpretation suggests that global identity is a response to a lack of cultural framework due to cultural marginalization. On the other hand, global identity can be viewed from a developmental perspective, although, to date, few models exist that describe the identity development of ethnic minorities. Here, most models imply that achieving a bicultural identity constitutes the final and most beneficial developmental stage (see LaFromboise et al., 1993 for a discussion). There are, however, some exceptions, such as the Optimal Theory Applied to Identity

Development (OTAID; Myers et al., 1991), which may be applied to individuals living in a stigmatizing context, such as the participants in our study. The OTAID views identity development in terms of “expansion, with the self growing from a narrow definition to a broader, more inclusive one” (Sevig, Highlen, & Adams, 2000, p. 170). In the model, the final developmental stage is not limited to biculturalism but involves a feeling of interconnectedness and cultural unity with people all over the world (Myers et al., 1991), which quite closely resembles a global identity. Therefore, based on the OTAID, the development of global identity may be a developmental stage that transcends the ethnic-national boundaries of bicultural identities. Still, longitudinal studies are needed to provide support for this interpretation.

Although not explicitly part of our hypotheses, an interesting pattern that emerged was that first-generation participants expressed stronger global identification than second-generation participants. Global identity and cultural identity in general can be seen as being influenced by first- and second-hand contact with different cultural spheres (Arnett Jensen, 2003; Arnett, 2002). Therefore, one way to interpret this difference in results is that the first-hand contact with another culture that evolves from the personal experiences of immigration may lead to an increase of global identification. Second-generation immigrants, in contrast, who have no direct experiences of immigration may be more

concerned with the maintenance of their heritage cultural identity and therefore pay less attention to a global type of identification. This may be meaningful, as in particular second generations experience high degrees of assimilation pressure (Kunst & Sam, 2013).

Global Identity and Adaptation

Interestingly, only marginalized individuals with low global identity showed lower sociocultural adaptation when compared with non-marginalized individuals in this study. In contrast, marginalized individuals with high global identity did not differ in terms of sociocultural adaptation compared with nonmarginalized individuals. Although it is possible that low global identification paired with high marginalization simply represents a nihilistic type of ideology where any type of cultural construct is rejected, we propose a different explanation. The degree of global identity that marginalized individuals express may be an indication of the extent to which they deliberately choose to identify with neither their ethnic group nor the national group. Marginalized individuals who express low global identity can be assumed to have become marginalized because their lack of sociocultural competence prevented them from functioning in their bicultural living environment. This description seems to be in line with what Bennett and Bennett (2004) have referred to as encapsulated marginality.

On the other hand, marginalized individuals high on global identity may have chosen marginalization for ideological reasons. For these individuals, global identity may offer an alternative sense of belonging and a source of social support. In a study on biracial identity conducted by Rockquemore and Brunnsma (2002), participants who chose to identify with neither of their two racial groups were not socially isolated, but had the “whitest social networks of all respondents” (Rockquemore & Brunnsma, 2002, p. 72). Thus, high global identity may indicate the absence of cultural isolation among marginalized individuals. Moreover, high global identity may be indicative of what Bennett and Bennett (2004) refer to as a constructive marginality, which involves an *intentional* cultural flexibility.

The lack of any relation between marginalization and psychological adaptation is incon-

sistent with numerous studies that have found negative associations between the constructs (see Berry, 2006b for an overview). Nevertheless, global identity seems to play a role for psychological adaptation in terms of discrimination. In our study, ethnic discrimination was across the samples positively related not only to ethnic but also to global identity. Hence, across cultural minority groups, increasing one’s global identity may be an alternative way to respond to discrimination. Discrimination can reinforce the perception of irreconcilability between ones heritage culture and the dominant culture (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005). In the absence of experimental studies and owing to negligible strength of the indirect effects, we can only speculate that, in a society in which one’s ethnic and national culture are seen as mutually exclusive, identifying with a global culture may be a way to detach from the threatening context.

The fact that increased ethnic identification was associated with more perceived stress, whereas global identification was associated with less stress and more life satisfaction, further indicates that global identity may be an adaptive response to discrimination. Our study showed that, although increasing one’s ethnic identification may be a common response to discrimination, it may not always be adaptive, as it can relate to more stress due to reasons outlined in the introduction.

Given that our data are cross-sectional, we emphasize that a reversed causality between the constructs is equally plausible. In our structural equation model, global identity was assumed to be the predictor of psychological adaptation. It is, however, equally possible that the experience of low degrees of stress and high degrees of life satisfaction allowed individuals to feel more connected to other people in general. Again, studies that allow for the assessment of causality are needed to draw a firm conclusion in this regard.

Future Implications

The results of this study have at least two implications. First, they emphasize the need to take into consideration the context of an increasingly globalized world when investigating social and cultural phenomena in psychology; consideration should not be restricted to the

national and ethnic contexts. Admittedly, our hypotheses were only partly confirmed, and the effects sizes were generally small. When interpreting the results, one should nevertheless keep in mind that we most likely still are in an early stage of globalization. Our speculation is that the salience of the construct for individuals' self-concepts will increase in the future. Therefore, longitudinal studies together with studies that investigate the role that global identity may have in psychological processes aside from those investigated in this study are needed. As global identity may constitute a cultural resource also for social groups that are devalued or stigmatized based on characteristics other than ethnicity or religious belief, future studies could investigate whether the observed relationships can be replicated among other social groups.

Second, this study should be regarded as adding to the critiques of the ways marginalization has been understood in acculturation psychology. Ethnic minorities and individuals in general are situated in complex and intertwined social and cultural spheres. The present study suggests that measurements of individuals' acculturation preferences toward the dominant and heritage cultures may fall short because they do not consider individuals' engagement in alternative social and cultural spheres. As our study indicates, these cultural spheres may have the potential to offset the adaption deficit marginalization is otherwise thought to cause. Presumably marginalized individuals may be less marginalized than they seem. This underlines the need of a more nuanced conceptualization of marginalization.

Limitations of the Study

An important limitation worth noting is the use of a composite score for marginalization. There are different reasons for criticizing this approach. Acculturation strategies can be measured in the forms of "knowledge, values, beliefs, identity, attitudes, and behaviors" (Arends-Toth & van de Vijver, 2006a, p. 148). In our study, the marginalization measure only assessed attitudes, and only toward a limited number of acculturation domains. This measurement approach undoubtedly captured only a fraction of the complex manifestations of acculturation among ethnic minorities (Schwartz, Unger,

Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). For instance, research has shown that individuals differ in their acculturation strategies depending on whether behavior or attitudes are measured (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2006b). Moreover, differentiating between public and private acculturation may be meaningful (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2004; but see Kunst et al., 2012). Individuals may, for instance, prefer to integrate the cultural habits of the dominant society in their public lives, whereas they may be less willing to do so in their private lives. In line with the conceptualization of Schwartz et al. (2010), distinctive measurements of marginalization in different domains, such as practices, values, and identification, may have produced more detailed information about *where* in particular individuals reported marginalization. Future studies could here investigate whether the interplay of global identity and marginalization differs depending on the acculturation domain that is assessed.

A related critique is that religion was explicitly assessed by neither the marginalization measure nor the ethnic identity measure. Religion is likely to be a salient cultural domain for members of Muslim minorities who are regularly stigmatized in western societies (Holtz, Dahinden, & Wagner, 2013; Kunst, Sam, & Ulleberg, 2013; Kunst et al., 2012; Sirin et al., 2008). Given the hostile environment Muslims are often confronted with in the West (e.g., Bleich, 2011; EUMC, 2006), it could have made sense to include a measure of religious identity.

Participants were recruited solely over the Internet. In general, web-based surveys seem to yield results similar to those of paper-based surveys (Gosling, Vazire, Srivastava, & John, 2004). Nevertheless, in this present study, participation through the Internet might have led to biased samples. First, we are likely to have recruited ethnic minority members that are at a higher level of structural integration than those without easy Internet access. Second, one may speculate that individuals who have no easy access to the Internet also have reduced opportunities to freely engage in the global culture online. Thus, our participants possibly displayed a global identification that is nonrepresentative of the broader populations of the respective ethnic minorities.

Last but not least, the study tested a theoretical model with cross-sectional data. This procedure provides no information about the validity of the causal directions implied. Therefore, we strongly emphasize the importance of studies with designs that allow for causal conclusions on empirical grounds.

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