International Journal for Dialogical Science
Winter, 2010. Vol. 4, No. 2, 5-34

HOW MIGRATION AFFECTS THE DIALOGICAL SELF

Mariel Sanchez-Rockliffe
Swinburne University
Melbourne, Australia

James Symons
University College London

ABSTRACT. We considered a sample of 38 migrants to Australia. We used Hermans's self-confrontation method to score the themes of their "valuations" relating to country of origin and to Australia along the standard dimensions: the self-enhancement motive (*S)*, the motive of contact and union with the other (*O*) and positive (*P*) and negative (*N*) feelings. We found that there was considerable thematic stability between locations but that the average values of *S* and *P* for Australian valuations were significantly higher (though not greatly so) than those for country-of-origin valuations. There was little evidence that average *O* and *N* differ between locations. We did find, however, that about a fifth of the sample showed markedly different themes between country of origin and Australia, suggesting that in some cases the new Australian I-positions had importantly different themes. We found in general that changed valuation themes were associated with social conditions in the country of origin: migrants from countries with low levels of political rights and civil liberties, and migrants from countries with high levels of violence showed gains in *S*, *O* and *P*, and falls in *N*. The observed high level of thematic stability is consistent with a relative invariance of "basic motives" (*S* and *O*), but the observed stability of "affects" (*P* and *N*) suggests that the opportunity for gratification of basic motives is similar at country of origin and Australia for most people in this sample.

This study uses Hermans's theory of the dialogical self and self-confrontation method (SCM) to explore the effect of migration on the self (Hermans, 1987a, 1987b, 1988, 1989, 1992; Hermans & Hermans-Jansen, 1995). It tests both the theory of the dialogical self and the efficacy of the SCM, and in so doing throws light on the growing phenomenon of migration and the cultural adaptation that accompanies it.

The study uses data from a sample survey of migrants to Australia. Participants were interviewed according to the procedures of the SCM. As an investigative tool, the SCM is particularly suited to a study of this kind. First, it accesses different "I-positions". According to Hermans, "the *I*… continuously organizes and interprets experience…"; that is, people adopt and develop different I-positions depending on changes in their life circumstances. If those circumstances are cultural, then cultural identity is a special case of an I-position (Hermans, 2002). Second, the SCM allows access to cultural identities both before and after migration, so obviating a costly and difficult longitudinal experimental design. Lastly, it avoids the bias of self-report questionnaires, since its purpose is largely opaque to the participant (Berry, 1990).

AUTHORS' NOTE. Please address comments regarding this article to Mariel Sanchez-Rockliffe. Email: mariel@bigpond.net.au

The study is largely exploratory in nature. The following research questions were investigated: *To what extent is the self coherent and enduring through the radical changes in life circumstances occasioned by migration?* Related to that, we also asked: *To what extent do different life circumstances, in this case migration, create new, qualitatively different, I-positions?*

The study has important implications for theory. We propose a new method of conceptualising the dialogical self—as a probability distribution. We believe this approach to be suited to the task since the dialogical self is by definition not a single entity but a multitude; as such it must be treated not as a unitary object but as a population, in this case a population of "valuations" (this term is explained later), each characterised by a theme. Like any population it is most conveniently represented as a distribution whose characteristics must be inferred by sampling, which is what the SCM does. The probabilistic approach informs our analysis and thinking while in no way conflicting with more traditional thinking about the concept.

Below we outline the theory of the dialogical self as it applies to migration, and present our conceptual approach.

The Theory of the Dialogical Self

The theory of the dialogical self sees the "self" as similar to the authors and characters of a polyphonic novel: a complex story with many voices. Drawing from the Russian literary critic Bakhtin (1973), Hermans, Rijks and Kempen (1993) conceive the polyphonic novel as "a novel where different voices, often of a markedly different character and representing a multiplicity of relatively independent worlds, interact to create a self narrative" (p. 208). In the polyphonic novel the author adopts a number of viewpoints corresponding to different imaginary characters, not necessarily consistent in their attitudes, knowledge or beliefs (Hermans, Kempen & Van Loon, 1992). According to Hermans and his colleagues, the self is best regarded as a composite of characters that exhibits the variety one might find in such a novel. Some — the I-positions — correspond to different authorial viewpoints; others — the Me-positions — are the characters. Like the characters in such a novel, they engage in dialogue, hence the term "dialogical self".

This "multivoiced" self contrasts sharply with the conventional view of the self as organised around a single centre or core. As author of its own life story, the I moves from one I-position to another, adopting different perspectives. The self emerges as the totally of such I-positions, together with their inter-relationships (dialogues).

In the theory of the dialogical self, a "valuation" is "anything that a person finds to be of importance when thinking about his or her life situation" (Hermans, 1988, p. 792). Valuations include loved ones, those one dislikes, disturbing dreams, problems, cherished opportunities, memories of important events, plans or goals, and so on. Each

valuation is a "unit of meaning", and each has either a positive, negative or mixed (ambivalent) emotional quality. Through self-reflection, people organise their valuations into narratives that situate them in time and space—a valuation system. This means that the "person lives in the present and is, from a specific point in space and time, oriented toward the past as well as the future" (Hermans & Kempen, 1993, p.81). The individual is seen as the author of a personal story consisting of meaningful events as determined through reflection on both past and future experiences. In different periods of life, different valuations may emerge because the individual's reference point changes. Some are brought about by a change of situation and are incorporated into the system, some disappear, and some remain unchanged. The valuation system is a composite of changing valuations. The theory holds that every valuation has a degree of personal involvement and reflects a particular set of affects that informs us about the valuation (Hermans, 1991).

In order to capture certain differences in the functioning of the affective component of the valuation system and gain more insight into the organisation of the valuation system as a whole, Hermans (1987b, 1988; Hermans & Kempen, 1993; Hermans & Hermans-Jansen, 1995) has introduced into valuation theory a *latent-manifest* distinction. It assumes that a small set of basic motives are latent in the affective component of the valuation system. While at the *latent* level these motives are assumed to be similar across individuals and to be continuously active within each individual, at the *manifest* level valuations vary phenomenologically not only between individuals but also within a single individual across time and space.

Hermans (1989, p. 14) notes that the reflective individual, as an observer of his or her own life, "can look back with nostalgia on the past, be worried about the present, and have hope for the future", but that throughout this reflection "the perspective of the individual is always limited by the present situation". Since personality is conceived by Hermans as a process in time and space, the perspective of the "I" is not fixed but changes as the individual moves from one moment to the next:

The question is now how this concept of change can be related to the *manifest* and *latent* levels of life meaning representation. It is expected that when the perspective of the "I" changes, there may be a concomitant change in the manifest experience of an event. Whether or not this change also implies basic reorganization at the latent level remains to be seen. (Hermans, 1989, p.14)

According to Hermans, valuations can be interpreted in terms of two primary motives: the self-enhancement motive and the union-with-the-other motive. Following Bakan's (1966) concepts of agency and communion, the self-enhancement motive is self-oriented: striving for superiority, expansion, power, control, and so on. The union-with-the-other motive is other-oriented: longing for contact, union, intimacy, and so on. The two motives give direction and organisation to the valuations in a person's life story.

They are paralleled in other research. For instance, McAdams (1985) distinguished power and intimacy as basic motives. Many researchers in cross-cultural psychology (Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Luca, 1988; Schwartz, 1990) make use of a notion that is variously labelled "individualism–collectivism" and "idiocentrism–allocentrism", which in all its guises closely resembles Herman's "self-enhancement" and "union-with-the-other" motives.

Another way of describing valuations is by positive and negative affectivity. Each valuation is associated with positive and negative feelings, which indicate the extent to which basic motives referred to above are fulfilled. Different I-positions may be compared and contrasted, then, with respect to the extent to which their valuation systems exhibit different degrees of self-enhancement motives and union-with-the-other motives, as well as positive and negative affects. The following example clarifies the relationship between the basic motives and the affective component of a valuation. When a person says, "I gained my doctorate by hard work", this person may experience "pride" and "strength" in association with this valuation. It is supposed that the self-enhancement motive is manifest in these affects as part of the valuation. Similarly, when a person says, "I enjoyed the time when I was together with my family," tenderness and intimacy may be experienced in close relation with this valuation.

Well-being, measured as the difference between positive and negative feelings, has a central role in the theory of the dialogical self (Hermans, 1987a; Hermans & Hermans-Jansen, 1995). Although valuations may exhibit any combination of motive and well-being, most can be grouped under six "major themes[1], each denoted by a characteristic feeling (Hermans & Hermans-Jansen, 1995). A combination of high self-enhancement and low union-with-the-other motives, with high well-being, Hermans identifies as "autonomy and success"; the same motives with low well-being, he identifies as "aggression and anger". A combination of low self-enhancement and high union-with-the-other motives, with high well-being, he identifies as "unity and love"; while the same motives with low well-being, he identifies as "unfulfilled longing". Finally, a combination of high self-enhancement and high union-with-the-other, with high well-being, he identifies as "strength and unity"; and the opposite, with low scores on all three measures, he identifies as "powerlessness and isolation".

Research Questions

Our intention is to study how the dialogical self is affected by a radical change in the social environment, in particular by migration to a new country. The temporal stability of the self is one of its fundamental characteristics (James, 1890).

Following Hermans (1987a, b, 1988, 1992), one can explain this stability by consideration of the latent and manifest contents of a valuation theme. The latent content is represented by the *S* (self-enhancement) and *O* (contact with the other) variables; the manifest, by the *P* (positive feelings) and *N* (negative feelings) variables. In this

framework, *S* and *O* are considered to represent deep psychological motives, whereas *P* and *N* represent the extent to which these motives are gratified in a particular social environment.

For an individual placed in two different environments, one can consider four possibilities.

Hypothesis 1: Latents constant, manifests constant. This is the case of complete thematic stability. It would occur when the individual's fundamental motives are constant and each environment offers an equivalent opportunity for gratification.

Hypothesis 2: Latents constant, manifests change. This is perhaps the most natural case. The new environment offers different possibilities for gratification but the individual's fundamental motives remain the same[2]

Hypothesis 3: Latents change, manifests constant. This could arise from psychological development over the life cycle. As an individual progresses through life, it is natural to expect fundamental motives to change. This may not be accompanied by affective change.

Hypothesis 4: Latents change, manifests change. In this case the fundamental motives of the individual change, as does the extent of gratification. This could come about if the new environment creates new I-positions on the one hand, or simply for developmental reasons on the other.

In this paper we test these hypotheses using data from a survey of 38 migrants to Australia. The survey was conducted under the protocol of the SCM, which is the standard technique for measuring the dialogical self. Participants provided valuations from the perspectives of their country-of-origin "self" and their Australian "self".

The paper is organised as follows. First, we characterise the dialogical self as a hypothetical probability distribution of themes of valuations. Under this interpretation, the SCM is regarded as a technique for generating a sample of themes from which the properties of this distribution can be inferred, as in standard sampling theory. Since the dialogical self emerges from a probability distribution of valuation themes, it seems to us that a sampling interpretation is the correct way to view this technique. Next, we describe the study method, in particular the manner of data collection. Following that, we set out the procedures and results of two separate analyses based on the same data. Lastly, we discuss our findings.

The Dialogical Self as a Probability Distribution of Themes

In this section we present a model of the dialogical self that is grounded in statistical sampling theory. Such an approach is uniquely appropriate here because the dialogical self is by nature not one thing but many, and thus demands measurement methods that recognise this fact. Unlike most psychological variables, which describe a

single characteristic of the individual, the dialogical self describes a multitude of semi-autonomous selves and their inter-relationships. In this sense, therefore, it is more like a community than an individual. Communities are conveniently described not by considering a single member but by considering a sample and expressing the results as frequency distributions and correlations. This approach makes clear the basis by which statistically testable hypotheses are generated.

In our model, every individual can generate a potentially infinite number of valuations; and it is through these valuations that the individual's dialogical self is expressed. Each valuation furthermore has a "theme", by which is meant its vector of *S*, *O*, *P*, *N* variables as measured by the SCM. It follows therefore that the dialogical self is described by a hypothetical multidimensional probability distribution of valuation themes.

Graphical Representation

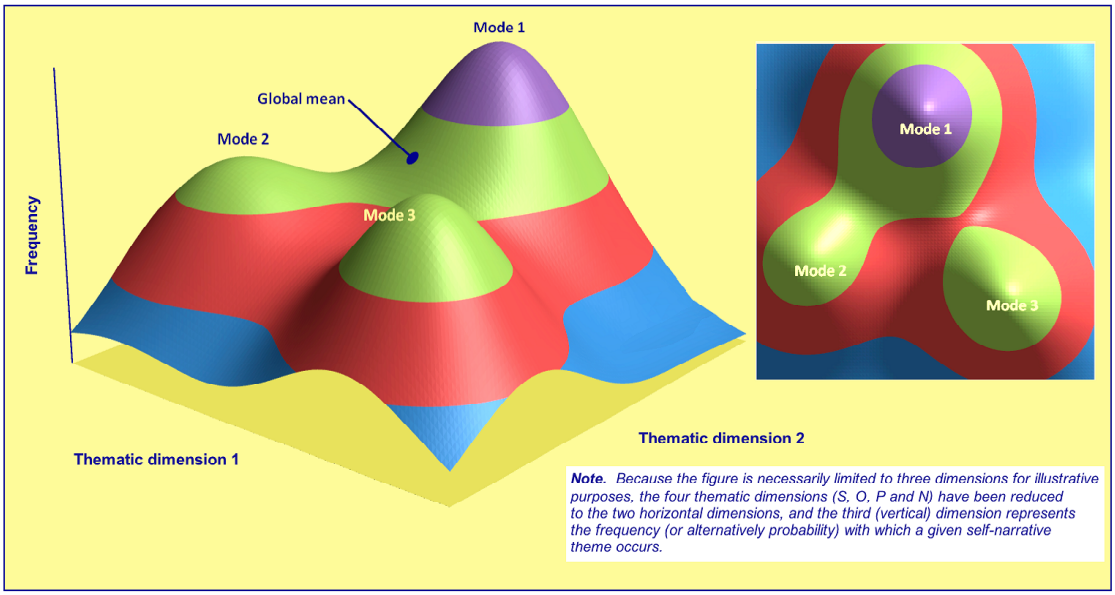
Figure 1 shows the probability distribution of themes for a hypothetical individual. In this figure each point on the horizontal plane denotes a particular theme, and the height of the graphical surface at that point represents the probability with which that individual will generate valuations having that theme. Alternatively one can regard the figure as showing the relative proportion of themes in the total set of valuations. The distribution of themes, considered as a complex but well-defined mathematical entity, is thus a characteristic of the dialogical self. As with any model, it is a simplification—for instance it does not capture inter-relationships between I-positions—but it does provide an objective and useful description of the dialogical self by conveying the relative weight of various themes in the life of the individual.

The properties of this distribution need to be inferred from a sample of valuation themes. This sample is provided by the SCM: participants generate a sample of valuations, which are then scored to establish their themes. The modes of the distribution are of particular interest as they correspond to recurrent themes in valuations. For a multi-modal distribution, the mean is less informative than the modes. The mean is, however, easy to calculate, and the average thematic value of a set of valuations is clearly a useful statistic. In general, inferring the detailed structure of a multivariate, multimodal probability distribution is difficult with modest sample sizes, as we have here. We shall therefore employ a variety of *ad hoc* procedures to study these distributions.

I-positions

The I-position is conceived of as the hypothetical author of a valuation. We attempt no more precise definition. Individuals may have as many or as few I-positions as the interviewer and interviewee agree on. In this study, we sought to distinguish two: the county-of-origin I-position and the Australian I-position. Consequently participants

Figure 1. Hypothetical probability distribution of valuation themes: Oblique view and plan view



were required to perceive themselves as having two separate cultural identities—that is, they should think of themselves as having achieved bi-cultural identification, one identity belonging to their country of origin and the other identity belonging to Australia. Later, in the SCM interviews, participants were invited to focus first on their cultural identity of their country of origin, then on their cultural identity in Australia, and to tell about important experiences and circumstances from these particular perspectives.

Thematic Modes

Our theory concentrates on the themes of valuations, as it is these that are directly measurable. Themes that regularly occur in valuations are of particular interest, as they reflect psychological invariance over I-positions. These valuations will be revealed as modes of the probability distribution of themes (see Figure 1). In a sample of valuations, clusters of roughly similar theme appear as modes. Strongly recurrent themes will tend to produce larger clusters and thus larger hills around the mode. Figure 1 is drawn with three modes. In this case three sets of similar themes would tend to re-occur in the valuations of the particular individual.

Themes and Migration

We consider what happens to the distribution of themes when a person experiences a dramatic change in life circumstances, as for example occurs on migration.

A basis of selection for our sample was that migrants acknowledge both an Australian identity and a continued identity associated with the country of origin: we interpret this to mean that living as a migrant brings into being new I-positions. However it may be that these new I-positions are thematically similar to corresponding I-positions in the country of origin, at least in some cases. For instance, the themes of domestic I-positions (I-as-parent, I-as-spouse etc.) might change little in a migrant who brings his or her family, but those for work I-positions might change greatly. The probability surface would then shift, more in some places than in others. The study gauged the extent to which migration changed the thematic distribution for this sample.

Method

Sample Selection and Characteristics

Data for study came from a sample of 38 migrants, who participated in structured in-depth interviews and who completed psychological self-reports. They were recruited using a variety of methods. They responded to advertisements placed on notice boards posted around the university campus and to the "snowball" sampling method. The researcher was also interviewed about the study by a local community radio station, and several people rang at the end of the program stating their interest in participating in the research. In order to maximise comparability of participants, they were selected according to the following criteria:

They should all perceive themselves as having two separate cultural identities—that is, they should think of themselves as having achieved bi-cultural identification, one identity belonging to their country of origin and the other identity belonging to Australia.

They should all be born overseas and to have experienced the same life changing event: migration to Australia after the age of 7.

They had to be voluntary migrants (as opposed to refugees, who are regarded as involuntary migrants).

They should have lived in Australia for at least five years so as to allow for sufficient time to fully experience migration and also to allow for enough time for the adaptation process to take place.

They should have good English so as to avoid translation difficulties.

Of the sample, 14 (36.8%) were male and 24 (63.2%) male. A majority (22 or 57.9%) were married and the rest either single (10 or 26.3%) of in a few cases divorced (3 or 15.8%). The sample was generally highly educated—no doubt a consequence of the snowball sampling method. Most (29 or 81.6%) were graduates, and of these 22 (57.9%) were postgraduates; the rest were divided roughly equally between year 12 (4 or 10.5%) and a lower level (3 or 7.9%). The sample was almost evenly split on the language spoken at home: just under 40% (15 or 39.5%) spoke English only, slightly more (17 or

44.7%) spoke only their mother tongue, and 8 (15.5%) were bilingual. About one in five (8 or 21%) identified with their ethnic group, while the rest claimed no particular ethnic affiliation. At first glance the latter finding is unexpected, as a criterion for selecting study participants was that they should perceive themselves as having two cultural identities, hence one would not expect them to express "no ethnic belonging". A plausible explanation is that participants perceived their ethnic identity as private rather than public. Thus they have two *private* cultural identities while at the same time not identifying *publicly* with their ethnic group. No significant differences were found in the means of continuous variables by sex. The males had been in Australia for a mean period of 18.7 years (SD = 10.7 years) and females 20.4 years (SD = 10.6 years), $t(36) = -.464$, $p = .645$. The mean age of the males was 41.1 years (SD = 10.4 years) and females 42.2 years, (SD = 9.6 years), $t(36) = -.329$, $p = .744$.

Self-confrontation interviews

Participants took part in at least two in-depth face-to-face interviews using the SCM. The interviews were conducted by the first author, who had received formal training in the technique. They varied in length depending on the participant's responsiveness, each interview averaging an hour and a half long, but no one interview was longer than two and a half hours, to avoid participant's tiredness. Participants were told they would be questioned (see Appendix 1) about what they saw as important experiences in their past and present lives in their country of origin and in Australia. The response of the thirty-eight participants was overwhelming. Rather than feeling imposed on, the vast majority were eager to talk and flattered that someone was interested in their story. In fact, the major problem in the interview situation was to keep issues focused so that the interview could be terminated in a reasonable period. For many of them, the interview was therapeutic, either because insights were raised by the types of questions that were asked or because the interview provided an "objective" setting in which they could relive some of the stories associated with their migration experience.

The SCM is an idiographic instrument in which a participant is invited to construct valuations during a profound dialogue with another person, most often a psychologist or psychotherapist. There are three general phases associated with the administration of the SCM: (a) valuation elicitation, (b) affective rating, and (c) evaluation and integration. For the present study, an adapted version of the SCM was used, which comprised three steps: (a) identification of the cultural positions of the self that are currently relevant in the person's life; (b) formulation and affective rating of a valuation system from the perspective of each position; and (c) assessment of the affective implications of the valuations of the two systems.

Elicitation of valuations

In step 1 (first interview), participants were invited to select two cultural identities of their personality. They were told: "Many migrants feel that they have developed two identities as a result of moving to a new country. One identity retains aspects of how they were in their country of origin; the other identity relates to their new country". Participants were allowed time to reflect and describe their perception of themselves as having two distinct identities in their own terms.

In step 2, participants were invited to focus on their cultural identity of their country of origin and to think about their past, present, and future, and tell about important experiences and circumstances from this particular perspective (I-position). This resulted in a valuation system of each participant from their society of origin with a unique content and affective organisation (Hermans, 2001).

In step 3, participants met the researcher for a second interview, which usually took place a week after the first one. Participants were invited to focus on their cultural identity of their society of settlement and to think about their past, present and future, and to relate important experiences from this particular perspective (*I*-position). This resulted in a second valuation system of each participant from their society of settlement, again with its unique content and affective organisation (Hermans, 2001).

In both interview sessions, participants were asked the same set of standard, open-ended questions to elicit their valuations on relevant issues. The questions (which were read aloud by the researcher while sitting next to the client) related to people, experiences, circumstances and goals from the past, present and future, that were significant in the judgment of the participant. The questions (see Appendix A) invited participants to reflect on their life in such a way that they feel free to mention those concerns that are most relevant from the perspective of the present.

The participants were free to interpret the questions in any way they wanted. They were also encouraged to phrase the valuation in their own terms in order that the formulations were as much as possible in agreement with the intended meaning. During both interview sessions, each elicited valuation was written by the participant in the form of sentences on a small card. The typical form of expression was a sentence or sentences, as long as it as felt to be one total experience, where the participant brought together those events that he or she felt belong together as elements of a personal unit of meaning. A quick response was not required, and there was no one-to-one relation between question and answer. The participant was encouraged to mention all valuations that came to mind and, as is typical of the SCM, each question led to more than one valuation. The aim of each interview was to arrive at an exhaustive survey of the experiences relevant to the participant from each I-position. At the end of each interview participants were asked whether the survey contained all the experiences they considered (from their vantage point of their present I-position perspective) to be important. If something was missing,

they were free to add this. In the present study, at the end of the procedure the range of valuations elicited from each participant was between 20 to 30 valuations for each I-position.

Finally, during the week after the two interviews had taken place, participants were asked to find a suitable time in which they could concentrate and to return to each valuation and, after reflecting on the experience it related to, to rate on a 0-5 point scale to what extent he or she experiences each of the 24 affects (see Appendix 2) in relation to a specific valuation. Participants used a matrix they were provided with by the researcher in order to rate each valuation with the same list of affect terms.

Assessment of the affective implications of the valuation systems

Affect scores were aggregated to give four indices (see Appendix 2), each representing a different motive or affect: an index (range 0 to 20) obtained by summing the scores for the four affects indicating the strength of the *self-enhancement (*or *S)* motive; an index (range 0 to 20) obtained by summing the scores for the four affects indicating the strength of the *union-with-the-other (*or *O)* motive; an index (range 0 to 40) obtained by summing the scores for the eight affects indicating the strength of *positive affect (*or *P)*; and an index (range 0 to 40) obtained by summing the scores for the eight affects indicating the strength of *negative affect (*or *N)*. The indices represent the affective character of the valuations and give information about the affective organisation of each participant's valuation system in general. Another way of comparing valuations in the SCM is to arrange them according to their major theme as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. *Rules for assigning valuations to major themes*.

Major theme	**Criteria for assignment**			
	P – N	*S – O*	*S*	*O*
Strength and unity (+HH)	≥ 12	…	> 17	> 17
Unity and love (+O)	≥ 12	≤ –6	…	…
Unfulfilled longing (–O)	≤ –12	≤ –6	…	…
Powerlessness and isolation (–LL)	≤ –12	…	< –4	< –4
Aggression and anger (–S)	≤ –12	≥ 6	…	…
Autonomy and success (+S)	≥ 12	≥ 6	…	…

Key: S = Self-enhancement; *O* = Union-with-the-other; *P* = Positive affect; *N* = Negative affect.

Source: Adapted and modified from Van Geel & De Mey (2004, p. 87)

Analysis Based on Major Themes ("Analysis 1")

Procedure

Two separate but comparable analyses were performed. In Analysis 1, participants were grouped according to a procedure founded on the "major themes" of their valuations as defined by Hermans and Hermans-Jansen (1995, p.73). This was done separately for country-of-origin valuations and Australia valuations. A transition matrix was then generated to determine which participants were in the same group for both sets of valuations, and which participants changed group. Formal tests of statistical significance were then performed on the transition matrices to test the null hypothesis that participants remained in the same groupings, that is, that migration produced no significant change in I-position.

The rules for assigning valuations to major themes are set out in Table 1 and are largely those used by Hermans and Hermans-Jansen (1995, p.254). As some latitude is permitted, the definitions of "high" or "low" self-enhancement and union-with-the-other were set at 17 and –4 respectively for this study. This typology is not exhaustive, as valuations can fail to meet the criteria for inclusion under any of the major themes; by setting the rules in this way, the 1565 valuations obtained from all migrants were reduced to 570. The analysis was based on these.

Participants were classified according to the following procedure:

Participants were represented by the proportions of all valuations in each major theme. Two profiles were produced for each participant: one pertaining to all valuations, termed the "global profile", and one for valuations at country of origin.

Proportions were regarded as "important" if they were 20% or less of the total number of valuations; otherwise they were regarded as unimportant.

Participants were assigned to a common group if they had important proportions in precisely the same categories.

For this purpose, an important proportion in strength and unity (+HH) was regarded as equivalent to important proportions in both autonomy and success (+S) and unity and love (+O).

Likewise, an important proportion in powerlessness and isolation (–LL) was regarded as equivalent to important proportions in both aggression and anger (–S) and unfulfilled longing (–O).

Table 2 shows the resulting classification. Each row of the table gives the proportion of each participant's valuations expressing each major theme. Proportions pertaining to "important" major themes are bolded and underlined. The resulting vector of proportions is termed the participant's "thematic profile".

Table 2

Thematic profiles showing "important" major themes, by participant and location

		Global thematic profile						Country-of-origin thematic profile						Stability	Euclidean distance between profiles
		Positive affect			Negative affect			Positive affect			Negative affect				
		+HH	+S	+O	–LL	–S	–O	+HH	+S	+O	–LL	–S	–O		
Univalent															
–O only	17 Ljubica		0.10	0.20	0.10		**0.60**		0.10	0.20	0.10		**0.60**	X	n.a.
–S and –O	07 Frida	0.11	0.06	0.17	**0.33**	**0.33**	0.00	0.10	0.10	0.10	**0.50**	0.20		S	0.23
	03 Yoana*	0.20	0.10	0.10	**0.40**		0.20			0.17	**0.50**		**0.33**	U	0.29
	02 Dragan		0.04		**0.86**	0.04	0.07				**1.00**			S	0.17
+S only	28 Gonzalo	0.11	**0.50**	0.07	0.18		0.14	0.05	**0.53**	0.11	0.11		**0.21**	S	0.12
	15 Etsuko		**1.00**						**1.00**					X	n.a.
	09 Sohrab		**1.00**						**1.00**					X	n.a.
	39 Rhonda	0.05	**0.76**		0.19				**0.92**		0.08			S	0.19
	30 Germaine		**0.53**	0.18	0.18	0.12			**0.50**	0.10	**0.30**	0.10		S	0.15
	36 Robert	0.13	**0.75**		0.13			0.13	**0.73**		0.13			S	0.02
+S and +O	13 Irene	0.11	**0.21**	**0.53**	0.11		0.05	0.00	0.18	**0.73**	0.09			S	0.24
	34 Emilia	**0.50**		0.13	0.17	0.04	0.17	**0.35**		0.18	**0.24**		**0.24**	S	0.19
	20 Sancho	**0.56**	0.19		0.13		0.13	**0.67**	0.08	0.00	0.17		0.08	S	0.16
	24 Leo	**1.00**												X	n.a.
	14 Maryam	**0.93**	0.03		0.03			**1.00**						S	0.08
	32 Griselda	**0.50**	**0.25**	**0.25**				**0.50**	**0.25**	**0.25**				X	n.a.
	27 Janet*	**0.33**	**0.33**	0.17	0.08		0.08	0.00	**0.40**	**0.40**	0.20			U	0.44
	08 Kate	**0.73**	**0.27**					**0.71**	**0.29**					S	0.02
	10 Alicia	**0.67**	**0.22**				0.11	**0.50**					0.50	X	n.a.
	12 Laura	**0.57**	**0.22**		0.17	0.00	0.04	**0.47**	**0.26**		**0.21**		0.05	S	0.11
	05 Hendrik*	**0.56**	**0.22**		0.11	0.11		**0.60**			0.20	0.20		U	0.26

Table 2 (cont'd)

		Global thematic profile						Country-of-origin thematic profile						Stability	Euclidean distance between profiles
		Positive affect			Negative affect			Positive affect			Negative affect				
		+HH	+S	+O	–LL	–S	–O	+HH	+S	+O	–LL	–S	–O		
	35 Luisa	**0.52**	**0.29**	0.16		0.03		**0.39**	**0.39**	0.17		0.06		S	0.16
	01 Azzam*	**0.30**	**0.70**						**1.00**					U	0.42
Multivalent															
S and O, and both positive and negatve affect	19 Beatriz	**0.25**	**0.31**	0.13	**0.25**		0.06	**0.29**	**0.29**	0.14	**0.29**			S	0.09
	23 Marta		**0.50**	**0.25**	**0.25**				**0.50**	**0.50**				X	n.a.
	18 Eva		**0.50**	**0.25**	**0.25**				**0.50**		**0.50**			X	n.a.
+S and -LL	42 Keira*		**0.43**	0.14	**0.36**		0.07	0.00	**0.22**	**0.22**	**0.56**			U	0.31
	04 Nadine		**0.33**		**0.67**						**1.00**			X	n.a.
+O and -LL	25 Nicole	0.06	0.11	**0.28**	**0.50**		0.06	0.10		**0.40**	**0.40**		0.10	S	0.20
	06 Danilo	0.15	0.08	**0.23**	**0.31**	0.08	0.15			**0.33**	**0.33**	0.11	**0.22**	S	0.22
+HH and -O	33 Farid	**0.31**		0.15	0.15		**0.38**	**0.27**		0.09	0.18		**0.45**	S	0.10
+HH and -S	40 Carla*	**0.37**	0.11		0.14	**0.29**	0.09	**0.71**	0.06		0.18		0.06	X	0.45
+S and -LL	26 Damon		**0.78**		**0.22**				**0.67**		**0.33**			S	0.16
	11 Damara		**0.72**		**0.28**				**0.60**		**0.40**			S	0.17
	22 Juan		**0.60**		**0.33**		0.07		**0.50**		**0.33**		0.17	S	0.14
	37 Cristiano		**0.55**		**0.45**				**0.38**		**0.63**			S	0.24
	21 Diana	0.09	**0.27**		**0.45**	0.09	0.09	0.07	**0.36**		**0.50**		0.07	S	0.13
	16 Irina	0.13	**0.25**	0.19	**0.25**	0.06	0.13	0.20	**0.30**	**0.30**	0.10		0.10	S	0.22

Note. Names have been changed to preserve anonymity. Participants selected as case studies are marked by asterisks (*).

Key: **Bold underlined cells** indicate "important" major themes. Stability is coded as: S = stable; U = unstable; X = unclassified

Ideally the country-of-origin profile for each participant would have been compared with the corresponding Australian one. This was not done because some participants had too few Australian valuations with major themes (two or fewer) to render comparison meaningful; they would have had to be dropped from the sample. By comparing the country-of-origin profile with the global profile the problem was mitigated, but at the cost of creating another one: the null hypothesis was now harder to reject since the global profile was contaminated with country-of-origin valuations. In the event this did not matter as this null was still rejected, for rejection of the one hypothesis entails rejection of the other. Under this approach only nine of the 38 in the sample needed to be dropped, limiting the test sample to 29.

On the basis of Table 2, participants were classified into two groups: "univalent" and "multivalent". Univalent participants are those who expressed only a single affect, either positive or negative (but not both) in their valuations. Multivalent participants are those who expressed a mix of both positive and negative affects and are of particular interest because they have unambiguously multimodal major themes.

Of the univalent participants, one expressed only –O; three expressed both –S and –O; six expressed only +S; and 13 expressed both +S and +O. Of the multivalent participants, three expressed a mix of most major themes (+S, +O, –S and –O), two expressed +S but also –LL, two expressed +O but also –LL, one expressed +HH but also –O, one expressed +HH but also –S, and six expressed +S but also –LL. The three most common profiles are those whose valuations expressed only autonomy and success (+S); those that expressed both motives (*S* and *O*), both with positive affect; and those that expressed autonomy and success (+S), but combined with powerlessness and isolation (–LL).

In order to judge whether country-of-origin profiles were importantly different from global profiles, participants were subjectively classed as either "stable" or "unstable" on the basis of the degree of difference between their respective profiles. Of the 29 participants classed in this way, 23 were considered stable and six unstable. These six were selected as case studies for further investigation and are discussed later.

Tests of Statistical Significance

The null hypothesis is that thematic profiles are stable as between country of origin and Australia. Tests of the null are based on the differences between the profiles measured separately with respect to country of origin and Australia. Due to occasional lack of classified data at origin or in Australia, five participants in the sample of 38 were perforce dropped from the analysis. Table 3 reports averages, standard deviations, and *t*-statistics for the remaining 33, for the null hypothesis that mean differences are zero.

Table 3

Average differences in proportions of major themes

Major theme	***M***	***SD***	***t***	**df**	***p***
Strength and unity (+HH)	0.08	0.27	1.80	32	0.081
Unity and love (+O)	0.09	0.27	1.92	32	0.064
Unfulfilled longing (–O)	–0.05	0.21	–1.54	32	0.133
Powerlessness and isolation (–LL)	–0.11	0.29	–2.33	32	0.026
Aggression and anger (–S)	0.03	0.13	1.59	32	0.122
Autonomy and success (+S)	–0.04	0.16	–1.42	32	0.165

For two-tailed tests, only –LL is significant at the 5% level: thus average migrants tell fewer –LL valuations of Australia. It is, however, notable that migrants also tell more +HH and +S valuations and fewer +O valuations of Australia.

The question is whether the six average differences are jointly different from zero. This requires a test of a mean, complicated by the fact that the mean is here a vector in six dimensions. Such a test can be based on the statistic:

$$\chi^2 = \mu^T (V/N)^{-1} \mu$$

where μ is the measured vector of means (of differences), V the covariance matrix of the sample of differences, and N the sample-size[3].

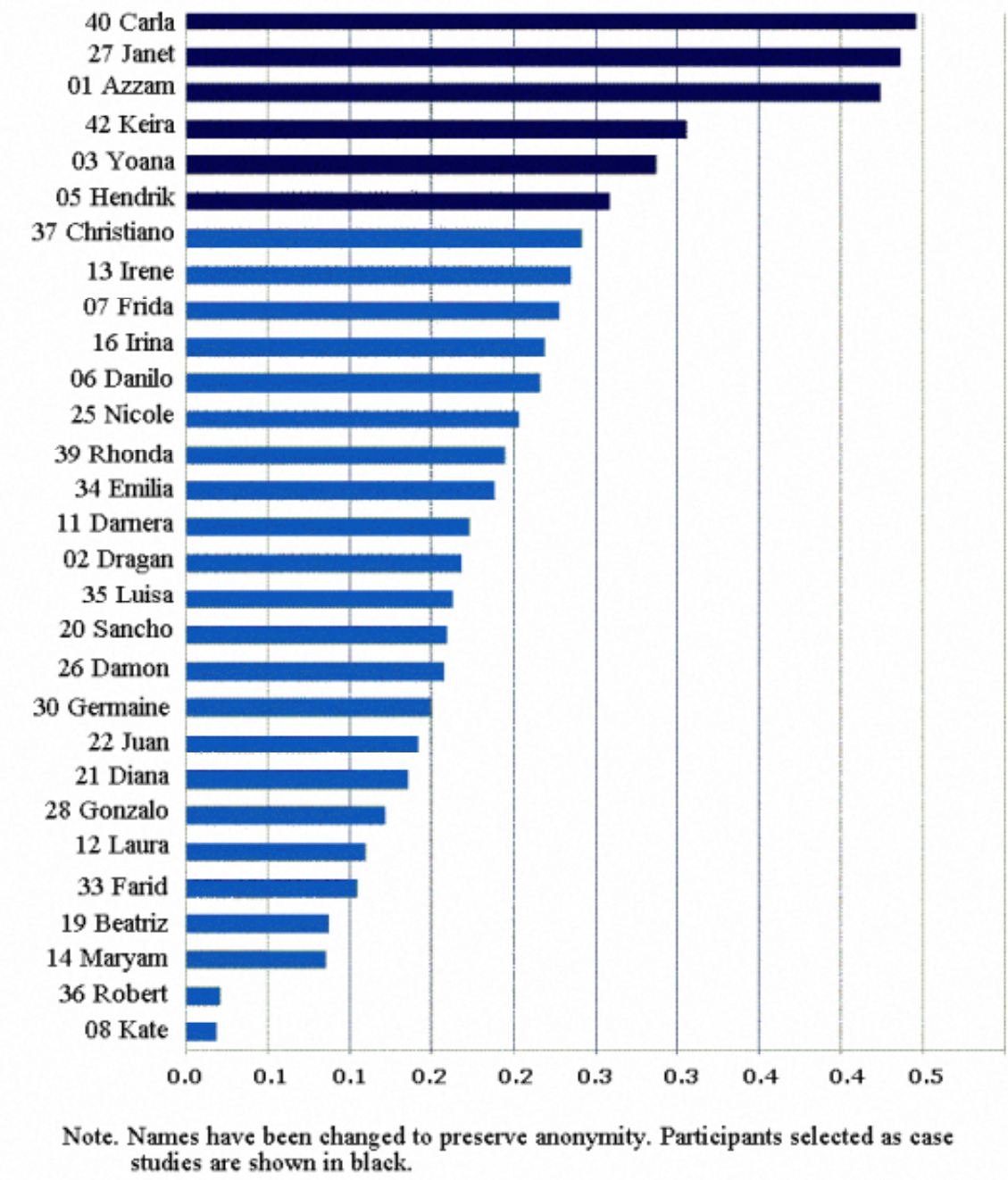
In computing this statistic, account must be taken of the fact that the underlying variables are proportions that sum to unity. The resulting redundancy is solved by arbitrarily eliminating one of the six categories: we chose –O. If this is done the statistic is distributed as a chi-square with five degrees of freedom under the null of no differences in means (in large samples).

We found strong evidence against the hypothesis of complete stability of the thematic profile, $\chi^2(5, N = 33) = 26.2$, $p < .002$. In other words, for some individuals at least, the themes of Australian valuations tend to differ significantly from their country-of-origin valuations.

Case studies

The analysis so far has been nomothetic in nature. As a confirmatory measure, we now take an idiographic view. We examine the six participants who demonstrated

Figure 2. Euclidean distance between profiles for (1) valuations at country of origin and (2) all valuations



Note. Names have been changed to preserve anonymity. Participants selected as case studies are shown in black.

the greatest instability of I-position. An objective way to assess stability is provided by a measure of difference between the two sets of proportions in Table 2, that is, proportions pertaining to participants' global and country-of-origin profiles. We relied on Euclidean

distance for this purpose, defined as the square root of the sum of squared differences between corresponding proportions. These distances are listed in Table 2 and ranked graphically in Figure 2. The six case studies occur at the top of Figure 2 and fall into two groups. The thematic change is particularly marked for the first group of three individuals, less so for the second. The data for these six are among those presented in Table 2.

Case Study: Carla

Carla emigrated from Uruguay with her family at seven years of age. She became very unhappy in Australia, missing her relatives in Uruguay and feeling isolated both at school and within her family. She and her mother returned to Uruguay when she was 14 where she re-established connection with her Uraguan family. She began a relationship which she thought would lead to marriage, but her mother forced her to return to Australia, and her boyfriend subsequently jilted her. She married at 18 in Australia and had two children, but the marriage ended in a bitter divorce with shared custody. Because of the shared custody she was unable to return to Uruguay with her children; however, when her grandmother became terminally ill, she obtained a dispensation from the court ruling and was able to return. She was happy there, but felt and still feels she could not remain in Uruguay as her children have better chances in Australia. She has returned and still feels estranged from her family in Australia.

Case Study: Janet

Whereas migration appears to have meant loss of well-being for Carla, the other five in this group show increases in well-being. Janet is a Chinese from the mainland. She appears to have been unhappy at home, reporting the atmosphere as “sad, oppressive, dark and negative”. She left home to marry at 19 and came to Australia with her husband. She appears to have soon discovered a new spirit of independence: “My first Australian friend helped me to realise that I have my own rights to do what I want and to pursue my happiness”. She left her husband (taking her baby) and commenced university studies. She has succeeded academically and has formed a happy new romantic relationship. She reports that she has a circle of friends with whom she is very comfortable, but also that she has repaired her relationship with her parents in China and is in contact with her friends and other family there.

Case Study: Azzam

Azzam is a Christian Palestinian from a middle-class background who came to Australia as a graduate student. His stories from home express affinity with Christian, Western culture and some antipathy towards the aggressive aspects of Islam. He has “a pressing concern of the welfare and destiny of the Christian community in Palestine”. He has become a successful academic in Australia and appears to be happily married with a number of children of whom he is very fond.

Case Study: Keira

Keira is an ethnic Chinese from Malaysia who came to Australia to live with relatives at 16 years. Her stories reveal that her parents were unhappy together and that she felt torn between them, though she seems to have had a strong relationship with her siblings. Her mother was very ambitious for her daughters and insistent that they succeed: she appears to have been something of a martinet. In Australia, Keira trained as a physiotherapist. She found the study difficult but qualified in the end, attributing this to the "discipline and determination" derived from her Chinese upbringing. She has made a happy marriage in which she and her husband "allow each other freedom to do what we are passionate about". She has switched careers and is planning some business ventures.

Case Study: Yoana

Yoana is a Colombian who came to Australia at 23. Two themes stand out in her stories about her youth in Colombia. Her parents divorced when she was seven and she felt abandoned by her much-admired father, as well as sympathy for her mother's predicament. This sense of abandonment was compounded when her sister migrated to Spain. The second theme concerns her distress at the quality of life in Colombia, which she perceives as "a world full of materialism, alcohol, sex, drugs, violence, etc." In Australia she has made a happy marriage. Her stories emphasise her devotion to her children. She is a convert to the Baha'i religion and aspires to "a very pure and spiritual life".

Case Study: Hendrik

Hendrik is an Afrikaans-speaking South African who came to Australia for graduate studies. He received a religious upbringing by strict parents, which he perceives made him excessively judgmental, in particular of the sexual morals of others: he has escaped from this to some extent in Australia. He appears to have had troubled relationships with his parents, now partially resolved. In large part, Australia seems to represent greater freedom to follow his own path. In discussion, Hendrik expressed concern at the rise in crime and violence in South Africa, which may have influenced his positive response to Australia, though this is not reflected in his valuations.

Synthesis of Case Studies

Carla would perhaps consider herself as Persephone from Greek mythology, torn against her will from a place of happiness and forced to live in the underworld. Intermittently she escapes, but is required to return. In the myth, Persephone is doomed to return because she ate of some pomegranate seeds while in Hades: in Carla's case, the pomegranate seeds are her Australian children.

Unlike Carla, the other five seem to have benefited from migration. All have established happy romantic relationships in Australia, and all but Azzam report childhoods in unhappy homes. However, one does not need to migrate to escape an

unhappy home and make a good marriage: if this were all there were to it there would be nothing special about the Australian experience. More pertinent is that three of the five express relief in escaping from violence (Azzam, Yoana, Hendrik), and three express satisfaction at aspects of living in a modern liberal society (Azzam, Janet, Keira). With regard to the latter point, it is noteworthy that the two ethnic Chinese, Janet and Keira, emphasise that their relationships do not restrict their abilities to pursue their own particular interests.

All these five needed to leave their home to find their home: here the first "home" is understood in its literal sense; the second is understood to mean a place where contentment can be found by the achievement of ambitions, perhaps after many trials and wanderings. Homer's Odysseus is thus a parallel for this group.

Analysis Based on Self-confrontation Indices ("Analysis 2")

Our second analysis resembles the first except that participants were grouped on the basis of the self-confrontation indices of their valuations—whether above or below the mean. As in the first analysis, this was done separately for country-of-origin valuations and Australian valuations. A transition matrix was then generated to determine which participants are in the same group for both sets of valuations, and which participants changed groups. Formal tests of statistical significance were then performed on the transition matrices to test the null hypothesis that participants remain in the same groupings, that is, that migration produced no significant change in I-position.

Procedure

Analysis 1 was based on Hermans's typology of valuation themes. His classification has the advantage of clinical experience but results in large attrition of valuations since only about one third of valuations are so classified; diagnostic certainty is gained at the cost of potential loss of information. The following analysis therefore considers the full set of valuations.

To reduce dimensionality, positive and negative affect indices were represented by a single index, well-being:

$$W = P - N$$

Next, a version of Hermans's typology was constructed from each participant's average score on the three indices *S*, *O* and *W*, both at country of origin and in Australia. An index value was considered high (or low) if it was higher (or lower) than the full sample mean in the country of origin. This gave an eight-way classification of participants at country of origin and in Australia. Using this typology it was possible to construct an 8 × 8 transition matrix to compare the themes expressed by migrants concerning the country of origin and Australia. This procedure extends the Hermans classification of valuations to a classification of individuals. Note that under this

typology it is possible for an individual to score low on *S* and *O* and high on *W*, as well as high on *S* and *O* and low on *W*. Such cases are ignored in the Hermans approach but the proposed classification procedure throws up a few examples, termed *+E* and *–E*, respectively.

The transition matrix is given in Table 4. Row-totals and column-totals give the numbers of participants classified in each of the eight nominated categories for country-of-origin and Australian valuations respectively. The values in each cell of the matrix give the number of people who pass from the corresponding category of country-of-origin valuation to the corresponding category of Australian valuation. For example, in the top left cell, eight participants pass from +HH for country-of-origin to +HH for Australia.

Table 4 *Thematic transitions*.

	Major theme in Australia								
Major theme at country of origin	+HH	+S	+O	+E	-LL	-S	-O	-E	*Total*
Strength and unity (+HH)	8			1	1	1	1	2	*14*
Autonomy and success (+S)	1	2							*3*
Unity and love (+O)			1						*1*
Low S, O, high W (+E)	3								*3*
Powerlessness and isolation (–LL)	1	1	1		10	1		1	*15*
Aggression and anger (–S)									*0*
Unfulfilled longing (–O)							1	1	*2*
High S,O, low W (–E)									*0*
Total	*13*	*3*	*2*	*1*	*11*	*2*	*2*	*4*	*38*

Key: Shaded cells show stable participants. Boxed cells show participants whose affects changed from positive to negative well-being or vice versa.

In respect of their country-of-origin I-positions, 14/38 = 37% of participants are classified as +HH and 15/38 =39 % as –LL, compared to 34% and 29% with regard to that of Australia, respectively; 21/38 = 55% show positive affect in the country of origin,

19/38 = 50% show positive affect in Australia. The entries along the diagonal of the matrix show participants with stable average themes with respect to country of origin and Australia. Thus 22/38 = 55% exhibited similar themes in valuations about the country of origin as about Australia. The bottom left portion of the matrix indicates participants with negative affect at the country of origin but positive affect in Australia, 3/38 = 8% in total; 6/38 = 16% (the top right portion) were the opposite[4]

In summary, there is considerable thematic stability between country-of-origin valuations and Australian ones. There is some evidence of change, contained in the off-diagonal portion of the transition matrix. Five participants exhibited positive affect with regard to Australia and negative affect with regard to the country of origin; three participants exhibited the opposite. This confirms the general picture emerging from the preceding section of small but measurable changes in a context of considerable stability.

Tests of Statistical Significance

Analogously to Table 3, Table 5 reports some statistics for the differences in numerical index scores between origin and Australia. Note that average theme is higher in Australia along all four dimensions. Thus the themes in Australia on average show stronger sense of self-enhancement (S), stronger sense of union with the other (O), stronger positive affect (P), and stronger negative affect (N). The average increase in S and P are significant at the 5% level, the other two not. The ensemble test of the four parameters together yields a value of 42.1, which has a *p*-level of 1.59×10^{-8}. This is very strong evidence against the null hypothesis of unchanged themes.

Table 5. *Average differences in thematic scores (Australia minus country of origin)*

Index	***M***	***SD***	***t***	**df**	***p***
Self-enhancement (*S*)	1.43	2.67	3.31	32	0.002
Unity and love (*O*)	0.53	2.91	1.12	32	0.271
Unfulfilled longing (*P*)	2.05	5.35	2.37	32	0.024
Autonomy and success (*N*)	0.41	5.17	0.49	32	0.627

Australia or life-span development?

On the face of it, these results suggest that, whereas the qualitative structure of themes remains fairly constant, mean values of *S* and *P* show a tendency to be larger in Australia. Is this causal?

The changes are not large: the increases in *S* and *P* shown in Table 6 are about 14% and 11% respectively of the average levels in the country of origin. Migrants in the sample were 42 years old on average and had been in Australia 20 years on average. An explanation of the results is that increased *S* and *P* have nothing to do with the experience of migration, but represent development through the life span: increased *S* and *P* could follow from, in this account, the typical experience of people in mid-career. On the other hand, our analysis of the six migrants with largest changes in thematic profile suggests that migrants value living in a liberal society with a low level of violence. These hypotheses can be tested by regressions of the *S*, *O*, *P*, *N* variables on indices of the rule of law and the level of violence (measured by murder rate) in the countries of origin (relative to the values of the indices in Australia), together with the duration of the stay in Australia (see Table 6).

The murder rate per 100,000 is taken from Geneva Declaration Secretariat (2008) and expressed as the difference between the murder rates in country of origin and in Australia. The rule of law index is taken from Freedom House (2008) and is the sum of the sub-scores for "Political Rights" and "Civil Liberties". The range of this variable is 2 to 14 ("Free" to "Not-free"); the variable in the regression is the difference between the country-of-origin value and the Australian value.

We find that the index of violence is significant at the 5% level three times out of four (by the t-test) and significant at the 10% level in the remaining case. An increase in this index indicates an increase in *S*, *O* and *P*, and a fall in *N* in Australia.

The rule of law variable has a similar effect (more law at origin reduces gains in Australia), but is somewhat less significant statistically. We saw in the case studies that the two ethnic Chinese women, Janet and Keira, expressed satisfaction at the personal freedom they have in their Australian marriages. One interpretation of the rule of law variable is that it reflects primarily women's rights. We performed an experiment allowing the rule-of-law parameter to differ between men and women, finding in all four cases that the female parameter was larger in magnitude. Though the differences between the male and female parameters were not significant statistically, the uniformity of the results adds support to the interpretation just given.

The variable *Years since arrival in Australia* is quite weak, having a *t*-statistic greater than unity in magnitude only once.

Table 6. *Regressions of the thematic variables on some explanatory variables*

		Constant	Murder rate at country of origin	Rule of law index at country of origin	Years since arrival	R^2
Change in S	*B*	-0.95	0.08	-0.21	0.05	0.25
	SE	1.09	0.03	0.11	0.04	
	t	-0.87	2.67	-1.91	1.25	
	p	0.39	0.01	0.06	0.22	
Change in O	*B*	-1.74	0.05	-0.33	0.04	0.19
	SE	1.23	0.03	0.13	0.04	
	t	-1.41	1.67	-2.54	1.00	
	p	0.17	0.10	0.02	0.32	
Change in P	*B*	-1.41	0.15	-0.47	0.03	0.23
	SE	2.20	0.06	0.23	0.08	
	t	-0.64	2.50	-2.04	0.38	
	p	0.53	0.02	0.05	0.71	
Change in N	*B*	1.23	-0.17	0.25	0.07	0.30
	SE	2.03	0.05	0.22	0.07	
	t	0.61	-3.40	1.14	1.00	
	p	0.55	0.00	0.26	0.32	

The constant is very weak. The constant can be interpreted as the shift in mean unexplained by the shifts in mean of the three systematic variables. The insignificance of the constant thus indicates that the other variables (which have theoretical provenance) can give a satisfactory account of the mean shift.

Discussion

In representing a person's I-positions as a frequency distribution of valuations categorised by major theme, this paper introduces a way of describing the dialogical self. A frequency distribution does not capture the full richness of the dialogical self nor the I-positions that compose it, since the theory concerns not just I-positions but the

relationships between them; but it does offer valuable insights for exploring the changes in the dialogical self that arise when people encounter changed social environments.

In this study we investigated a sample of migrants to Australia and examined the change in the frequency distribution of valuations for country of origin and Australia. We found considerable stability in the distribution, as measured by two analytical procedures.

In analysis 1 we classified each participant's valuations into Hermans's six major themes. We then grouped each participant by their profile of major themes. Most participants we labeled "stable" because the pattern of their country-of-origin themes resembled the pattern of their themes globally. But six participants were identified as "unstable" because their profiles differed, and were discussed as case studies.

Analysis 2 resembled the first except that we classified participants by a different method that used all of their valuations, not just those with major themes. Valuations were classed as either high or low on each of Hermans's four self-confrontation indices according to whether they were above or below the mean. This produced an eight-way grouping of participants.

Under each analysis a transition matrix was constructed, tabulating participants by country-of-origin group and Australian group. We tested both transition matrixes for the null hypothesis of complete stability; that is, that participants would be in the same group for country-of-origin as for Australian. The hypothesis was rejected in both analyses: although we found evidence of considerable stability, we also found some significant change.

This finding is gratifying for the theory of the dialogical self, for modest change in a context of overall stability is an essential feature of any theory if it is to be useful. On the one hand, if the thematic content of valuations were invariant over life's experiences the theory would be of no value in accounting for changes in the self; on the other hand, if the dialogical self exhibited no stability at all, as might occur if the self were completely determined by circumstances, one could hardly call it a self. Hermans (2006) implicitly recognises this when commenting in a therapeutic context:

> … stability and change need each other; a certain degree of stability is needed in order to realize a significant change. The experience of safety and continuity provided by the stable parts of the valuation system help clients to face the discontinuities in their lives that otherwise would be disrupting. In other words, stability and change are both necessary parts of the therapeutic reorganization of the valuation system. (p. 12–13)

Furthermore our results show that the dialogical self not only changes but does so in an intelligible way. We found that the mean values for the self-enhancement motive (*S*) and positive affect (*P*) were significantly higher for Australia than for country of origin, while the union-with-the-other motive (*O*) and negative affect (*N*) did not change

significantly. Examination of case studies suggests that many migrants may be responding positively to the peaceful, liberal social conditions they find in Australia. A regression analysis showed that once these factors were controlled for, there were no significant changes in the means of any of the self-confrontation indices as between country of origin and Australia. In other words, these migrants' increased self-enhancement and positive affect could be accounted for by the favourable conditions they encountered in Australia.

This finding has implications for the underlying theory. Hermans interprets the *S*- and *O*-indices as fundamental motives, as distinct from the *P*- and *N*-indices, which are affects. It is natural therefore to expect *P* and *N* to change in the new social environment offered by migration to another country, as the individual finds more or less scope for fulfillment. In this way theory explains the observed change in positive affect (*P*). Changes in motives, such as the observed increase in the self-enhancement (*S*), demand a different explanation. They suggest that the social environment may bring about I-positions that differ in their motives, at least in some cases. This too is consistent with theory: Hermans and Hermans-Jansen (1995) argue that motives evolve throughout the lifespan and differ between I-positions (worker, spouse, parent etc).

Encouraging as these results are, they are based on a sample limited in size and composition. We know little about why I-positions differ as they do, nor why some migrants are stable and others not. We see this as a profitable area for future research. We also believe elements of our analytical approach merit refinement. One is our treatment of the dialogical self as a probability distribution of themes of valuations. This is a powerful and insightful way of conceiving of the dialogical self, and appropriate for what is in essence a population and not a single metric; but we have yet to explore its potential as an analytical tool. The other merit of our approach, we believe, is its complementary reliance on nomothetic and idiographic analysis.

Notes

[1] The terms "theme" and "major theme" are used throughout and merit definition. The "theme" of a narrative is its vector of index scores as measured by the SCM; these are elaborated in the text. Many (but not all) narratives can be assigned to a "major theme", of which there are six, on the basis of their "theme". How this is done is also explained in the text.

[2] One might compare this case to the economists' paradigm of an individual endowed with stable tastes (or utility function) for various goods who chooses differently when prices change. Here *S* and *O* determine the structure of the utility function; different prices cause the individual to choose differently and thus to experience different levels of utility (*P* and *N*).

[3] If the five selected variates were normally and independently distributed, this statistic would be the sum of squares of the t-statistics in Table 3, which is chi-square with five degrees of freedom in large samples. The presence of the term *V*/*N* in the formula is to correct for possible cross-tabulations between the variates. This approach has the advantage that it follows on naturally

from the t-tests. We thus prefer it to a contingency table analysis, which would be in any case vitiated by low expected frequencies in many cells.

[4]These two groups of participants are shown in boxes in Table 4.

References

Bakan, D. (1966). *The duality of human existence*. Chicago: Rand-McNally.

Bakhtin, M. (1973). *Problems of Dostoevsky's poetics* (2nd ed.) (R. W. Rotsel, Trans.) Ann Arbor, MI: Ardis. (Original work published 1929)

Berry, J. W. (1990). Psychology of acculturation. In J. J. Berman (Ed.), *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, 1989. Vol. 37. Cross-cultural perspectives* (pp. 201–234). Lincoln: University of Nebraska.

Cohler, B. J. (1982). Personal narrative and life course. In P. B. Baltes & O. G. Brim, Jr. (Eds.), *Life span development and behavior* (Vol. 44, pp. 205-241). New York: Academic Press.

Freedom House (2008). *Freedom in the world 2008.* Freedom House: Washington, DC.

Geneva Declaration Secretariat (2008). *The global burden of armed violence.* Geneva: Geneva Declaration Secretariat.

Hermans, H. J. M. (1987a). Self as organized system of valuations: towards a dialogue with the person. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *34*, 10–19.

Hermans, H. J. M. (1987b). The dream in the process of valuation: A method of interpretation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *53*, 163–175.

Hermans, H. J. M. (1988). On the integration of nomothetic and idiographic research methods in the study of personal meaning. *Journal of Personality*, *56*, 785–812.

Hermans, H. J. M. (1989). The meaning of life as an organized process. *Psychotherapy*, *26*, 11–22.

Hermans, H. J. M. (1991). The person as co-investigator in self-research: Valuation theory. *European Journal of Personality*, *5*, 217–234.

Hermans, H. J. M. (1992). Unhappy self-esteem: A meaningful exception to the rule. *Journal of Psychology*, *126*, 555–570.

Hermans, H. J. M. (2002) The dialogical self: One person, many stories. In Y. Kashima, M. Foddy & M. Platow (Eds.) *Self and identity: Personal, social and symbolic* (pp. 71-99). New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Hermans, H. J. M. (2006). Moving through three paradigms, yet remaining the same thinker. *Counseling Psychology Quarterly*, *19(1),* 5–25.

Hermans, H. J. M, & Hermans-Jansen, E. (1995). *Self-narratives: The construction of meaning in psychotherapy*. New York: Guilford Press.

Hermans, H. J. M., & Kempen, H. J. G. (1993) *The dialogical self: Meaning as movement.* San Diego: Academic Press.

Hermans, H. J. M., Kempen, H. J. G., & Van Loon, R. J. P. (1992). The dialogical self: Beyond individualism and rationalism. *American Psychologist*, *47*, 23–33.

Hermans, H. J. M., Rijks, T. I., & Kempen, H. J. G. (1993). Imaginal dialogues in the self: Theory and method. *Journal of Personality*, 61, 207-236.

McAdams, D. P. (1985) *Power, intimacy, and the life story: Personological inquiries into identity*. Chicago: Dorsey Press.

Triandis, H. C., Bontempo, R., Villareal, M. J., Asai, M. & Luca, N. (1988). Individualism and collectivism: Cross-cultural perspectives on self-group relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *54*, 323–338.

Schwartz, S. H. (1990). Individualism-collectivism: Critique and proposed refinements. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *21*, 139–195.

Van Geel, R. & De Mey, H. R. A. (2004). A theory-guided hexagonal representation of single valuation systems for use with Hermans' self-confontation method. *Journal of Constructivist Psychology*, *17*, 85–104.

Appendix A
Questions of the Self-confrontation method

Set 1: *The Past*

These questions are intended to guide you in reviewing one or more aspects of your life which may have been of great importance to you.

- Has there been anything of major significance in your past life which still continues to exert a strong influence on you? Example: 'After high school I never managed to build up a group of friends; I felt left out and stuck between two worlds'.
- Was there in the past any person or persons, experience or circumstance which greatly influenced your life and still appreciably affects your present existence? Example: 'My parents have always treated us as equals. They always tried to keep me stimulated. I could always talk very well with my parents'.

Set 2: *The Present*

This set again consists of two questions which will lead you, after a certain amount of reflection, to formulate a response:

- Is there anything in your present existence which is of major importance to you or exerts a significant influence on you? Example: 'Bodily complaints: Every time I find that I have a problem, my body signals it in one way or another'.
- Is there in your present existence any person or persons or circumstance which exerts a significant influence on you? Example: 'Wendy is a good friend'.

Set 3: *The Future*

The following questions will again guide you to a response:

- Do you foresee anything that will be of great importance for, or exert a major influence on your future life? Example: 'I want to pursue a combination of studying and volunteer work'.
- Do you feel that a certain person, persons or circumstance will exert a significant influence on your future life? Example: 'John and I want children in the future'.
- Is there any future goal or object which you expect to play an important role in your life? Example: 'I would like to meet somebody who would teach me how to have a normal life'.

Two final questions:

- How do you generally feel these days?
- How would you like to feel?

These questions are not answered by a formulation. Instead, you answer them by adding two extra rows in the matrix using the same list of affect terms.

Appendix B

Composition of Indices in the Self-confrontation Method

Self-enhancement (*S*)	**Union-with-the-other (*O*)**	**Positive affect (*P*)**	**Negative affect (*N*)**
Self-esteem	Caring	Joy	Powerlessness
Strength	Love	Satisfaction	Anxiety
Self-confidence	Tenderness	Enjoyment	Shame
Pride	Intimacy	Trust	Self-alienation
		Safety	Guilt
		Energy	Loneliness
		Inner calm	Inferiority
		Freedom	Anger