CHAPTER

25

2 # Multiculturalism
3 *Cultural, Social, and Personality Processes*

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Abstract

This chapter discusses the psychological and societal processes involved in the phenomenon of multiculturalism. An emphasis is placed on reviewing and integrating relevant findings and theories stemming from cultural, personality, and social psychology. The chapter includes sections devoted to defining multiculturalism at the individual, group, and societal level, discussing the links between acculturation and multiculturalism, how to best operationalize and measure multicultural identity, the issue of individual differences in multicultural identity, and the possible psychological and societal benefits of multiculturalism. The chapter concludes with a discussion of future challenges and needed directions in the psychological study of multiculturalism.

Keywords: multiculturalism, multicultural, biculturalism, bicultural, diversity, intercultural, bicultural identity integration, identity

Multiculturalism is a fact of life for many people. The global increase in intercultural contact due to factors such as immigration, speed of travel and communication, and international corporate presence is difficult to ignore. Undoubtedly, multiculturalism and globalization influence how people see themselves and others, and how they organize the world around them. Take, for instance, U.S. President Barack Hussein Obama. Obama straddles countries and cultures (Hammack, 2010). The son of a Kenyan and an American, he studied the Quran in his youth and as an adult he was baptized. His multicultural background enables him to speak the language of a globalized world, in which people of diverse origins encounter each other and negotiate common meaning across shrinking cultural divides (Saleh, 2009). Obama exemplifies the word "multiculturalism" as a biracial individual from a multicultural family who has lived in various countries; also, several of his key advisors have also lived outside the United States (Bartholet & Stone, 2009), and almost half of his cabinet are racial or ethnic minorities (Wolf, 2009). In fact, in his inaugural speech, Obama stated that multiculturalism is a national strength (Obama, 2009), and since then, he has deliberately set out to select a diverse cabinet, based on the premise that multicultural individuals have insights, skills, and unique psychological experiences that contribute to society (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2010).

The prevalence and importance of multiculturalism has long been acknowledged in psychology (e.g., Hermans & Kempen, 1998; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993), yet the phenomenon has been investigated empirically only in the last decade or so. However, the study of multiculturalism has exciting and transformative implications for social and personality psychology, as the issue of how individuals develop a sense of national, cultural, ethnic, and racial group membership becomes particularly meaningful in situations of cultural clashing, mixing, and integration (Baumeister, 1986; Deaux, 2006; Phinney, 1999). Furthermore, the individual and contextual factors that influence

how an individual makes sense of his/her multicultural experiences provide personality psychologists with another window through which to study individual differences in identity and self-concept. In fact, as Phinney (1999) eloquently said, "increasing numbers of people find that the conflicts are not between different groups but between different cultural values, attitudes, and expectations *within themselves*" (p. 27, italics added).

The study of multiculturalism also affords unique methodological tools to social and personality psychologists. By virtue of having two or more cultures that can be independently manipulated, multicultural individuals give researchers a quasi-experimental design ideal for the study of how culture affects behavior (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000). In addition, previously identified cross-cultural differences can be replicated in experiments with multicultural individuals without the confounding effects (i.e., differences in SES, translation issues) that often characterize cross-national comparisons (Ramirez-Esparza, Gosling, Benet-Martínez, Potter, & Pennebaker, 2006; Sanchez-Burks et al., 2003).

With the increase of cultural diversity in academic, political, and media spheres, empirical research on multiculturalism has finally begun to appear in social and personality psychology journals. The main goal of this chapter is to review and integrate this research and propose an agenda for future studies. However, because multiculturalism issues are very new to empirical social and personality psychology, this chapter also includes sections devoted to defining the constructs of multiculturalism and multicultural identity, summarizing the relevant work from the field of acculturation studies, and discussing how to best operationalize and measure multiculturalism (see also Hong, Wan, No, & Chiu, 2007).

Defining Multiculturalism: Individual, Intergroup, and Societal Levels

Who is multicultural? There are many definitions of multiculturalism, ranging from general (i.e., based on demographic characteristics) to psychologically specific conceptualizations (e.g., cultural identifications or orientations). Broadly speaking, those who are mixed-race and mixed-ethnic, those who have lived in more than one country (such as expatriates, international students, immigrants, refugees, and sojourners), those reared with at least one other culture in addition to the dominant mainstream culture (such as children of immigrants or colonized people), and those in intercultural relationships may all be considered multicultural (Berry, 2003; Padilla, 2006).[1] In the United States alone, multicultural individuals may include the 13% who are foreign-born, the 34% who are nonwhite, and the 20% who speak a language other than English at home (U.S. Census Bureau, 2006). High numbers of multicultural individuals (10% of the population by some estimates) can also be found in other nations where migration is strong (e.g., Canada, Australia, western Europe, Singapore) or where there is a history of colonization (e.g., Hong Kong).

Psychologically, there is no commonly agreed definition of multiculturalism. Loosely speaking, multiculturalism can be defined as the experience of having been exposed to and having internalized two or more cultures (Hong et al., 2000; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2007).[2] More specifically, multicultural individuals are those who display multicultural competence, that is, display cultural behaviors such as language use, choice of friends, media preferences, value systems, and so forth, that are representative of two or more cultures (LaFromboise et al., 1993). Multicultural individuals are also those who self-label (e.g., "I am multicultural") or for whom group self-categorization (e.g., "I am American" and "I am Chinese"; "I am Chinese-American") reflects their cultural pluralism. Relatedly, multicultural *identity* is the condition of having attachments with and loyalties toward these different cultures (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005).

Note then that multicultural identity is only one component (although perhaps the most important one) of the more complex and multidimensional notion of multiculturalism. That is, an individual who has been exposed to and has learned more than one culture is a multicultural person, but only when this individual expresses an attachment with these cultures can we say that the individual has a multicultural identity. This is because acquisition of knowledge from a new culture does not always produce identification with that culture (Hong et al., 2007). Thus multicultural identity involves a significant degree of identification with more than one culture; however, it does not presuppose similar degrees of identification with all the internalized cultures. Lastly, having a multicultural identity involves following the norms of more than one culture, or at least being cognizant of them (see later section on variations in multicultural identity); this premise is supported by social identity research showing that individuals who identify strongly (vs. weakly) with a culture are more likely to follow that

culture's norms (Jetten, Postmes, & McAuliffe, 2002), and that for these individuals cultural norms have greater impact on behavioral intentions than personal attitudes (Terry, Hogg, & White, 1999).

Societal and Intergroup Levels

As described in Nguyen and Benet-Martínez (2010), the terms "multicultural" and "bicultural" are typically used to describe individuals, but they can also be used to describe nations and states (e.g., bicultural and bilingual Quebec, where Anglo- and Francophone cultures coexist), institutions and policies (e.g., multicultural education), and groups (e.g., multicultural teams). Although the term is recent, the concept of biculturalism dates back to the origins of modern Canada (1774, when British authorities allowed French Canadians full use of their language, system of civil law, and freedom to practice their Roman Catholicism). Biculturalism should not be confused with bilingualism (having fluency in two languages), although these terms are conceptually related since often (but not always) bicultural individuals and institutions are also bilingual (Grosjean, 1996; Lambert, 1978).[3]

Multicultural ideology and policies advocate that society and organizations should include and equally value distinct cultural groups (Fowers & Richardson, 1996). Although the term "multiculturalism" is typically used to acknowledge the presence of the distinct cultures of immigrant groups, sometimes it can also be applied to acknowledge the presence of indigenous peoples in colonized nations. One assumption behind the multicultural ideology is that public acceptance and recognition of one's culture and opportunities for multicultural interactions are crucial for self-worth and well-being (Burnet, 1995). Support for this argument is found in counseling (Sue & Sue, 2003), education (Banks & Banks, 1995), corporate (Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009), and developmental contexts (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Yip, Seaton, & Sellers, 2006).

Multiculturalism has been formally adopted as an official policy in nations such as Canada, Australia, and the Netherlands, for reasons that vary from country to country. Multicultural policies influence the structures and decisions of governments to ensure that political and economic resources are allocated equitably to all represented cultural groups. Examples of government-endorsed multicultural policies are dual citizenship, government support for media outlets (e.g., newspapers, television, radio) in minority languages, support for cultural minority holidays, celebrations, and community centers, establishment of official multilingual policies, and acceptance of traditional and religious codes of dress and behavior in the public sphere (e.g., work, school).

Not all minority groups are perceived to deserve multicultural policies equally. Typically, multicultural recognition and rights are more easily given to "involuntary" groups (colonized people, descendents of slaves, refugees) than to immigrants. Supposedly, these immigrants would have waived their demands and rights by voluntary leaving their country of origin. In other words, multicultural policies tend to be less supported in relation to immigrant groups than in relation to involuntary minorities (Verkuyten, 2007). In fact, work closely examining multicultural attitudes and their effects from both the minority and majority perspectives reveals some interesting moderating factors (see Verkuyten, 2007, and Berry, 2006, for excellent reviews). For instance, minorities (e.g., Turkish, Moroccan in the Netherlands) are more likely to endorse multiculturalism than members of an ethnic majority group (e.g., Dutch). Cross-national data on multiculturalism validates this finding (Deaux, Reid, Martin, & Bikmen, 2006; Schalk-Soekar, 2007; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006; Wolsko et al., 2006). Further, in-group identification is positively related to endorsement of multiculturalism for minority individuals, while this link is negative among majority individuals (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2006). The fact that multiculturalism appeals more to ethnic minority groups than to majority group members is not surprising, given that the gains of this policy are more obvious to the former group (Berry, 2006; Berry & Kalin, 1995; Verkuyten & Thijs, 1999). Studies have also found that minorities' endorsement of multiculturalism is linked to positive ingroup evaluation, while for majorities endorsement of multiculturalism is related to positive outgroup views (Verkuyten, 2005). Lastly, endorsement of multiculturalism is positively associated to self-esteem for both minority and majority individuals who identify strongly with their ethnic group (Verkuyten, 2009). This suggests that multicultural recognition provides a normative context in which both majorities and minorities with high levels of ethnic identification can feel good about themselves (Verkuyten & Thijs, 2004).

A promising line of research conducted by Van der Zee and colleagues (e.g., Van der Zee, Atsma, & Brodbeck, 2004; Van der Zee & Van der Gang, 2007)

has been examining the interactive role between individual factors such as personality (i.e., traits related to multicultural effectiveness, Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2000) and social identity, and contextual pressures in how individuals respond to situations involving cultural diversity. This work has shown, for instance, that individuals high in extraversion and initiative respond more favorably to intercultural situations, but these differences disappear under threat (Van der Zee & Van der Gang, 2007). This finding suggests that the link between social traits and success in culturally diverse contexts is not driven by a special ability to deal with the potential threat of cultural differences but rather by the social stimulation afforded by culturally diverse situations. The study also showed that individual differences in neuroticism are linked to reactions toward cultural diversity only under conditions of threat. Given the increasingly global nature of today's workforce, this work promises to be very informative with regard to which competencies minority and majority members need to possess to facilitate constructive intercultural interactions.

Not surprisingly, multiculturalism is a controversial issue in some societies. Some political segments within the United States and some European nations view multiculturalism as a policy that promotes group stereotyping and negative outgroup feelings and undermines national unity, social integration, and even security (Huntington, 2004). Alternatives to multiculturalism propone, explicitly or implicitly, policies supportive of "monoculturalism" (normative cultural unity or homogeneity), "assimilation" (the belief that cultural minorities should abandon their original culture and adopt the majority culture), or "nativism" (return to the original settlers' cultural traits—e.g., English, Protestantism, and American liberalism in the case of the United States). Underlying these views is the belief that the majority-based macroculture is substantive (i.e., essential), foundational (i.e., original and primary), and that it provides the moral center for society; the legitimacy of this macroculture thus is always prior to the social phenomenon that may potentially shape it.

Unfortunately, most popular discussions in favor/against multiculturalism involve an implicit dichotomization of complex political and psychological issues: opposition between universalism and particularism, between unity and fragmentation, between right and left (Hartman & Gerteis, 2005). Recent multiculturalism theory departs from this aforementioned unidimensional space and makes a distinction between the social and the cultural dimensions,

thereby identifying three distinct types of multicultural ideologies: cosmopolitanism, fragmented pluralism, and interactive pluralism (Hartman & Gerteis, 2005). A review of each these three multiculturalism approaches reveals issues and constructs that are highly relevant to social psychology, and the study social identity and intergroup dynamics in particular. For instance, the *cosmopolitan* approach recognizes the social value of diversity, but it is skeptical about the obligations and constraints that group membership and societal cohesion can place on individuals (Hartman & Gerteis, 2005). In a way, this approach defends cultural diversity to the extent it supports and facilitates individual rights and freedoms (Bilbeny, 2007). Thus, the cosmopolitan approach supports a strong macrosocial boundary and weak internal groups and emphasizes the permeability of cultural group membership and boundaries (Hollinger, 1995). Here cultural group qualities are neutralized rather than negated (as in the assimilationist approach), and policies are to ensure that every individual is free to choose her or his place in the ethnic mosaic. An example of this type of "weak" group identification is the white ethnic identity of many Americans who self-identify as "Irish American" or "Italian American." Note that these group affiliations do not imply adopting a separatist identity or even strong identity, because there is no societal pressure to choose between this and other forms of cultural/ethnic identifications, and also because there is nothing about being "Irish" that is particularly in tension with being "American" (Hartman & Gerteis, 2005).

The *fragmented pluralism* approach, on the other hand, endorses weaker macrosocial boundaries but very strong internal groups and boundaries given that cultural group membership is seen as essential rather than partial and voluntaristic (Young, 2000). Structurally, this approach is the most opposite to assimilation. In fragmented pluralism the focus is on the recognition and maintenance of group rights and distinctive group cultures (e.g., separate institutions or practices), and the state is seen mainly as a tool for cohesion given its role as a force mediating between different group claims and value systems, which at times may be divergent or in some cases directly opposed. The phenomenon of "segmented assimilation" described by the sociologists Portes and Rumbaut (2001), can be seen as evidence for the existence of fragmented pluralism in the United States: Assimilation into mainstream society by immigrants and their descendents is uneven due to the fact that different groups are available to which

the immigrants may assimilate into (e.g., majority culture middle class, urban underclass) and to the fact that these different groups afford different opportunities to the immigrant groups. Lastly, the *interactive pluralism* approach, like the fragmented pluralism view, also prioritizes the role of groups, but it mainly stresses groups-in-interaction. This approach sees group interactions as essential, not only because group interactions facilitate societal cohesion and harmony but also because from these interactions a new and constantly redefined macroculture emerges (Alexander, 2001; Taylor, 2001). That is, social boundaries and moral order are produced in a democratic manner through the interaction of groups, and as cultural groups and their interactions change, the nature of the macroculture itself changes. Because this dynamic and more complex macroculture represents the complexity and reality of *all* groups, it is thus is more easily recognized and valued by all. This view contrasts with cosmopolitanism or fragmented pluralism, where the macroculture tends to be thinner and essentially procedural in nature.

The above constructs (macro- and group-culture) and processes (group interaction, permeability of cultural group membership and boundaries, procedural vs. substantive views of macroculture) are highly relevant to some well-known social psychological work. For instance, work on the common group identity model (Gaertner, Dovidio, Nier, Ward, & Baker, 1999), social identity complexity (Roccas & Brewer, 2002), group identity dimensionality (Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, Halevy, & Eidelson, 2008), procedural justice (Huo, 2003), and system justification theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994) speaks to some of the issues and processes underlying the above multiculturalism modes. However, the psychological validity, viability, and consequentiality of each of the models of multiculturalism reviewed above remains untested; this is an important gap that social psychology is in an ideal position to fill, given its theoretical and methodological richness.

Acculturation and Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism and acculturation are tightly intertwined, with multi/biculturalism being one of four outcomes of the acculturation process. Traditional views of acculturation (the process of learning or adapting to a new culture) asserted that to acculturate means to assimilate—that is, adopting the new or dominant culture requires rejecting one's ethnic or original culture (Gordon, 1964). In other words,

acculturation originally was conceptualized as a uni-dimensional, one-directional, and irreversible process of moving toward the new mainstream culture and away from the original ethnic culture (Trimble, 2003). However, a wealth of acculturation studies conducted in the last 25 years (see Sam & Berry, 2006, for a review), supports acculturation as a bidimensional, two-directional, multidomain complex process, in which assimilation into the mainstream culture is not the only way to acculturate. In other words, equating acculturation with assimilation is simply inaccurate.

The bidimensional model of acculturation is based on the premise that acculturating individuals have to deal with two central issues, which comprise the two cultural orientations of acculturation (Berry, 2003): (1) the extent to which they are motivated or allowed to retain identification and involvement with the culture of origin, now the nonmajority, ethnic culture; and (2) the extent to which they are motivated or allowed to identify with and participate in the mainstream, dominant culture. The negotiation of these two central issues results in four distinct acculturation positions (see left side of Figure 25.1): assimilation (involvement and identification with the dominant culture only), integration/biculturalism (involvement and identification with both cultures), separation (involvement and identification with the ethnic culture only), or marginalization (lack of involvement and identification with either culture; see Rudmin, 2003, for a thorough discussion of this strategy). Empirical work on the these four acculturation attitudes or strategies reveals that, at least at the individual level, the most common strategy used by immigrant and cultural minorities is integration/biculturalism, followed by separation, assimilation, and marginalization (Berry et al., 2006; Sam & Berry, 2006). Further, there is now robust evidence supporting the psychometric validity of the multidimensional model of acculturation and its advantages over unidimensional models in predicting a wide array of outcomes (Flannery, Reise, & Yu, 2001; Ryder, Allen, & Paulhus, 2000).

Cross-national acculturation studies have found a zero or even positive association between national/mainstream identity and ethnic identity in settler countries such as the United States (r = .15), Canada (.09), or New Zealand (.32), which have a long tradition of immigration (see Table 4.1 in Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006). However, this association is often moderately negative in nonsettler countries such as France (-.13), Germany (-.28),
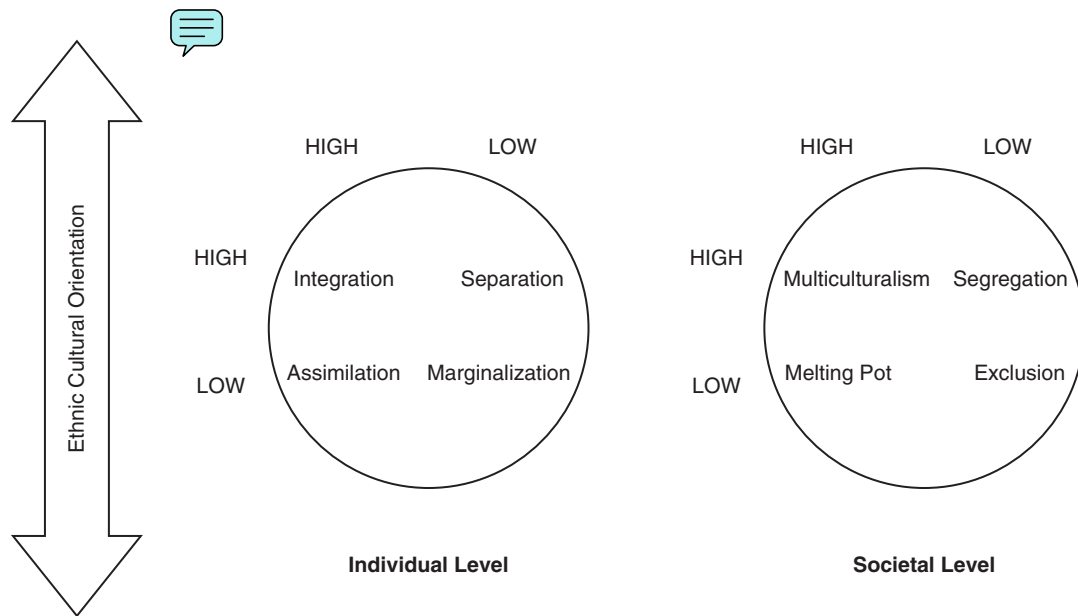
Fig. 25.1 Acculturation and multiculturalism at the individual versus societal levels. Adapted from Berry (2003) and reprinted from Nguyen and Benet-Martínez (2010).

1 and the Netherlands (-.27) (Phinney et al., 2006).
2 This pattern of associations speaks to the prevalence
3 of multicultural identities across countries, which
4 may result from the interaction of two factors: the
5 climate of the receiving country (e.g., settler vs.
6 nonsettler) and the predominant immigrant group
7 (e.g., Turkish in Europe vs. Asian and Latin groups
8 in the settler societies).

9 **CULTURAL FRAME-SWITCHING**
10 Additional support for the idea that individuals can
11 simultaneously hold two or more cultural orienta-
12 tions is provided by recent sociocognitive experi-
13 mental work showing that multicultural individuals
14 shift between their different cultural orientations in
15 response to cultural cues, a process called *cultural*
16 *frame-switching* (CFS; Hong et al., 2000; Verkuyten
17 & Pouliasi, 2006).
18 Multicultural individuals' ability to engage in
19 CFS has been documented in multiple behavioral
20 domains such as attribution (Benet-Martínez, Leu,
21 Lee, & Morris, 2002; Cheng, Lee, & Benet-
22 Martínez, 2006; Hong et al., 2000; Verkuyten &
23 Pouliasi, 2002), personality self-views (Ramirez-
24 Esparza, Gosling, Benet-Martínez, & Pennebaker,
25 2006; Ross, Xun, & Willson, 2002; Verkuyten &
26 Pouliasi, 2006), ethnic identity (Verkuyten &
27 Pouliasi, 2002), emotional experience (Perunovic,
28 Heller, & Rafaeli, 2007), self-construals (Gardner,
29 Gabriel, & Lee, 1999; Kemmelmeier & Cheng,

30 2004; Lechuga, 2008), values (Fu, Chiu, Morris, &
31 Young, 2007; Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006), coop-
32 eration (Wong & Hong, 2005), autobiographical
33 memory (Bender & Ng, 2009), and decision-mak-
34 ing (Briley, Morris, & Simonson, 2005) among
35 others. Further, the existence of dual dynamic cul-
36 ture-specific meaning systems among multiculturals
37 has been demonstrated both at the explicit (Pouliasi
38 & Verkuyten, 2007) and implicit level (Devos,
39 2006).
40 Note that CFS is not merely a knee-jerk response
41 to cultural cues. In order for a particular cultural
42 cue to influence behavior, the relevant cultural sche-
43 mas have to be cognitively *available* (i.e., the indi-
44 vidual has internalized values, norms, attitudes, and
45 emotional associations relevant to that culture),
46 cognitively *accessible* (the schemas have been recently
47 activated by explicit or implicit contextual cues),
48 and *applicable* to the situation (Hong et al., 2000;
49 Hong, Benet-Martínez, Morris, & Chiu, 2003).[4]
50 Although CFS is often unconscious and auto-
51 matic (like a bilingual individual switching lan-
52 guages depending on the audience), it does not
53 always have to be. Individuals going through accul-
54 turation may to some extent manage the CFS pro-
55 cess by controlling the accessibility of cultural
56 schemas. For instance, immigrants desiring to adapt
57 quickly to the new culture often surround them-
58 selves with symbols and situations that prime the
59 meaning system of the host culture. Conversely,

immigrants and expatriates desiring to keep alive their original ways of thinking and feeling— that is, desiring to maintain the accessibility of constructs from their home culture, often surround themselves with stimuli priming that culture (e.g., ethnic food, art, and music) (Sedikides, Wildschut, Routledge, Arndt & Zhou, 2009). These active processes of priming oneself may help multicultural individuals in their ongoing effort to negotiate and express their cultural identities (Hong et al., 2000).

The CFS processes described above can also be understood as a form of multicultural "identity performance" (Wiley & Deaux, 2011). Identity performance involves "the purposeful expression (or suppression) of behaviors relevant to those norms conventionally associated with a salient social identity" (Klein, Spears, & Reicher, 2007, p. 30). According to this framework, multicultural individuals do not passively react to cultural cues; rather they actively manage their identity presentation in response to the type of audience and macrocontext (e.g., presence of members from one culture or the other, or both), and the categorization (e.g., low vs. high status) and treatment received by this audience, thus behaving in ways designed to elicit recognition or confirmation of their important identities (Barreto, Spears, Ellemers, & Shahinper, 2003; Wiley & Deaux, 2011). For instance, when Asian American individuals are in situations where their "Americanness" is being questioned (because of their appearance, race, language, or norms), they react to American cues with behaviors that assert and reinforce "American" identity practices—for example, by listing more U.S. television shows and advertising an American lifestyle (Cheryan & Monin, 2005). Interestingly, none of these reactions seems to bring higher identification and pride with American culture or lower identification and pride with being Asian; this would support the identity performance view that CFS and behaviors such as the above involve strategic identity presentations rather than fundamental changes in identity evaluation and meaning. In short, multicultural identities are expressed differently depending on the opportunities afforded (and denied) by a given context, including other people's (actual and anticipated) evaluations, expectations, and behaviors (see Figure 1 in Wiley & Deaux, 2011).

ACCULTURATION DOMAINS AND LEVELS

Lastly, it is important to point out that the acculturation perspective does not presuppose that multicultural individuals internalize and use their different cultures globally and uniformly (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2010). Acculturation changes can take place in many different domains of life: language use or preference, social affiliation, communication style, cultural identity and pride, and cultural knowledge, beliefs, and values (Zane & Mak, 2003); and acculturation changes in some of these domains may occur independently of changes in other components. For instance, a Japanese American bicultural individual may endorse Anglo-American culture behaviorally and linguistically and yet be very Japanese (ethnic culture) in terms of her/his values and attitudes. Similarly, a Mexican American bicultural individual can behave in ways that are predominantly Mexican (e.g., speak mostly Spanish, live in a largely Mexican neighborhood) and yet display great pride in and attitudinal attachment to American culture. In fact, some recent acculturation work suggests that, independently of how much the mainstream culture is internalized and practiced, some immigrants and their descendents adhere to the ethnic cultural values even more strongly than members of their home country, probably because they can become gradually "encapsulated" within the norms and values of an earlier era in their homeland, (Kim-Jo, Benet-Martínez, & Ozer, 2010; Kosmitzki, 1996). What might drive this *cultural encapsulation* phenomenon? First, when immigrant groups arrive to a new country, they bring with them the values and norms of their home culture *at that time*. As time passes, the home culture may undergo change (e.g., modernization, globalization), but immigrants continue to transmit this original cultural values and norms they brought with them (Matsumoto, 2000). Second, as immigrants' multicultural contacts with both the majority and other minority members increase, cultural clash and the possibility of cultural assimilation (particularly for their children) become more real; therefore, reactive (conscious or unconscious) behaviors, motives, or cognitive associations that reflect higher salience and strengthening of the original home culture may arise in response (ethnic cultural reaffirmation effect; Bond & Yang, 1982; Kosmitzki, 1996).

The drivers and outcomes of acculturation (and its multiculturalism mode) are not constant but rather dynamic and vary across time and local and national contexts (Schwartz & Unger, 2010). As seen above, these forces may operate differently depending on the immigrant group and receiving society. Lastly, it is important to acknowledge that acculturation is simultaneously interpersonal,

intrapersonal (see this chapter's section on individual differences in multicultural identity), and contextually influenced (Schwartz & Unger, 2010).

Thus far, the discussion of acculturation has been at the individual level, but acculturation is also tied to multiculturalism at the societal level. As depicted in the right side of Figure 25.1, at the societal level, there are also four strategies corresponding to the four individual acculturation strategies (Berry, 2003). Countries with public policies that promote the assimilation of acculturating individuals are described as melting pots. Those that encourage separation are referred to as segregationist, and those that promote marginalization are labeled exclusionary (see also previous section, where I reviewed assimilation views and three possible multiculturalism approaches described by Hartman & Gerteis, 2005). Most importantly, national policies supporting the integration/biculturalism strategy are considered multicultural (Ward & Masgoret, 2008). For example, Canada's multicultural policies encourage ethnic and cultural groups to maintain, develop, and share their cultures with others as well as to accept and interact with other groups (Berry, 1984). Although acculturating individuals by and large prefer the bicultural or integration strategy, in reality, most host countries are melting pots, encouraging the assimilation of acculturating individuals into the dominant culture (Van Oudenhoven, Ward, & Masgoret, 2006). Consequently, when national policies and dominant groups' acculturation attitudes do not match with acculturating individuals' strategies, conflicts and problems in intergroup relations may arise (Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind, Horenczyk, & Schmitz, 2003). Thus, public policies regarding acculturation and multiculturalism undoubtedly can affect intercultural relations within a country, especially as changing global migration patterns diversify many nations around the world.

Multicultural Identity: Operationalization and Measurement

Psychological acculturation, and the narrower constructs of biculturalism and multiculturalism have been operationalized and measured in a variety of ways, including unidimensional scales, bidimensional scales (e.g., median-split, addition, multiplication, and subtraction methods), direct measures of acculturation strategies, cultural identification question(s), or simple demographic questions. An exhaustive review of the available instruments and theoretical and psychometric issues involved in measuring biculturalism (and acculturation) is beyond the scope of this paper (see Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2006; Zane & Mak, 2003; for excellent reviews). Accordingly, I provide instead a practical and brief summary of the available approaches and their pros and cons.

Early attempts at measuring biculturalism relied on bipolar, single-dimension scales that explicitly or implicitly reflected a unidirectional view of acculturation. In this framework, low scores or the starting point of the scale typically reflected separation, and high scores or the other end of the scale reflected assimilation, with biculturalism being tapped by middle scores or the midpoint of the scale (e.g., Cuéllar, Harris, & Jasso, 1980; Rotheram-Borus, 1990; Suinn, Rickard-Figueroa, Lew, & Vigil, 1987). These unidimensional scales should be avoided because they equate involvement and identification with one culture to a lack of involvement and identification with the other culture. In addition, these scales confound biculturalism and marginalization. For example, a scale item may be "Whom do you associate with?" and the response choices may be labeled with 1 = *mostly individuals from the ethnic culture*, 2 = *individuals from both the ethnic and dominant cultures equally*, 3 = *mostly individuals from the dominant culture*. A bicultural individual would select "2" because he/she has many friends from both cultures, but a marginalized individual may also select "2" but because his/her lack of socialization with members from each culture is similar.

With the increased adoption of the bidimensional model of acculturation came an increase in the number of bidimensional scales, where involvement with ethnic and dominant cultures is measured in two separate multi-item scales. With this method, biculturalism can be operationalized in different ways. Typically, bicultural individuals are those who have scores above the median (e.g., Ryder et al., 2000; Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000) or midpoint (e.g., Donà & Berry, 1994) on both cultural orientations. More recently, cluster analyses (e.g., Lee, Sobal, & Frongillo, 2003) and latent class analyses (e.g., Stevens, Pels, Vollebergh, & Crijnen, 2004) have also been used to create categories of acculturation strategies, including the integration or bicultural strategy. This typological approach allows researchers to differentiate bicultural individuals from other acculturating types (assimilated, separated, or marginalized) but does not provide a biculturalism score. Other, nontypological ways of

operationalizing biculturalism when using bidimensional scales are to add the two cultural orientation subscale scores (e.g., Cuéllar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995) or combine them into an interaction term (Birman, 1998) so that low and high scores represent low and high level of biculturalism respectively. One caveat of these last two methods is the difficulty in differentiating between individuals who have medium scores on both cultural scales and those who score very high on one scale and low on the other. Lastly, some researchers have used a method where scores on the two cultural orientation scales are subtracted from another, so that scores close to zero denote biculturalism (Szapocznik, Kurtines, & Fernandez, 1980). This approach is not recommended because, like unidimensional measurement, it makes bicultural and marginalized individuals indistinguishable from each other. Obviously, two key advantages of these multidimensional approaches are that the cultures of interest (e.g., ethnic, mainstream, and religious cultures), regardless of their number, can be independently assessed, and that their measurement can be tailored to particular acculturating groups (e.g., mixed-race individuals, sojourners, etc.).[5]

Some researchers prefer to measure the acculturation strategies directly (e.g., Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989). These instruments typically include four scales with statements capturing favorable attitudes toward the integration (biculturalism), assimilation, separation, and marginalization strategies. Because each individual receives a score on each of these acculturation strategies, a bicultural individual would be someone whose highest score is on the integration subscale. This widely used approach has some advantages over traditional acculturation scales (e.g., it allows us to measure the construct of biculturalism *attitudes* directly) but it suffers from some nontrivial conceptual and psychometric limitations (e.g., low score reliabilities, lack of scale independence; see Kang, 2006; Rudmin, 2003; Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008; Zane & Mak, 2003; for reviews).

When time or reading levels are compromised, researchers may choose to measure biculturalism with one or two questions. For instance, bicultural individuals can be those who self-identify with a hyphenated label (e.g., Persian-American) rather than an ethnic (e.g., Persian) or a national (e.g., American) label, those who endorse the label "bicultural" (vs. "monocultural"), or those who score above the midpoint on two single items stating "I feel/am U.S. American" and "I feel/am Chinese"

(e.g., Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Lastly, I should warn against the common practice of using demographic variables such as generational status, legal residence, or linguistic ability and preference, as a proxy for psychological acculturation (e.g., Buriel, Calzada, & Vasquez, 1982). As mentioned earlier, bicultural involvement and identification can occur at different rates for different life domains, for different individuals, and for different cultural groups, and demographic variables seem to be poor to modest predictors of these changes (Phinney, 2003; Schwartz, Pantin, Sullivan, Prado, & Szapocznik, 2006).

Individual Differences in Multicultural Identity

> I had been rowing back and forth, in a relentless manner, between two banks of a wide river. Increasingly, what I wanted was to be a burning boat in the middle of the water, visible to both shores yet indecipherable in my fury.
> *lê thi diem thúy*, 2003)

> I am not half of anything. My identity has no boundaries, nor do my experiences. Because I am bicultural, it does not mean that I'm lacking anything. On the contrary, I like to think that I have the best of both worlds. I like to think that I have more.
> *Livingston* (2003)

As the above quotes show, the process of negotiating multiple cultural identities is complex and multifaceted. A careful review of the early (and mostly qualitative) work on this topic in the acculturation (e.g., Padilla, 1994; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997) and popular (e.g., Chavez, 1994; O'Hearn, 1998) literatures reveals that multicultural individuals often talk about their multiple cultural attachments in complicated ways, including both positive and negative terms. Multiculturalism can be associated with feelings of pride, uniqueness, and a rich sense of community and history, while also bringing to mind identity confusion, dual expectations, and value clashes. Further, multicultural individuals deal differently with the implications of different cultural and racial stereotypes and the pressures coming from their different communities for loyalties and behaviors (LaFromboise et al., 1993). An important issue, then, is how particular personality dispositions, contextual pressures, and acculturation and demographic variables impact the process of multicultural identity formation and the meanings associated with this experience.

[AU: Ok to insert opening parenthesis here?]

Although most acculturating individuals use the integration/biculturalism strategy (Berry et al., 2006), research on acculturation has almost exclusively focused on individual differences *across* acculturation strategies rather than *within* acculturation strategies. Yet, not all bicultural individuals are alike. Early theoretical work on this issue is worth reviewing, even if briefly. In a seminal review of the biculturalism phenomenon, LaFromboise et al. (1993) described two biculturalism modes: *alternation* and *fusion*. Alternating bicultural individuals switch their behaviors in response to situational cultural demands, whereas fused bicultural individuals are oriented to a third emerging culture that is distinct from each of their two cultures (e.g., Chicano culture). Birman (1994) expanded on LaFromboise et al.'s (1993) framework to describe four types of bicultural individuals: *blended* (i.e., fused), *instrumental* (individuals behaviorally oriented to both cultures but identified with neither), *integrated* (individuals behaviorally oriented to both cultures but identified with only their ethnic culture), and *explorers* (behaviorally oriented to the dominant culture but identified with only their ethnic culture). Phinney and Devich-Navarro's (1997) qualitative and quantitative study sought to empirically integrate Berry's (2003), LaFromboise et al.'s (1993), and Birman's (1994) conceptual models of biculturalism. This study identified two bicultural types which were given labels similar to those in LaFromboise et al.'s study: *blended biculturals*— whose narratives emphasized identification with a combination of the two cultures more than with each culture separately, and *alternating biculturals*— who emphasized situational differences in how they saw themselves culturally.

These researchers are credited with calling attention to the experience of biculturalism and for advancing this area of research; however, a conceptual limitation of the above typologies is their confounding of identity and behavioral markers. Specifically, whereas the labels "blended" and "fused" refer to identity-related aspects of the bicultural experience (e.g., seeing oneself as Asian American or Chicano), the label "alternating" refers to the behavioral domain, that is, the ability to engage in cultural frame-switching (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002). Naturally, individuals' subjective experience of their bicultural identity and their bicultural behavior/competencies do not have to map onto each other (Roccas & Brewer, 2002; Boski, 2008). For instance, a bicultural individual may have a blended or *fused* identity (e.g., someone who is sees him/herself as a product of both Jewish and American cultures and accordingly identifies as Jewish American) and also *alternate* (between speaking mainstream English and Yiddish depending on the context; i.e., frame-switch). Thus researchers should be aware that the two labels "blended" and "alternating" do not tap different types of bicultural individuals but rather different components of the bicultural experience (i.e., identity in the case of "fused" and behaviors in the case of "alternating").

BICULTURAL IDENTITY INTEGRATION (BII)

After an extensive review and synthesis of the empirical and qualitative acculturation and multiculturalism literature, Benet-Martínez et al. (2002) proposed the theoretical construct of BII as a framework for investigating individual differences in bicultural identity organization. BII captures the degree to which "biculturals perceive their mainstream and ethnic cultural identities as compatible and integrated vs. oppositional and difficult to integrate" (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002, p. 9). As an individual difference variable, BII thus focuses on bicultural individuals' subjective perceptions of managing dual cultural identities (i.e., how they cognitively and affectively organize this experience). The emphasis here is on *subjective* (i.e., the perception and experience of) cultural overlap and compatibility because, as was found in a study of over 7,000 acculturating adolescents in 13 countries, objective differences between ethnic and host cultures do not seem to relate to adjustment (Berry et al., 2006).

Bicultural individuals with high BII tend to see themselves as part of a hyphenated culture (or even part of a combined, emerging "third" culture), and find the two cultures largely compatible and easy to integrate. Bicultural individuals with low BII, on the other hand, tend to see themselves as living "in-between cultures" and report seeing the two cultures as largely conflictual and disparate. Interestingly, high and low BIIs have consistently emerged as similar in their endorsement of Berry's integrative acculturation strategy (Benet-Martínez, Lee, & Leu, 2006; Benet-Martínez et al., 2002) and in basic demographic variables such as years spent in the United States and age of migration; however, compared with high BIIs, low BIIs tend to be less proficient in English and less identified with American culture. This pattern underscores competence in the host, majority culture as a key component of BII.

In summary, bicultural individuals high and low on BII identify with both mainstream (e.g., American) and ethnic (e.g., Chinese) cultures but

differ in their ability to create a synergistic, integrated cultural identity. Although no construct in the existing literature captures all the nuances of BII, a few acculturation and ethnic minority theorists have discussed particular acculturation experiences and outcomes that seem to relate (if only partially) to the identity integration versus opposition continuum defined by BII. Examples of these constructs are: "identity synthesis" (Schwartz, 2006), "blendedness" (Padilla, 1994; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997), ~~"bicultural competence" (LaFromboise et al., 1993)~~ versus "cultural homelessness" (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999), ~~"alternating" biculturalism (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997)~~, and "oppositional identities" (Cross, 1995; Ogbu, 1993).

In their first study of BII, Benet-Martínez and her colleagues (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002) demonstrated the psychological relevance of this individual difference variable by showing that variations in BII moderate the process of cultural frame-switching. Specifically, Chinese-American biculturals high on BII (those who perceive their cultural identities as compatible) exhibited culturally congruent behavior when presented with external cues associated with one of their cultural backgrounds (e.g., made stronger external attributions to an ambiguous social event after being primed with Chinese icons, and made stronger internal attributions to the same event after seeing American icons). However, Chinese-American biculturals low on BII (those who perceive their cultural identities to be in opposition), behaved in *non*culturally congruent ways when exposed to these same cues. Specifically, low BIIs exhibited Chinese-congruent behaviors (i.e., external attributions) in response to American cues and American-congruent behaviors (internal attributions) in response to Chinese cues. In other words, low BIIs exhibited a type of "behavioral reactance" that the sociocognitive literature describes as a contrast or reverse priming effect (Dijksterhuis et al., 1998).

The above contrastive attributional responses displayed by biculturals with low levels of BII have since then been replicated (Cheng, Lee, & Benet-Martínez, 2006; Zou, Morris, & Benet-Martínez, 2008), and a recent study shows these effects also in the domain of personality self-views (Mok & Morris, 2009). As discussed in Benet-Martínez et al. (2002), the prime-inconsistent behavior of low BIIs is supported by academic and popular depictions of cultural clash (e.g., Ogbu, 2008; Roth, 1969), where inner cultural conflict is often described as leading to behavioral and/or affective "reactance" against the cultural expectations embedded in particular situations. For instance, in Roth's novel, the conflicted bicultural protagonist finds himself feeling and acting particularly Jewish when traveling to the Midwest, and feeling/acting conspicuously American when visiting Israel.[6]

Research on BII reports a positive association between BII and (1) psychological well-being, even after controlling for trait neuroticism (Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Bond, 2008; Downie et al., 2004); (2) creative performance (Cheng, Sanchez-Burks, & Lee, 2008); (3) having larger and more richly interconnected social networks (Mok, Morris, Benet-Martínez, & Karakitapoglu-Aygun, 2007); (4) higher perceived similarity between one's minority and majority cultural ingroups (Miramontez, Benet-Martínez, & Nguyen, 2008); and (6) preference for culturally blended persuasive appeals (Lau-Gesk, 2003).

Recent work on BII has also shown that BII is not a unitary construct, as initially suggested in earlier work (e.g., Benet-Martínez et al., 2002). Instead, BII seems to involve two relatively independent psychological constructs, *cultural harmony* versus conflict and *cultural blendedness* versus distance, each representing unique and separate aspects of the dynamic intersection between mainstream and ethnic cultural identities within bicultural individuals (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Cultural harmony versus conflict captures the degree of harmony versus tension or clash felt between the two cultural orientations (e.g., "I find it easy to balance both Chinese and American cultures" vs. "I feel caught between the two cultures"). Cultural blendedness versus distance, on the other hand, captures the degree of overlap versus dissociation or compartmentalization perceived between the two cultural orientations (e.g., "I feel part of a combined culture" vs. "I am simply a Chinese who lives in the United states"). (See Table 2 in Benet-Martínez & Haritatos [2005] for original items and their factor structure, and Table 25.1 in this chapter for the newly expanded Bicultural Identity Integration Scale—Version 2: BIIS-2.)

The relative psychometric independence of BII's components of cultural harmony and blendedness (correlations between the two scales range between .30 and .40) suggests that these two constructs are formative—that is, causal—rather than reflective (i.e., effect) indicators of BII (Bollen & Lennox, 1991). That is, rather than a latent construct with two resulting dimensions (cultural harmony and

Table 25.1 Bicultural Identity Integration Scale–Version 2 (BIIS-2; Huynh & Benet-Martínez, 2011)

BICULTURAL HARMONY VS. CONFLICT ITEMS:

I find it easy to harmonize _____ and American cultures.

I rarely feel conflicted about being bicultural.

I find it easy to balance both _____ and American cultures.

I do not feel trapped between the _____ and American cultures.*

I feel torn between _____ and American cultures. (R)

I feel that my _____ and American cultures are incompatible. (R)

Being bicultural means having two cultural forces pulling on me at the same time. (R)

I feel conflicted between the American and _____ ways of doing things. (R) *

I feel like someone moving between two cultures. (R) *

I feel caught between the _____ and American cultures. (R) *

BICULTURAL BLENDEDNESS VS. COMPARTMENTALIZATION ITEMS:

I feel _____ and American at the same time.

I relate better to a combined _____-American culture than to _____ or American culture alone.

I cannot ignore the _____ or American side of me.

I feel _____-American.*

I feel part of a combined culture.*

I find it difficult to combine _____ and American cultures. (R)

I do not blend my _____ and American cultures. (R)

I am simply a(n) _____ who lives in North America. (R) *

I keep _____ and American cultures separate. (R) *

Note:
* Original items from the BIIS-1 (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). R = Reverse score these items. The BIIS-2 can be used with any ethnic minority culture and adapted to any host culture.

blendedness), BII should perhaps be understood as emerging or resulting from (rather than leading to) variations in cultural blendedness and harmony (see Figure 25.2). Thus, behaviors, attitudes, and feelings described by cultural researchers under the rubric of low BII (e.g., the feelings of tension and incompatibility reported in the first quote opening this section of the chapter) may in fact be largely capturing the resulting phenomenology of the more basic experience of cultural conflict and/or cultural distance.

Cultural harmony and blendedness are each associated with different sets of personality, performance-related, and contextual antecedents (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005), which explains the very different phenomenological experiences of biculturalism in the existing literature. Specifically, as indicated by path analyses (see Figure 1 in Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005), lack of cultural blendedness (i.e., cultural distance) is predicted by the personality trait of close-mindedness (i.e., low openness to experience), low levels of bicultural competence (particularly with regard to the mainstream culture), experiencing strains in the linguistic domain (e.g., being self-conscious about one's accent), and living in a community that is not culturally diverse (see also Miller, Kim, & Benet-Martínez, 2011). Perhaps low openness makes acculturating individuals perceive ethnic and mainstream cultures more rigidly, both in terms of their "essential" defining characteristics and the boundaries between them; it may also make them less
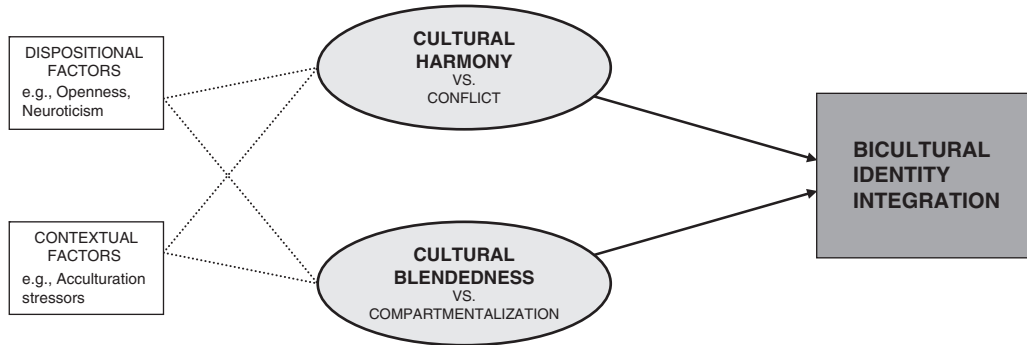
Fig. 25.2 High versus low levels of Bicultural Identity Integration result from variations in cultural harmony and cultural blendedness (adapted from Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005).

permeable to new cultural values and lifestyles. Such attitudes may lead to the belief that one's two cultural identities cannot "come together" and must remain separate. Also, the perception that one has a noticeable accent and that one's cultural background is uncommon in the local environment function as chronic and explicit reminders of the bicultural's unique status as cultural minority and also accentuate perceptions of cultural difference. Aside from these antecedents, cultural distance may also be related to the need for optimal distinctiveness (Brewer, 1991). Specifically, some biculturals may choose to keep their ethnic and mainstream identities separate in an effort to affirm both their intragroup (ethnic) similarity and intergroup (American) differentiation (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). That is, biculturals low on cultural blendedness may be keeping ethnic (e.g., Chinese) and American cultures separate to affirm their strong ties to their Chinese culture while also differentiating themselves from the mainstream American cultural group. Lastly, cultural distance may be related to seeing one's two cultures as being very different from each other (Ward & Kennedy, 1993). To the extent that perceptions of difference may be accentuated in the early stages of mainstream culture acquisition (e.g., experience of cultural shock), one could speculate that, as biculturals' exposure to and competence in the mainstream culture increases, perceptions of cultural distance would decrease.

Low cultural harmony (i.e., conflict), on the other hand, is largely predicted by having a neurotic disposition, and experiencing discrimination and strained intercultural relations (e.g., being told that one's behavior is "too American" or "ethnic"—see Figure 1 in Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Miller, Kim, & Benet-Martínez, 2011). Perhaps for biculturals high on neuroticism, switching cognitive and behavioral frames in response to different cultural cues (i.e., CFS; Hong et al., 2000) brings feelings of confusion regarding one's ability to maintain consistent, recognizable self-identities. Also, it is likely that the acculturation strains of discrimination and strained intercultural relations create a strong discrepancy between explicit and implicit attitudes toward each culture. In other words, if a bicultural individual consciously identifies with and values both mainstream Anglo/American and ethnic cultures but also experiences prejudice and rejection from members of one or both of these groups, feelings of anger and distress may create internal discrepancy and attitudinal ambivalence (Van Hook & Higgins, 1988).

In summary, it seems that cultural blendedness is particularly linked to performance-related personal and contextual challenges (e.g., trait of openness, linguistic fluency, living in a culturally diverse enclave), while cultural harmony is linked to factors that are largely intra- and interpersonal in nature (e.g., emotional stability, lack of social prejudice and rejection). All in all, this work underscores the importance of adding an individual differences perspective in understanding the bicultural experience, and the consequentiality of personality factors in the acculturation domain (Ozer & Benet-Martínez, 2006). These patterns of relationships also suggest that variations in BII, far from being purely subjective identity representations, are psychologically meaningful experiences linked to specific contextual pressures and dispositional factors (see Figure 25.2).[7]

As mentioned earlier, much of the research on BII has found that individuals with low levels of conflict (high BII) are better adjusted and more effective in a variety of domains. However, some

research also indicates that those with low levels of BII are more cognitively complex (Benet-Martínez et al., 2006). This suggests that conflicting cultural identities may have positive cognitive benefits. Perhaps, inner cultural conflict leads to more systematic and careful processing of cues from cultural situations, which in turn leads to cultural representations that are more complex and nuanced. Other researchers have also argued that the more severe the cultural conflict experienced, the greater the need to engage in more effortful and complex sense-making (Tadmor, Tetlock, & Peng, 2009).

Future work on BII should identify the behavioral domains associated with biculturals' feelings of conflict (e.g., clashes in work values, marriage practices, gender roles, etc.), as well as the types of contexts associated with biculturals' feelings of distance and compartmentalization (e.g., home vs. work, relatives vs. friends, etc.). Second, BII research should be integrated with theory on the benefits and costs of social identity complexity (Brook, Garcia, & Fleming, 2009; Roccas & Brewer, 2002; Settles, 2004). Second, because bicultural identities contain multiple elements including self-categorization, and importance and meaning attached to each identity, a bicultural individual may perceive blendedness on some of these elements (e.g., self-categorization), but not on others (e.g., importance), and harmony on some elements (e.g. meaning), but conflict on others. A full understanding of BII will require systematic investigation of these various careful identity elements (Wiley & Deaux, 2011).

Variation in BII and personality dispositions seem to be key individual difference variables in predicting bicultural identity structure and bicultural experiences, but there are other relevant variables. Hong and colleagues (Chao, Chen, Roisman, & Hong, 2007; No, Hong, Liao, Lee, Wood, & Chao, 2008) have shown that Asian American biculturals who hold essentialist beliefs about race—that is, believe race is an essentialist entity reflecting biological essence, unalterable, and indicative of abilities and traits—have more difficulties (i.e., longer latencies) in cultural frame-switching behavior, display stronger emotional reactivity when talking about bicultural experiences, and identify less with the host culture. The researchers have argued that essentialist race beliefs give rise to perception of less permeability between racial and cultural group boundaries, thus impeding an integration of experiences with both their ethnic and host cultures. Future research should examine how essentialist beliefs about race and culture as well as BII

(particularly the blendedness vs. distance component) relate to cognitive constructs such low openness to experience, need for closure, and low integrative complexity among acculturating individuals (Kosic, Kruglanski, Pierro, & Mannetti, 2004; Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006).

Given the changing and often lifelong nature of acculturation experiences, future studies examining the interplay between individual differences in personality (e.g., openness, neuroticism), bicultural identity (e.g., BII), and racial/cultural essentialist beliefs should be examined in longitudinal studies that are also sensitive to dynamic political/economic factors. Studies on cultural transitions such as repatriation among sojourners and immigrants (Sussman, 2000, 2002; Ttsuda, 2003), for instance, reveal a complex pattern of identity shifts and adjustment outcomes that are driven by both psychological (e.g., self-concept clarity, strength of home and host culture identities) and sociopolitical factors (e.g., economic and political situation in home country). Similarly, work on transnationalism (Mahalingam, 2006), supports the temporal and dynamic nature of what Levitt and Schiller (2004) call immigrants' "ways of being," (actual social relations and practices that individuals engage in) and "ways of belonging" (practices that signal or enact an identity demonstrating a conscious connection to a particular group). Future work on individual differences in multicultural identity can also benefit tremendously from recent theorizing on social identity development. Relying on recent intergroup models as well as on developmental (i.e., neo-Piagetian) and social cognitive frameworks, Amiot and colleagues (Amiot, de la Sabionnière, Terry, & Smith, 2007) have recently proposed a four-stage model that explains the specific processes by which multiple social identities develop intraindividually and become integrated within the self over time. Their theoretically rich model also specifies the factors that facilitate and hinder these identity change processes, as well as the consequences associated with identity integration.

Group Differences in Multiculturalism

Multicultural individuals may belong to one of the following five groups based on the voluntariness, mobility, and permanence of contact with the dominant group: immigrants, refugees, sojourners, ethnic minorities, and indigenous people (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987). Immigrants arrive in the host country voluntarily and usually with the intention to stay, whereas refugees arrive in the host country by force or due to lack of other alternatives.

Like immigrants, sojourners, such as expatriates and international students, also arrive in the host country voluntarily, but their stay is usually temporary. Ethnic minorities and indigenous people are those born in the host country, but indigenous people differ from ethnic minorities in that the host country and culture was involuntarily imposed on them (e.g., via colonization or military occupation). The ethnic minority group may be divided into second-generation individuals (whose parents are immigrants or refugees) and third- or later-generation individuals (whose parents were born in the host country; Padilla, 2006). Many mixed-race or mixed-ethnic individuals are also multicultural, regardless of their acculturating group status (Padilla, 2006).

One can speculate about possible group-level differences among the groups mentioned above with regard to their levels of BII due to their group's history in the host country, their relations with members of the dominant group, the current political and socioeconomic situation, and other structural variables (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2010). For instance, often immigrants and sojourners choose to migrate to the host country for economic or educational opportunities, and some may even have the option of returning to their native countries; thus, relative to the other groups, this type of multicultural individual may be more focused on opportunities and less focused on cultural issues. Consequently, cultural differences may not necessarily be internalized or translated into the experience of cultural identity conflict or distance. Conversely, refugees and indigenous people are often forced into contact with the dominant culture, and the involuntary nature of this contact (e.g., refugees may want to return to their native countries, but this is not possible due to conflicts between the host and native countries or within their native countries) magnifies cultural differences and identity conflict. Relatedly, African Americans, with their history of involuntary slavery and expatriation, may also experience more cultural identity conflict and distance than other groups. Lastly, there are reasons to think that feelings of cultural conflict may also be common among mixed-heritage individuals and second-generation individuals (at least relative to immigrants and sojourners). Mixed-race and mixed-ethnic individuals are often given (implicit or explicit) messages suggesting that they are not "enough" of one culture or the other (Root, 1998). Likewise, second-generation ethnic minorities are sometimes considered not "ethnic" enough by both their parents and dominant culture peers

with regard to certain cultural "markers" (e.g., ethnic language fluency) while also not being considered part of the mainstream culture (Padilla, 2006).

In addition to the voluntariness of contact and group expectations, variables such as generational status and cultural socialization may also play a role in BII, particularly the experience of cultural distance. Immigrants first learn their ethnic culture in their native country and later learn the dominant culture in the host country, thus their competencies and associations with each culture may be more compartmentalized and situation-specific (i.e., high cultural distance) compared to other groups. This dissociation may also occur among second-generation ethnic minorities for whom dominant and ethnic cultures are largely relegated to the public (e.g., work) and private (e.g., home) spheres, respectively. However, other second- and later-generation ethnic minorities (e.g., Chicano individuals) may be reared with a blend of both cultures, and thus the structure and experience of their identities may be more blended (i.e., low cultural distance). How these processes work for 1.5-generation individuals (immigrant children who moved to another country early and thus are socialized early into the host country culture) relative to first- and later-generation individuals remains to be explored.

All in all, notice that the above propositions focus on the relative level of perceived cultural distance or conflict across groups—that is, I do not assert that some groups perceive cultural distance or conflict while others do not.

Psychological and Societal Consequences of Multiculturalism

What impact, if any, does multiculturalism have on individuals and the larger society? The issue of whether multiculturalism is beneficial is often theoretically and empirically debated. Some researchers contend that the integration/biculturalism strategy, as compared to the other three acculturation strategies (separation, assimilation, marginalization), is the most ideal, leading to greater benefits in all areas of life (e.g., Berry, 1997; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). However, others have argued that this is not always the case, because the process of dealing with two cultures and acquiring two behavioral repertoires places a burden on the individual and can lead to stress, isolation, identity confusion, and hindered performance (e.g., Gordon, 1964; Rudmin, 2003; Vivero & Jenkins, 1999). For instance, when examining the links between

biculturalism and *adjustment*, some researchers have found positive associations (e.g., Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980; Ward & Kennedy, 1994), but others have found no link or a negative one (e.g., Burnam, Hough, Karno, Escobar, & Telles, 1987; Rotheram-Borus, 1990). In other words, findings have been mixed with regard to the direction and magnitude of these associations (Myers & Rodriguez, 2003; Rogler, Cortes, & Malgady, 1991).

A recent meta-analysis suggests that the above seemingly contradictory findings may be attributable to the ways in which biculturalism has been measured (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2011; see also the review of measurement issues in this chapter). Across the 83 studies and 23,197 participants, biculturalism was found to have a significant and positive relationship with both psychological adjustment (e.g., life satisfaction, positive affect, self-esteem) and sociocultural adjustment (e.g., academic achievement, career success, social skills, lack of behavioral problems). Further, this biculturalism-adjustment link was significantly stronger than the association between each cultural orientation (dominant or ethnic) and adjustment. Interestingly, the magnitude of the biculturalism-adjustment association was moderated by the type of acculturation scales used (see Figure 25.3). When only studies using direct measures of acculturation strategies were included (i.e., Berry's scales), the relationship was weak to moderate ($r = .21$). However, when only studies using unidimensional scales were included, the relationship was strong ($r = .54$). Finally, when only studies using bidimensional scales were used (i.e., biculturalism measured via scores above the median or midpoint on both cultural orientations, the addition method, the multiplication method, or cluster or latent class analysis), the relationship between biculturalism and adjustment was even stronger ($r = .70$). In other words, biculturalism is related to better adjustment, but this relationship is best detected when biculturalism is measured bidimensionally. This is not perhaps not surprising given the point made earlier about how unidimensional acculturation scales can potentially confound biculturalism and marginalization.

The results from the above meta-analysis clearly invalidate early accounts of bicultural individuals as "marginal" and stumped between two worlds (Gordon, 1964), and they also suggest important future research directions for social and personality psychologists studying increasingly diverse samples, such as examining the role that social context may play in this biculturalism-adjustment relationship,
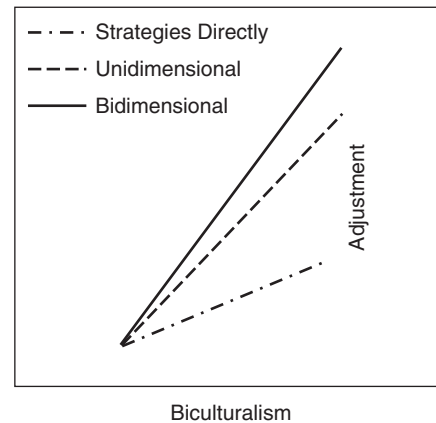

Fig. 25.3 Effect size of the biculturalism-adjustment relationship by type of acculturation scale (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2011).

or understanding individual differences in biculturalism that can moderate the biculturalism-adjustment relationship (e.g., Chen et al., 2008).

The positive relationship between multiculturalism and adjustment may be due to the competencies and flexibility (social and cognitive) that multicultural individuals acquire in the process of learning and using two cultures (Benet-Martínez, Lee, & Leu, 2006; Leung, Maddox, Galinsky, & Chiu, 2008). Specifically, by virtue of their frequent experiences attending to, processing, and reacting to different sociocultural contexts, multicultural individuals process and organize sociocultural information in more cognitively complex ways than monoculturals (Benet-Martínez et al., 2006). These competencies may make bicultural individuals more adept at adjusting to various people or situations in either of their cultures and possibly in other cultures. In addition, this flexibility may buffer them from the psychological or sociocultural maladjustment that they might have otherwise suffered as a result of challenging acculturation experiences. It is possible that being oriented to only one culture rather than both has some adjustment costs, resulting from rejection from or lack of belongingness with members of the other culture (Roccas, Horenczyk, & Schwartz, 2000; Rogler et al., 1991; Ross, Xun, Wilson, 2002). In short, involvement with two or more cultures (vs. the cultural relinquishing that characterizes assimilation or separation) in all likelihood facilitates the acquisition of cognitive and social skills as well as wider behavioral repertoires and competencies which, in turn, buffer multicultural individuals against the psychological maladjustment (e.g., anxiety, loneliness) or sociocultural

challenges (e.g., interpersonal conflicts, intercultural miscommunication) that can often characterize the acculturation experience (Padilla, 2006).

It is also possible that better adjusted individuals (e.g., those with higher self-esteem) find it easier to be bicultural or are able to use resources, which would otherwise be used to cope with maladjustment, to participate in both cultures and to interact with people from either culture, thus becoming more bicultural. The biculturalism-adjustment relationship may also be due to a third variable, such as the dominant group's attitudes toward acculturation. For example, a host country with multicultural policies and a dominant group that is accepting and nondiscriminatory toward acculturating individuals may allow for acculturating individuals to become bicultural as well as to attain high levels of adjustment.

In examining and understanding the outcomes of multiculturalism at the individual level, it is important to note that multiculturalism is not necessarily an individual choice; groups and intergroup relations also play a role. For example, an individual may favor the integration/biculturalism strategy, but if he/she is never accepted into mainstream society or consistently encounters discrimination, then the integration/biculturalism strategy may not be possible or even adaptive. Similarly, if one lives in a community without same-ethnic individuals, then assimilation may be adaptive. Although more research is needed to determine causality among intergroup relations, multiculturalism, and adjustment, public policies facilitating multilingual education, racial/cultural diversity in schools and other organizations, and the prohibition of disparate treatment for different groups, may influence an individual's ability to become multicultural, and in turn, his/her psychological and social well-being.

Multiculturalism may also have significant implications for greater national success and improved national functioning (Berry, 1998; Schwartz, Montgomery, & Briones, 2006). In children and adolescents, multiculturalism is positively related to greater academic achievement (Farver, Bhadha, & Narang, 2002; Régner & Loose, 2006). These educationally successful students may be able to contribute a great deal to society when they become adults. In the workplace, multicultural individuals may also contribute to organizational success, especially when it comes to international business negotiations, management of culturally diverse teams, and expatriate assignments, because their multicultural competence may generalize to intercultural competence (Bell & Harrison, 1996; Brannen &

Thomas, 2010; Thomas & Inkson, 2004). In addition, they have skills (e.g., multilingualism, cultural frame-switching, intercultural sensitivity) that are crucial in our increasingly globalized world; thus, multicultural individuals are ideal cultural mediators for intercultural conflicts and miscommunications within communities, nations, and internationally (see introductory point about President Obama).

More generally, it has been found that individuals with more extensive multicultural experiences, such as multicultural individuals, have greater cognitive complexity (Benet-Martínez et al., 2006), integrative complexity (Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006; Tadmor, Tetlock, & Peng, 2009), and creativity (Leung, Maddux, Galinsky, & Chiu, 2008; Maddux & Galinsky, 2009; Simonton, 1997), which are necessary for innovation and progress. The sociologist Gouldner (1985) argued that when a person draws on more than one line of thought, he/she can escape the control of any one of them; this person can toggle between the two (or more) ways of thinking and also forge new understandings. Biculturals, because of their experiences moving between cultural systems, may have richer associations with a single concept than monocultural persons, and they may have greater tolerance for ambiguity because they are comfortable with situations in which one basic idea may have different nuances depending on the community they inhabit at the time (Benet-Martínez et al., 2006).

If the experience of managing different systems of thought (e.g., different sets of cultural norms, belief systems, contextual cues, and languages) leads to richer and more complex associations among biculturals, it is not surprising to find that the general cognitive benefits described above are not restricted to multiculturals. Research in psycholinguistics shows that some of these cognitive benefits also appear in individuals who speak more than one language (Bialystock, 1999; Costa, Hernandez, Costa-Faidella, & Sebastian-Galles, 2009; Lambert, 1978). Recently, Crisp and Turner (2011) have outlined a theoretical model that specifies the antecedent conditions and cognitive processes through which perceiving multiple identities, *in oneself and others*, can lead to generalized cognitive flexibility. Drawing from the literatures on multiculturalism, bilingualism, creativity, cognitive development, multiple social categorization, self-categorization, minority influence, political ideology, and social identity complexity, Crisp and Turner posit that (1) exposure to diversity, particularly diversity defined by meaningful incongruent multiple identities (e.g., female

engineer, male midwife) leads to (2) a systematic process of cognitive restructuring that can temporarily trigger, and over time develop, divergent thought and a more generalized flexibility in category use, and (3) that can have observable effects across a wide range of intra- (e.g., creativity, cognitive complexity) and interpersonal (e.g., prejudice, stereotyping) domains. In sum, social policies promoting multiculturalism and social diversity may benefit *all* individuals *and* society at large.

New Directions

One and one don't necessarily add up to two.
Cultural and racial amalgams create a third, wholly indistinguishable category where origin and home are indeterminate.
O'Hearn (1998, p. xiv)

The possibility of being oriented to an *emergent third culture* has important implications for research on multiculturalism, and future acculturation theory and research will likely incorporate these effects (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2010). The currently accepted bidimensional model of acculturation with ethnic and dominant cultural orientations might be replaced by a tridimensional model, where the third cultural orientation is a culture that emerges from the integrating of two interacting cultures—for example, Chicano culture in the United States (Flannery et al., 2001). Moreover, this tridimensional model might be more applicable to later-generation individuals and those who identify with a global international culture (Chen et al., 2008) than either the unidimensional or bidimensional model of acculturation. As of yet, no study has examined a third cultural orientation or compared a tridimensional model to the other models.

Understanding how emerging *global cultures* and multicultural spaces that integrate elements from local and foreign cultures influence psychological processes is of paramount importance (Chen et al., 2008; Chiu & Cheng, 2007; Nguyen, Huynh, & Benet-Martínez, 2010). The coexistence of symbols and ideas representing different cultural traditions in the same physical space is increasingly common (e.g., Starbucks cafés or McDonald's restaurants placed in traditional, and sometimes even historic, buildings throughout Europe and Asia). A recent study sought to examine how the copresence of images from seemingly distinctive cultures in the same space affects cognition (Chiu, Mallorie, Keh, & Law, 2009). This study presented monocultural Chinese and European American individuals with single and joint presentation of icons from American and Chinese cultures. Chinese participants in the joint Chinese-American icon presentation condition attributed more characteristically Chinese attributes and behaviors to a Chinese target person than Chinese participants in the single presentation condition. Similarly, European American participants in the joint Chinese-American presentation condition attributed more characteristically Western attributes and behaviors to an American target. Contrary to the common expectation that the salience of one's culture will diminish with globalization, these results show that a globalized environment that includes symbols from multiple distinctive cultures may draw people's attention to their heritage culture as a way to bring coherence and structure to the situation (see also Chiu & Cheng, 2007). Future studies are needed however to examine these effects among multicultural individuals, for whom culturally mixed situations in all likelihood do not represent a threat or mismatch with their sense of self.

The above results from Chiu et al.'s (2009) study with Chinese and American monoculturals may be informative regarding the perceived incompatibility between cultural orientations that characterizes biculturals with low levels of BII (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2006) and the contrast effects often obtained with this group of biculturals. Recall that low levels of cultural blendedness and cultural harmony are linked to cognitive rigidity (i.e., low openness to experience) and neuroticism respectively. These dispositions may make biculturals more prone to experience rumination and cognitive epistemic needs, such as need for closure, when facing quickly changing and ambiguous cultural situations, a common feature of the acculturation experience. In other words, perhaps the mere presence of a single clear cultural cue makes a bicultural low in BII ruminate about his/her two cultures (e.g., compare them), resulting in a simultaneous activation of both cultures very similar to the one achieved by the joint cultural images used in Chiu et al.'s (2009) study. This joint cultural activation, in turn, may elicit need for closure, or the desire to bring structure over the situation by focusing on and reinforcing a single cultural affiliation. But which of the two cultural identities, you may ask? The contrast effects repeatedly found in studies with low BIIs show that it would be the *other* culture, that is, the one not being initially primed or activated. Perhaps as suggested by Mok and Morris (2009), for these conflicted biculturals, following the lead of a particular

cultural cue feels like leaving the other part of the cultural self behind, so they affirm that other identity to restore equilibrium in the bicultural identities and regain control over the self and the situation.

Lastly, future work should examine how much the psychology of having multiple national, ethnic, or racial identities applies to the *intersection of other types of cultures* and identities (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2010). Professional, generational, and geographic cultures are some examples, but social class and religion are also relevant (Cohen, 2009). For example, an individual from the southern region of the United States living in the northern region of the United States may be bicultural. A culture of honor, which justifies violence in defense of one's reputation, is relatively prevalent in the South but not the North; therefore, southern white males living in the North may have to adapt to the norms in the North and negotiate those two cultures (Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle, & Schwarz, 1996). Sexual minorities, such as gay/lesbian individuals, may also be bicultural, considering that they negotiate and move between gay/lesbian culture and mainstream heterosexual culture (Fingerhut, Peplau, & Ghavami, 2005). Furthermore, the pair of cultures to which "biculturalism" refers need not be within the same category. For example, engineering is a male-dominated occupation; therefore, women engineers may also be considered bicultural because they must negotiate their identities as women and as nontraditional engineers (Cheng et al., 2008; Sacharin, Lee, & Gonzalez, 2009; Settles, 2004). In addition, multicultural experiences and identity negotiations emerge when individuals find themselves living and working in contexts where SES levels and favored religion are very different from the ones attached to self—for example, low SES students attending private colleges and universities, or Muslims living in highly secular societies (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). I believe that the identity structures and processes discussed in this chapter (e.g., cultural frame-switching, BII) may also apply to these other types of identities, but research on this kind of identity intersectionality is desperately needed (Cole, 2009).

Multiculturalism and Globalization: Implications for Social-Personality Psychology

The need for both social and personality psychology to respond to the theoretical and methodological questions posed by the growing phenomenon of multiculturalism cannot be overestimated. In their sampling and design choices, social and personality researchers (including those who do cultural work) have often implicitly assumed that culture is a stable, uniform influence, and that nations and individuals are culturally homogeneous. But rapid globalization, continued massive migration, and the resulting demographic changes have resulted in social spaces (schools, homes, work settings) that are culturally diverse, and in the growing number of individuals who identify with, and live in more than one culture (Hong et al., 2000). Current and future cultural studies need to move beyond traditional between-group cultural comparisons and develop theoretical models and methodologies that capture the multiplicity and malleability of cultural meaning *within* individuals. Some recent studies have taken this approach in examining the interplay between personality dispositions and psychosocial processes such as acculturation (Ryder et al., 2000), multicultural attitudes (Van der Zee et al., 2004), bicultural identity structure (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005), and bilingualism (Chen et al, 2008; Ramirez-Esparza et al., 2006).

Future cultural research can also benefit from exciting methodological advances. Because cultural, social, and personality processes operating at the individual level may not replicate at the cultural level and vice versa (see Tables 3–4 in Benet-Martínez, 2007), researchers can use multilevel modeling and latent-class techniques to deal with these complexities (e.g., Eid & Diener, 2001; see also Christ, Sibley, & Wagner, chapter 10, this volume). These underused techniques have the potential of fostering a fruitful synergy between the fields of personality and social psychology—which have provided a wealth of information regarding individual- and group-level characteristics (e.g., traits and values, majority/minority status)—and the fields of anthropology or sociology, which are very informative regarding culture-level phenomena (e.g., economy, religion, and many other key demographic factors).

In addition, although many studies have established that cultural forces influence social behavior and personality (i.e., culture→person effects), almost no attention has been given to the processes by which individual factors in turn influence culture (person→culture effects) (but see Adams, chapter 8, this volume). Evidence from recent studies shows, for instance, that our personalities shape the cultural contexts in which we live by influencing both micro-(e.g., personal spaces, music preferences, content and style of personal Web pages, etc.; Gosling et al., 2002; Rentfrow & Gosling, 2003; Vazire & Gosling, 2004)

and macro- (e.g., political orientation, social activism, etc.; Jost et al., 2003) cultural elements.

Lastly, to the extent that social and personality psychology can be seen as two distinct (but relatively similar) "cultures" within psychology (Funder & Fast, 2010; Tracy, Robins, & Sherman, 2009), and that the research reviewed here attests to the adjustment benefits of having two cultures and integrating them with oneself, I want to argue that social and personality psychology would benefit from being more blended. Although there is some evidence that this integration exists already at the institutional level (e.g., *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, Society for Personality and Social Psychology), the blending and integration of questions, methods, and theories from the two subdisciplines is less obvious at the individual (i.e., researcher) level. This is unfortunate given that, as shown with the studies linking multiculturalism and multilingualism with general cognitive benefits, the integration of social and personality psychologies could lead to research that is more innovative, multifaceted, and significant.

Concluding Comments

Researchers and practitioners have acknowledged the importance of multiculturalism, and noted its consequences for how we conceptualize culture, optimal psychological functioning, and identity development (e.g., Arnett, 2002, 2008; Hermans & Kempen, 1998). Recently, multiculturalism has also taken center stage in popular culture. Earlier, it was mentioned that President Obama is undoubtedly multicultural and that biculturalism may refer to cultures other than ethnic cultures. At the 2009 Radio and Television Correspondents' Dinner, John Hodgman, a humorist and actor famous for his role in Apple's Mac vs. PC commercials, delivered a speech on biculturalism and hybridity, and identified Obama as being of two worlds: the world of "nerds" and the world of "jocks" (C-SPAN, 2009). Like a nerd, Obama values science, objectivity, and the questioning of the status quo, and like a jock, Obama is likable, confident, and fun to be around. As mentioned earlier, bicultural individuals often experience the external pressure of not having or representing "enough" of one culture or another. In line with this, Hodgman questioned Obama's authenticity as a nerd and tested him on his nerdiness. Although delivered as a humorous speech, it accurately highlights the bicultural experience, particularly the expectations and possible strains related to that experience.

Humor aside, as Verkuyten eloquently said, "Multiculturalism is concerned with complex issues that involve many questions and dilemmas. There are promises and there are important pitfalls . . . Multiculturalism is about the delicate balance between recognizing differences and developing meaningful communalities, between differential treatment and equality, between group identities and individual liberties" (Verkuyten, 2007, p. 294). Undoubtedly, there are different kinds of diversity and thus different forms of multicultural policies and theories will perhaps develop to accommodate differences in history, group representation, political structure, and resources. Above all, multiculturalism is indisputably *a fact* of life, and it is our collective duty to maximize its individual and collective benefits. Through exposure to and internalization of different cultures, minority and majority individuals can experience different ways of learning, viewing, and reacting to the world. This experience makes these individuals' cultural identities more complex and layered and enriches their cognitive and behavioral repertoires. Research mentioned earlier shows that these psychological processes lead to higher cognitive complexity and more creative and tolerant thinking. These attributes are an indispensable skill in our global world.

Notes

[1] For the sake of simplicity and consistency, in this chapter I favor the broader term "multicultural" or "multiculturalism" over the term "bicultural." Regardless of the term used, I always refer to individuals and societies who position themselves between two (or more) cultures and incorporate this experience (i.e., values, knowledge, and feelings associated to each of these identities and their intersection) into their sense of who they are.

[2] Hong et al. (200) define culture as a loosely organized network of knowledge that is produced, distributed, and reproduced among a collection of interconnected people. This "loose" view of culture contrasts with the "systemic" view (e.g., Greenfield, 2000; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1996), which sees culture as a coherent system of meanings with an identifiable central theme around which all cultural meanings are organized (e.g., independence vs. interdependence).

[3] See Lambert (1992) for a review of his ambitious research program on the social psychology of bilingualism. Decades of research by Lambert and collaborators debunked the idea that

having two linguistic systems within one's brain divides a person's cognitive resources and reduces efficiency of thought and language. Instead, Lambert's work provided strong evidence for cognitive, educational, and social advantages to being bilingual.

[4] Note that behaviors differing across cultural groups can also be understood from this framework. Specifically, according to the "culture-as-situated-cognition" perspective (Oyserman, Sorensen, Reber, Chen, & Sannum, 2009), cross-cultural differences in behavior are due to cross-national differences in the likelihood that particular mind-sets will be cued at a particular moment in time. Institutions, media, folklore, and practices within each culture drive the types of cues and their ubiquity, and thus the mind-sets that will be more frequently cued.

[5] A recent meta-analysis of the aggregate reliability of three well-known bidimensional acculturation instruments found that variability in the reliability estimates was associated with scale length, gender, and ethnic composition of the samples, and that this pattern of association was different for ethnic and mainstream culture orientations (Huynh, Howell, & Benet-Martínez, 2009).

[6] BII is typically conceptualized as a relatively stable individual difference tapping a bicultural's overall feelings and perceptions regarding the compatibility and integration of his/her dual cultural orientations; however, like most other individual difference constructs, BII should also be seen as an emerging from the interaction of the person and his/her audience, and thus as also malleable and reactive (Wiley & Deaux, 2011).

[7] A recent study has shown that BII is a construct also applicable to the multiracial experience (Cheng & Lee, 2009). This study also established the malleability of BII: a manipulation inducing recall of positive multiracial experiences resulted in an increase of both blendedness and harmony, while recall of negative multiracial experiences resulted in decreases.

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