Multicultural Identity and Experiences: Cultural, Social, and Personality Processes

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Abstract

This chapter discusses the cultural and social-personality psychological processes involved in multicultural experiences and identities, and the societal factors which influence these phenomena. To do so, relevant findings and theories from the subfields of acculturation, sociology, cultural, social, and personality psychologies are reviewed and integrated. The chapter includes sections devoted to defining multiculturalism and its components at the individual, group, and societal level, explaining the links between multiculturalism and related constructs such as acculturation and interculturalism, and synthesizing the fast growing literatures on cultural frame-switching, individual differences in multicultural identity, and outcomes resulting from multicultural identities and experiences. The chapter concludes with a discussion of future challenges and needed directions in the psychological study of multiculturalism.

Key words: Multiculturalism, multicultural, biculturalism, bicultural, interculturalism, intercultural, acculturation, bicultural identity integration, identity, ethnicity, culture

Multiculturalism: Cultural, Social, and Personality Processes

> "Each day I am reminded of the fact that I have two cultures. All I have to do is write down my name to see this!"
> -- Nigerian-American bicultural participant in Huynh, Benet-Martinez, & Nguyen´s (2016) study

We live in a time with unprecedented rates of connectivity, as physical and psychological boundaries defined by geography, traditional social roles, and limited means of global mobility and communication have greatly weakened. Consequently, more people with different cultural and ethnic backgrounds are interacting with each other, and more people are being exposed to multiple cultures. In sum, multicultural experiences have become a regular component of many individuals' lives, and growing numbers of individuals also describe themselves as bicultural or multicultural.[1] This phenomenon is, at least in part, driven by the large demographic changes resulting from migration. For instance, it is projected than in less than 40 years US-born and foreign-born ethnic and cultural minorities will constitute more than half of the country´s population (United States Census Bureau, 2009). High numbers of multicultural individuals can also be found in other nations where migration has been historically strong (e.g., Germany, The Netherlands, Canada, Australia, Singapore), where there is a history of colonization (e.g., Hong Kong), or in multi-nation states (e.g., Belgium, Spain).

Because of its widespread societal impact, multiculturalism has attracted the interest of politicians and world leaders, policy makers, educators, businesspersons, and social scientists (BBC, 2011). The study of multiculturalism has exciting and transformative implications for social and developmental psychology, as the issue of how individuals develop and affirm their (national, cultural, ethnic, religious) social identities and group memberships becomes particularly meaningful in situations of cultural clashing, mixing, and integration (Deaux & Verkuyten, 2014; Vedder & Phinney, 2014). Furthermore, the issue of how and why people vary

in how they make sense of these experiences provides personality psychologists with a window through which to study individual differences in identity dynamics and reactions to intercultural contact (van der Zee & van Oudenhoven, 2014). In fact, as eloquently said by Phinney (1999): "… 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 studies with multicultural individuals without the counfounding effects (i.e., differences in SES and language, translation issues) that often characterize cross-national comparisons (e.g., Ramirez-Esparza, Gosling, Benet-Martínez, Potter, & Pennebaker, 2006).

The main goal of this chapter is to review and integrate relevant findings and theories on multiculturalism from social, personality, and cultural psychologies, and propose an agenda for future studies. Because multiculturalism issues are still relatively new to mainstream social and personality psychology, this chapter also includes sections devoted to defining the constructs of multiculturalism and multicultural identity, and discussing key issues from the fields of acculturation and interculturalism studies.

Defining Multiculturalism: Individual, Inter-Group, and Societal Levels

Definitions of multiculturalism at the individual level range from those based on socio-demographic characteristics (e.g., being an immigrant or descendant of immigrants, being an

ethnic/cultural minority, having parents from two different cultures) to those refereeing to particular psychological experiences (e.g., multicultural exposure; having diverse cultural values, competencies, and/or identifications). Broadly speaking then, those who have mixed ethnic or racial backgrounds, those who have lived in more than one country (such as long-term expatriates and international students, immigrants, and refugees), 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 inter-cultural relationships may all be considered *multicultural individuals* (Benet-Martinez & Hong, 2014). Common to all these types of individuals is the experience of having been exposed to and having internalized (elements from) two or more cultures (Hong et al., 2000; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2007). Many of these individuals are also likely to develop a *multicultural identity* –i.e., a type of cultural identity that incorporates attachments with and loyalties toward two or more cultures (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005).

Yet note that being a multicultural individual, or having multicultural experiences, doesn't guarantee having a multicultural identity. Multicultural identity is only one component (although perhaps a very important one) of the more complex and multidimensional notion of multiculturalism. That is, an individual who has been socialized in more than one culture is a multicultural person, but only when this individual expresses a sense of belonging with these cultures it can be said that the individual has an (explicit) multicultural identity. This is because acquisition of knowledge from a new culture does not always produce identification with that culture (Hong, Wan, No, & Chiu, 2007). In fact, research on multiculturalism should differentiate between the study of processes relevant to the *multicultural mind* --i.e., how an individual acquires knowledge from multiple cultures and how this knowledge is used to navigate the social world-- and those pertaining to the *multicultural self* --i.e., how an individual

makes sense of multicultural experiences and influences in terms of her or his identity (Hong & Khei, 2014).

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. Further, having a multicultural identity involves following the norms of more than one culture, or at least being cognizant of them. 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 prescribed and intersubjective norms (Jetten, Postmes, & Mcauliffe, 2002; Wan, Chiu, Peng, & Tam, 2007), and that for these individuals cultural norms have greater impact on behavioral intentions than personal attitudes (Terry, Hogg, & White, 1999). Lastly, multiculturalism should not be confused with multilingualism (having fluency in multiple languages), although these terms are conceptually related given the interrelatedness of language learning and cultural learning (Ji, Zhang, & Nisbett, 2004) and the fact that many multicultural individuals are also multilingual (Grosjean, 1996; Ramirez-Esparza & Garcia-Sierra, 2014).[2] Similarly, multiculturalism is also highly relevant to the experience of many multiracial individuals (Sanchez, Shih, & Wilton, 2014).

SOCIETAL AND INTER-GROUP LEVELS

Multicultural ideologies and policies advocate the inclusion and equal value of distinct cultural groups (for extensive reviews of the history and nature of different types of diversity management policies across societies see Berry & Sam, 2014; Novoa & Moghaddam, 2014). 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). 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. Support for this tenet is found in counseling (Perez-Gualdron & Yeh, 2014), education (Banks, 2014; Mistry, Contreras, & Pufal-Jones, 2014), work (Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009), and developmental contexts (Vedder & Phinney, 2014).

Multicultural policies tend to be less supported in relation to immigrant groups than in relation to involuntary minorities, such as colonized people or descendants of slaves (Verkuyten, 2007), presumably because many majority-culture members believe that immigrants, by voluntary leaving their country of origin, should have relinquished their cultural rights. In fact, work examining multicultural attitudes and their effects from both the minority and majority perspectives reveals some interesting moderating factors. For instance, minorities (e.g., Turkish or 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; Verkuyten & Martinovic, 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). Studies have also found that minorities' endorsement of multiculturalism is linked to positive in-group evaluation, while for majorities endorsement of multiculturalism is related to positive out-group views (Verkuyten, 2005). Lastly, endorsement of multiculturalism is positively associated to self-esteem for both minority and majority individuals who identify strongly with their own 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.

Not surprisingly, multiculturalism is a controversial issue in some societies (Novoa & Moghaddam, 2014). Some conservative political and academic segments in the US and Europe view multiculturalism as a policy that that undermines national unity, social integration, and even security (e.g., Noak, 2015; Huntington, 2004). Others believe it promotes group stereotyping and negative out-group feelings (Sailer, 2007). Most 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 US). As argued by Hartman and Gerteis (2005), underlying these views is the belief that the majority-based, macro-culture is substantive (i.e. essential), foundational (i.e., original and primary), and that it provides the moral center for society. That is, according to these views, the legitimacy of the dominant macro-culture thus is always prior to the social phenomenon that may potentially shape it (Hartman & Gerteis, 2005).

Unfortunately, most popular discussions in favor/against multiculturalism involve an implicit dichotomization of complex political and social psychological issues: opposition between universalism and particularism, between unity and fragmentation, and between right and left politics (Hartman & Gerteis, 2005). Departing from this aforementioned unidimensional space and making a distinction between the social and the cultural dimensions, Hartman and Gerteis (2005) identify three distinct types of multicultural ideologies: cosmopolitanism, fragmented pluralism, and interactive pluralism (i.e., interculturalism). 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 can place on individuals (Hartman & Gerteis, 2005). This approach defends cultural diversity, but only to the extent it supports and facilitates individual rights and freedoms. Cosmopolitansim therefore supports a strong macro-social boundary and weak internal groups, and emphasizes the permeability of cultural group membership and boundaries (Hollinger, 2001). 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 membership is the 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 macro-social boundaries but strong internal groups and boundaries, given that cultural group membership is seen as essential rather than partial and voluntaristic. 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 tool for cohesion and mediation between different group claims and value systems. Multicultural policies adopted in The Netherlands in the 1980s are seen as an example of fragmented pluralism (Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007). Lastly, the *interactive pluralism*

approach, like the fragmented pluralism view, also acknowledges the role of cultural differences and loyalties, but stresses the notion of groups-in-interaction (vs. within-group cohesion and group boundaries). This approach sees group interactions (e.g., shared forums, inter-cultural dialogues, interactive programs to showcase the local cultures) as essential, not only because group interactions facilitate societal cohesion and harmony, but also because from these interactions a more inclusive and constantly redefined macro-culture can emerge (Alexander, 2001). This view contrasts with cosmopolitanism or fragmented pluralism, where the macro-culture tends to be more static, thinner, and essentially procedural in nature. Because in the interactive pluralism approach the dynamic macro-culture represents the complexity and reality of *all* groups, it is thus is more easily recognized and valued by all (Hartman & Gerteis, 2005). The interactive pluralism principles form the basis of the *intercultural policies* currently being adopted in some European cities (Wood, 2010), policies which some are positively contrasting against naïve multiculturalism (Meer & Modood, 2012). The interactive pluralism approach and intercultural policies align themselves very well with the polyculturalist view of culture and cultural relations recently proposed in psychology (Bernardo, Rosenthal, & Levy, 2013; Morris, Chiu, & Liu, 2015). Reviewing accumulated evidence from social and cultural psychology as well as history and anthropology, Morris et al. (2015) show that individuals' relationships to cultures are partial and plural (vs. categorical), and that cultural traditions are fluid, changeable, and always in interaction with each other. Note that the *polyculturalism* view, like fragmented pluralism, also sees cultural identities and legacies as an important part of individuals' experience. However, polyculturalism, by highlighting the everyday reality of individuals' partial and plural engagements with different cultures, and the social reality of how cultures constantly interact and change, it naturally favors policies that focus on cultural learning,

adaptation, and hybridity (i.e., interculturalism), rather than on cultural authenticity (see Figure 2 and Table 2 in Morris et al., 2015).

The issues and processes captured by the cosmopolitanism, fragmented pluralism, and interactive pluralism approaches –i.e., tension between the macro- and group-cultures, value of group interaction, permeability of both culture and cultural group membership, procedural vs. substantive views of macro-culture-- are highly relevant to classic and contemporary theory and research in social and cultural psychology. 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), diversity approaches (Galinsky, Todd, Homan, Phillips et al., 2015; Jansen, Vos, Otten, Podsiadlowski et al., 2016), procedural justice (Huo, 2003), and system justification theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994) clearly speaks to the key issues and processes underlying the above approaches to multiculturalism. Thus, social and cultural psychologies, with their theoretical and methodological richness, are in a privileged position to test the social psychological validity, viability, and consequentiality of these approaches and the policies they support (Novoa & Moghaddam, 2014).

Multiculturalism and Acculturation

Acculturation, the psychological changes that result from prolonged contact with different cultures (Sam & Berry, 2006), and multiculturalism are tightly intertwined constructs, with multi/biculturalism being one of four possible outcomes of the acculturation process. Acculturation theory posits that in managing their cultural values, behaviors, and identities, acculturating individuals (such as immigrants and their children) are accountable to at least two cultural groups: the new culture (often the mainstream, dominant culture) and their heritage

culture (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). These acculturating individuals must thus face two central issues --the extent to which they are motivated or allowed to identify with and participate in the new culture, and the extent to which they are motivated or allowed to retain identification and involvement with the culture of origin. The negotiation of these two issues results in four possible distinct acculturation "modes" or outcomes (Sam & Berry, 2006; but also see Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008): assimilation (engagement with the dominant culture only), integration/biculturalism (engagement with both cultures), separation (engagement with the ethnic culture only), or marginalization (lack of engagement with either culture). Empirical work on the these four acculturation modes reveals that the most common strategy used by immigrant and cultural minorities is integration/biculturalism, followed by separation, assimilation, and marginalization (Sam & Berry, 2006). There is also robust evidence supporting the psychometric validity of this multidimensional (i.e., non zero-sum) model of acculturation and its advantages over unidimensional (zero-sum) models in predicting a wide array of outcomes (e.g., Ryder, Allen, & Paulhus, 2000).

It is important to point out that acculturation is a two way street involving changes in both majority and minority cultural groups, changes which are in part driven by the behaviors, perceptions (e.g., degree of cultural difference perceived), and expectations these groups display towards each other are (Horenczyk, Jasinskaja-Lahti, Sam, & Vedder, 2013; van Osch & Breugelmans, 2012). Further, there is evidence indicating that intergroup processes (e.g., ingroup favoritism, outgroup biases), rather than migration per se, predict how majority culture members evaluate different immigrant targets. For instance, native Dutch children favor the assimilation strategy (followed by integration and separation) when judging minority culture children (e.g., Turkish and Chinese children) who have migrated to the Netherlands, and yet rate the separation

strategy more favorably (followed by integration and assimilation) when judging native Dutch children who have emigrated and left the country (Verkuyten, Thijs, & Sierksma, 2014).

Acculturation changes also might occur at different rates and take different forms depending on the psychological domain –i.e., cultural values, identities, or behaviors-- and life context –private, such as family and religion vs. public, such as work and leisure) (Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2006; Schwartz et al, 2010). Thus, one could find individuals who are, for instance, bicultural with regard to competencies (e.g., fluent in both the dominant and ethnic culture languages) while being separated with regard to family values (e.g., give primacy to traditional gender roles) and assimilated with regard to identity (identify exclusively as "American") (See Figure 12.2 in Birman, 1994).

Large cross-national acculturation studies have found a zero or even positive association between national/mainstream identity and ethnic identity in settler countries such as USA (r = .15), Canada (.09), or New Zeeland (.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 non-settler countries such as France (-.13), Germany (-.28), and The Netherlands (-.27) (Phinney et al., 2006). This variation in patterns of associations speak to the different forms multicultural identities can take across countries (e.g., subtractive, additive, or orthogonal), patterns which may result from the interaction of two factors: the climate of the receiving country, such as how long it has been receiving and incorporating immigrants (e.g., Canada vs. Germany), and the type of predominant immigrant group (e.g., Muslim Moroccan and Turkish in Europe versus predominantly Christian Asian and Latin American groups in the United States and Canada). Importantly, these factors also interact in predicting the types of acculturation

outcomes individuals from the majority cultural group expect from the different immigrant ethnic groups (van Osch & Breugelmans, 2012).

The different acculturation modes, including those relating to biculturalism and multiculturalism, have been operationalized and measured in a variety of ways. Many studies have relied on instruments that tap into acculturation attitudes supportive of integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989), while others use more multi-faceted operationalizations that measure engagement with ethnic and dominant cultures across different psychological domains (i.e., values, behaviors, and identification; Schwartz et al., 2010) and life spheres (Navas et al., 2005). An exhaustive review of all the available instruments and the theoretical and psychometric issues relevant to measuring multiculturalism (and acculturation) is beyond the scope of this chapter (for reviews see Celenk & van de Vijver, 2014; Nugyen & Benet-Martinez, 2007).

Cultural Frame-Switching and Identity Performance

Support for the premise that individuals can simultaneously hold two or more sets of cultural meaning systems (i.e., norms and values, attachments, and behavioral repertoires) is also provided by social psychological studies showing that multicultural individuals regularly shift between their different cultural registers in response to contextual cultural cues, a process called *cultural frame-switching* (CFS; Hong et al., 2000). For instance, when exposed to Chinese cultural cues (e.g., a picture of the Great Wall of China), Chinese-Anglo biculturals make more external attributions in explaining an ambiguous social event, a prototypically Asian attribution style. In comparison, when exposed to Anglo-Western cultural cues (e.g., a picture of the White House), these biculturals make more internal attributions, a prototypically Western attribution style (Hong et al., 2000). CFS effects have been documented for a variety of cultural groups

(e.g., Asian American, Greek Dutch, Latinos) and types of cultural cues (e.g., visual icons, language), and for a wide range of psychological processes (for a discussion methodological and conceptual issues in cultural priming see Aydinli & Bender, 2015). Beyond attributions (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002; Cheng, Lee, & Benet-Martínez, 2006; Hong, Benet-Martínez, Chiu, & Morris, 2003; Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006), CFS effects have also been reported in the domains of personality self-views and evaluations (Ramirez-Esparza et al., 2006; Ross, Xun, & Wilson, 2002; Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006), ethnic identity (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002), emotion experience (Perunovic, Heller, & Rafaeli, 2007), self-construals (Brannon, Markus, & Taylor, 2014; Kemmelmeier & Cheng, 2004), acculturation (Lechuga, 2008), values (Fu, Chiu, Morris, & Young, 2007; Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006), cooperation (Wong & Hong, 2005), autobiographical memory (Bender & Ng, 2009), decision making (Briley, Morris, & Simonson, 2005), thinking style (Athanasopoulos et al., 2015; Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Ng, 2014), and word-meaning associations (Ringberg, Luna, Reihlen, & Peracchio, 2010), among others. Further, some studies have shown that CFS also occurs at the level of associated meanings (Pouliasi & Verkuyten, 2007), and even when the cultural cues are presented implicitly --i.e., below participants' level of conscious awareness (Devos, 2006).

Note that for CFS to occur, the relevant cultural schemas have to be cognitively *available* (i.e., relevant cultural values, norms, attitudes, etc. have been internalized), cognitively *accessible* (these schemas have been recently activated by explicit or implicit contextual cues), and *applicable* to the situation (Hong et al., 2000; Hong et al., 2003).[3] Further, although CFS is often automatic and habitual (like a multilingual individual switching languages to fit an interlocutor or audience´s language), it does not always have to be. Acculturating individuals might choose to actively control the accessibility of their cultural schemas by engaging in "self-

priming" behaviors. For instance, individuals desiring to adapt quickly to the new culture might surround themselves with symbols and situations that prime the meaning system of the host culture (e.g., by supporting the local sports team and reading newspapers in the new language). Conversely, when these individuals desire to affirm and experience their heritage culture, they might choose to surround themselves with stimuli that prime that culture (e.g., by consuming ethnic food, art, and music). Sedikides and colleagues (Sedikides, Wildschut, Routledge, Arndt, & Zhou, 2009) have in fact proposed that the experience of "home culture" nostalgia, rather than a sign of immigrants' cultural maladjustment, works to buffer stress and facilitates cultural adaptation. Relatedly, a study found that subliminal exposure to home cultural cues increased international students' subjective well-being and buffered their perceived discrimination and acculturation stress (Hong, Fang, Yang, & Phua, 2013).[4] In short, active processes of cultural self-priming can help acculturating individuals in their ongoing efforts to gain and sustain competencies in and attachments with different cultures, processes which ultimately reinforce individuals' sense of being multicultural (Hong et al., 2000).

It is also important to understand the identity and behavioral processes described above in relation to the acculturating individual´s social context (e.g., type of audience) and her/his interaction with this context (e.g., experiencing feelings of acceptance/rejection). This socially-situated view of multicultural experiences and identities is well captured by the "bicultural identity performance" framework (Wiley & Deaux, 2011). In this approach, identity performance involves ". . . the purposeful expression (or suppression) of behaviors relevant to those norms conventionally associated with a salient social identity" (Barreto, Spears, Ellemers, & Shahinper, 2003). Accordingly, many multicultural individuals actively manage their identity presentation in response to the type audience (e.g., presence of members from one culture or the other, or both),

and the categorization (e.g., low vs. high status) and treatment (e.g., identity denial, threat) received by this audience, thus, behaving in ways designed to elicit recognition or confirmation of their important identities (Wiley & Deaux, 2011). For instance, in Cheryan and Monin´s (2005) study, Asian-Americans whose American identity was denied by a White American experimenter (who asked them questions such as "Do you speak English?" or "Are you American?") subsequently used identity assertion techniques that advertised their "Americanness" (e.g., reported more knowledge of U.S. television shows, higher involvement in U.S. sports, and higher number of American friends). Interestingly, in this study none of these reactions involved increases in identification and pride with American culture or decreases in identification and pride with being Asian, supporting the view that these effects involved strategic identity presentations rather than fundamental changes in identity evaluation and meaning.

In short, multicultural individuals typically activate and use their cultural repertoires in response to the cultural cues they encounter or choose to have around (CFS), but they also behave and express their identities differently depending on the opportunities afforded (and denied) by a given social context, including other people's (actual and anticipated) evaluations, expectations, and behaviors (see Figure 1 in Wiley & Deaux, 2011).

Individual Differences in Multicultural Identity

> " Today, I can say that instead of straddling the line between two different cultures, I'm trying to reach out and become more fully integrated into both of them."
> --bicultural participant in Lilgendahl & Benet-Martinez´s (2016) study

Multicultural individuals often talk about their diverse cultural backgrounds, loyalties, and experiences in complicated ways that include both positive and negative associations. Multiculturalism can be associated with feelings of pride, uniqueness, and a rich sense of

community and history, while also bringing to mind the experience of cultural and racial stereotypes, identity confusion, dual expectations, and value clashes (O'Hearn, 1998; Vivero & Jenkins, 1999). An important issue, then, is whether there are meaningful, consistent, and consequential individual variations in the meanings associated with being multicultural and managing multiple cultural belongings.

In examining individual differences in bicultural identity, Phinney and Devich-Navarro's (1997) study of U.S. minority youth identified two bicultural types through interviews: *blended* biculturals – whose narratives emphasized identification with a combination of the two cultures more than with each culture separately (similar to the *fused* types early proposed in LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; and Birman, 1994), and *alternating biculturals* – who emphasized situational differences in how they saw themselves culturally (a type also proposed in LaFromboise et al., 1993). This seminal typological study was among the first to empirically examine individual variations in biculturalism, and clearly paved the road for future work on multicultural identity (including our own, e.g., Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005; Benet-Martinez, Leu, & Lee, 2002). However, in our view, one limitation of Phinney and Devich-Navarro's typology is that the features and labels (i.e., blendedness vs. alternation) chosen to differentiate the two bicultural types refer to two independent, and thus not mutually exclusive, components or dimensions of the bicultural experience, rather than to distinct types of biculturals. Specifically, the term "blended," like also "hybrid" (Smith, & Leavy, 2008) or "fused" (Birman, 1994), describes a specific *identity* configuration reflecting the synthesis or merging of two or more cultures --e.g., labeling oneself as Asian-American, Chicano, Brasian (British and Asian), or Mexirican (Mexican and Puerto Rican, Potowski & Matts, 2008) vs. seeing oneself as Asian and American, or Mexican and Puerto Rican. The term "alternating," on

the other hand, describes a *behavioral* component of the bicultural experience; specifically, the ability (or willingness) to alternate between different cultural registers (e.g., actions, cognitive schemas, emotions, etc.) in response to situational cultural cues and demands, that is, cultural frame-switching (CFS, Hong et al. 2000). Naturally, biculturals' chosen identity configurations (i.e., describing oneself as a culturally blend vs. as simply having two cultures) and their ability or willingness to alternate between behavioral and cognitive repertories in response to cultural cues (i.e., CFS) do not have to map onto each other necessarily (Boski, 2008). That is, a bicultural individual might report both having a blended identity *and* also alternating between different cultural frames and repertories depending on the demands of the situation. For instance, the first author of this chapter had a bicultural upbringing in Barcelona which included paternal Catalan and maternal Spanish cultural influences. When asked about her cultural identity during these early years, she reports having an overall "blended" or fused Catalan-Spanish identity, an amalgamate which comprises elements from both cultures. At the same time, during this time she also reports "alternating" cultural frames, as she found herself regularly switching between Catalan and Spanish languages, behavioral scripts (and sometimes even feelings of cultural attachment) depending on the sociocultural demands of the situation. Thus, researchers interested in studying variations in multicultural identities and experiences should be mindful to not create categories or types that, instead of describing groupings of biculturals with complex and unique configurations of bicultural experiences *across* the identity and behavioral domains, artificially separate the domains themselves (for an example of a typology that succeeds in incorporating the complexity of behavioral and identity patterns see Birman, 1994).

BICULTURAL IDENTITY INTEGRATION (BII)

After a review and synthesis of the available literature on biculturalism, Benet-Martínez et al. (2002) first proposed the construct of Bicultural Identity Integration (BII) as a framework for describing and investigating individual differences in bicultural identity. 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 regarding their negotiation of dual cultural identities (i.e., how they cognitively and affectively organize this experience). BII clearly draws from previous acculturation work examining variations in acculturation patterns and biculturalism (Birman, 1994; LaFromboise et al., 1993; Padilla, 1994; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). However, while previous frameworks typically focused on differences among biculturals with regard to their levels of cultural identification and competences, BII taps into individuals' subjective (i.e., personal) perceptions about the intersection and tension between their different cultural identities. The emphasis here is on *subjective* (i.e., feelings and perceptions) cultural overlap and compatibility. This subjective emphasis seems critical 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 predict adjustment well (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006).

BII is typically measured using self-report questionnaires. Items denoting high (vs. low) levels of BII tap into perceptions of *overlap* vs. disassociation between the two cultural orientations (e.g., "I feel part of a combined culture" vs. "I keep Chinese and American cultures separate") and perceptions of *harmony* vs. tension conflict between the two cultures (e.g., "I rarely feel conflicted about being bicultural" vs. "I am conflicted between the Chinese and American ways of doing things") (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Huynh, Benet-Martinez, &

Nguyen, 2016). It is important to note also that both individuals high and low on BII endorse the mainstream (e.g., American) *and* ethnic (e.g., Chinese) cultures, even if not always equally, and yet where they differ is in their ability to create a synergistic, integrated cultural identity. For example, high and low BIIs consistently emerge as similar in their endorsement of Berry's integrative acculturation strategy (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Benet-Martínez, Lee, Leu, 2006; Benet-Martínez et al., 2002). However, 1st generation low BIIs tend to be less proficient in English and less identified with American culture compared with their high BII counterparts. This pattern suggests that engagement with the host, majority culture is a key component of BII among immigrant biculturals, who often arrive with already strong level of engagement with the ethnic culture (Mok, Morris, Benet-Martinez, & Karakitapoglu-Aygun, 2007).

Contrary to what was initially proposed (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002), later studies on BII have confirmed that BII is not a unitary construct, and that BII´s perceptions of *cultural harmony* vs. conflict (e.g., reversed "I feel torn between the Chinese and American cultures") and perceptions of *cultural blendedness* vs. compartmentalization (e.g., "I feel Chinese-American") are related but psychometrically independent constructs, each representing unique aspects of the dynamic intersection between mainstream and ethnic cultural identities within bicultural individuals (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Huynh et al., 2016; Miramontez, Benet-Martínez, & Nguyen, 2008). The correlations between the harmony and blendedness scales typically range between .02 and .40, which suggests that these two constructs are formative (i.e., causal) rather than reflective (i.e., effect) indicators of BII (Bollen & Lennox, 1991). In other words, BII is not a latent construct with two resulting facets or narrower dimensions (cultural harmony and cultural blendedness), but rather an observed construct emerging or resulting from (but not leading to) differences in cultural harmony and blendedness (see Figure 1). Thus,

biculturals' behaviors, attitudes, and feelings indicative of experiences such as "cultural homelessness" (Vivero & Jenkins, 1999) or "identity incompatibility" (Simon, Reichert, & Grabow, 2013), in fact, may be capturing the phenomenology resulting from the more basic experience of cultural conflict and/or cultural compartmentalization (see also Figure 35.1 in Huynh, Nguyen, & Benet-Martínez, 2011).

The validity of BII as a psychologically meaningful construct has been well-established over the past decade, with research pointing to a wide variety of benefits associated with higher levels of bicultural integration (for reviews see Benet-Martinez, 2012; Cheng, Lee, Benet-Martinez, & Huynh, 2014). For example, high BII is associated with optimal psychological adjustment (Chen, Benet-Martínez, Wu, Lam, et al., 2013; Ferrari, Rosnati, Manzi, & Benet-Martínez, 2015; Schwartz, Unger, Baezconde-Garbanati, Benet-Martínez et al., 2015; Yampolsky, Amiot, & de la Sablonnière, 2015), even after controlling for neuroticism (Chen, Benet-Martinez, & Bond, 2008), fewer behavioral problems among adolescents (Manzi, Ferrari, Rosnati, & Benet-Martinez, 2014), enhanced creativity, particularly when both cultural identities are situationally salient (Cheng, Sanchez-Burks, & Lee, 2008; Saad, Damian, Benet-Martínez, Moons, & Robins 2013), and more integrated social networks (Mok et al., , 2007).

Although the majority of BII studies have been conducted in the U.S. and relied on Asian American samples, a growing number of studies has focused on other cultural and ethnic groups (e.g., Chen et al., 2008; Manzi et al., 2014; Miramontez et al., 2008; Schwartz et al., 2015). Moreover, BII has been extended to examine the integration of more than two cultural identities (Yampolsky et al., 2015), and also of racial identities (Cheng & Lee, 2009).

BII and Cultural Frame-Switching

There is accumulated evidence showing that differences in BII influence the cultural frame switching process: While high BIIs tend to assimilate to cultural cues and behave in the direction of the cues, low BIIs tend to contrast against cultural cues and behave in the opposite direction of the cues. For instance, Benet-Martínez et al. (2002) found that while Asian-American high BIIs made more prototypical Asian attributions (external) when primed with Asian cues, and made more prototypical American attributions (internal) when primed with American cues-- low BIIs made more prototypically *American* attributions when primed with Asian cues, and more prototypically Asian attributions when primed with American cues. In other words, low BIIs exhibited a type of "behavioral reactance" indicative of what the socio-cognitive literature describes as a contrast or reverse priming effect (Dijksterhuis et al., 1998). Similar contrast effects among low BII biculturals have been found for a wide range of behaviors, such as attributions and managerial decisions (Friedman, Liu, Chi, Hong, & Sung, 2012; Mok, Cheng, and Morris, 2010), need for uniqueness and extroversion (Mok and Morris (2009), creative performance (Mok & Morris, 2010a), and consumer information-seeking and choice (Mok & Morris, 2013). These studies collectively support the idea that while *both* high and low BII biculturals possess two cultural frames of reference and can switch their attributional styles, decisions, and self-perceptions in response to cultural cues, high and low BIIs respond to cultural cues in different ways. As discussed in Benet-Martínez et al. (2002), the prime-inconsistent behavior of low BIIs is supported by some academic and popular literature describing the experience of cultural clash (e.g., Ogbu, 2008; Roth, 1969). In this work, inner cultural conflict is 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. Similarly, Ogbu explains the disengagement from normative academic contexts of some African American youth as representing, at least in part, a reactance to the expectation of having to "act white."

Recent evidence sheds light on some of the possible cognitive and motivational processes behind the contrast effects described above. Because low BIIs have more conflictual, and possibly more negative, associations with one or both of their cultural identities (Cheng, Lee, & Benet-Martinez, 2006; Zou, Morris, & Benet-Martínez, 2008), positive or neutral reminders of their cultures might appear more dissonant, resulting in overprocessing, overcorrection, and reactance, which in turn leads to a contrast effect (Glaser & Banaji, 1999). Mok and Morris (2013) have also provided some evidence indicating that the contrast effect displayed by low BIIs is mediated by perceptions of identity threat, specifically the feeling that ethnic situations risk excluding one's American identity and vice versa (i.e., agreement with items such as "In (American)Asian cultural contexts, I feel that (Chinese)American side is unrecognized"). Further, Zou et al.'s study (2008) showed that biculturals can exhibit contrastive responses to one of their cultures while showing assimilation responses to the other culture, depending on their specific identification and disidentification motives. Importantly, there is evidence showing that low BIIs are not *generally* motivated to defy norms and exhibit contrastive behaviors. For example, Mok and Morris (2010b) showed that, when performing in an American or Asian group decision task, low BIIs are less likely to follow the group consensus than high BIIs, but *only* when the groups' judgment is incorrect.

In conclusion, the accumulated evidence reviewed above supports the robustness of the contrastive response of individuals low in BII and suggests that these effects are driven by both cognitive and motivational mechanisms. With regard to the later, Cheng and colleagues (Cheng

et al., 2014) argue that the key to understanding differences in BII, or bicultural identity more broadly, might in fact lie in the psychological motives of biculturals. Perhaps high and low BIIs, because of their different prior cultural experiences and attitudes, have different needs when interacting with their cultural worlds, and are motivated to achieve different goals. These motivational differences in turn drive how they (consciously or unconsciously) react to cultural cues, tap into culturally-related knowledge sets, and perceive themselves and others in their cultural groups.[5]

BII and Social Relations

BII has also been found to relate to biculturals' perception of their "social" selves, or how they fit in with others in their social worlds. In two separate studies, Miramontez et al. (2008) asked Latino biculturals to rate their own personality and that of a typical person from each of their cultural groups (i.e., a typical Latino and a typical Anglo American). Results showed that higher levels of BII, specifically the component of cultural blendedness, were linked to higher similarity between each pair of personality profiles (self, Latinos, Anglos). So Latinos higher in BII saw their own personalities and that of the average Latino and average Anglo-American person as more similar to each other. To the extent that the ascribed traits reflect cultural self- and group-based stereotypes, this finding supports Benet-Martínez and Haritatos' (2005) view that the blendedness component of BII captures the more perceptual (vs. affective) elements of the acculturation experience. Perhaps biculturals' feelings of having a blended or hyphenated cultural identity is at least in part driven by their perceptions that the members of their two cultures share meaningful characteristics (e.g., see Table 3 in Miramontez et al., 2008). The links found between BII blendedness and the overlaps between the three types of personality also

support social identity theory highlighting the influence of social projection and self-stereotyping processes in self–other correspondence (Cho & Knowles, 2013; Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

Miramontez et al.´s (2008) study has implications that go beyond the understanding of bicultural and social identity processes. The psychological distance between the attributes individuals ascribe to themselves and to members of their cultural ingroups affects the nature of their intergroup attitudes and behaviors. Biculturals with blended cultural identities, by virtue of having more overlapping perceptions of their ethnic and mainstream cultural groups, are more likely to have positive, inclusive, diverse, and equitable attitudes towards individuals from these groups, and thus reduced ingroup/outgroup biases and stereotypes. Further, overlapping cultural identities and stereotypes may reduce the importance of any one cultural or social identity for satisfying an individual's need for belonging and self-definition (Brewer, 1991), further reducing the motivational base for ingroup biases.

BII also relates to biculturals' actual patterns of social relationships. A social network study with 1st generation Chinese Americans (Mok et al., 2007) showed that high BIIs not only have more non co-ethnic friends and colleagues in their habitual networks than low BIIs, but that these non co-ethnic individuals were more likely to know each other (these results held after controlling for strength of cultural identifications). A similar pattern also was found in a study of Pakistani, Ecuadorian, Romanian, and Moroccan immigrants in Spain (Repke, Benet-Martínez, & Maciocco, 2016). In this study, BII was linked to having social networks that were both more diverse (in terms of ethnicity and language usage) and also included more cross-cultural and cross-ethnic ties.

BII, Creativity, and Cognitive Complexity

BII also has been found to moderate how biculturals perform on complex tasks that require creativity. For example, Cheng et al. (2008) asked Asian Americans to generate new and original dishes for a hypothetical restaurant using either Asian or American ingredients only, or both Asian and American ingredients. Participants high on BII (specifically on cultural blendedness) generated more numerous and more creative dishes than low BIIs, but only in the condition where both Asian and American ingredients were available. When only ingredients from one of the cultures were available, there were no differences between high and low BIIs. Similarly, Saad's et al. (2013) study found that Chinese-American biculturals with higher BII (cultural blendedness) exhibited higher creativity in bicultural than monocultural contexts, and this effect was mediated by ideational fluency or number of creative ideas produced (see Figure 1 in Saad et al., 2013). Together these studies suggest that high BII biculturals are not inherently more creative, but that when cues from both cultures are present, they are more adept at activating their cultural schemas simultaneously and drawing ideas from the knowledge sets associated with each of these schemas, thus generating more creative ideas (Weisberg, 1999). These findings have clear societal implications. Biculturals with blended cultural identities will experience enhanced creativity in culturally-mixed (i.e., multicultural) settings and organizations. Conversely, organizations and settings where the development of blended bicultural identities is facilitated (e.g., schools with policies that foster harmonious intercultural relations and cultural hybridity) might also produce individual and organizational outcomes that are more creative.

Creative ideation is not the same thing as complex thinking, and while the research reviewed above shows a link between high BII and creative gains in multicultural contexts, some other studies suggest that low BII, rather than high, is linked to cognitive complexity. Benet-

Martínez et al. (2006) content analyzed written text generated by Chinese American biculturals who were asked to describe either Chinese or American cultures (after being exposed to Chinese or American cultural images), or in the neutral condition, to describe different types of landscapes. Blind coders rated these descriptions on multiple dimensions of cognitive complexity, such as the number of ideas, whether the text contained multiple perspectives, whether the perspectives were compared, and whether differences were reconciled (see Table 1 and Appendix A in Benet-Martínez et al., 2006). The results showed that, compared to high BIIs, low BIIs exhibited *higher* levels of cognitive complexity when describing their cultures, but this difference was not apparent in contexts that were not culturally-laden. Consistent with these findings, Tadmor and colleagues (Tadmor, Tetlock, and Peng, 2009) have shown that the higher the cultural conflict or dissonance, the greater the need to resort to more effortful, integratively complex thinking.

Several mechanisms might explain the higher complexity of low BIIs' cultural representations. Perhaps the cultural images and the cultural description task might have reminded low BIIs of their conflicting cultural experiences (e.g., feelings of being torn between two different cultural orientations) and the emotional challenges associated with being bicultural. These negative feelings, in turn, may make low BIIs more analytical and critical in their thinking during the cultural description task, resulting in texts that are higher in complexity (Tripodi & Bieri, 1966). Furthermore, low BIIs' feelings of conflict about possible competing cultural norms might also make them more vigilant to the cultural task in hand, leading to a more systematic and careful consideration of ideas to describe their cultures (Miller & Bieri, 1965).

The finding that on cultural tasks high BIIs exhibit lower levels of cognitive complexity but higher levels of creative thinking compared to low BIIs might perhaps seem counterintuitive,

but in fact is not (Cheng et al., 2014). High BII's fluid integration of different (and even disparate) cultural knowledge sets and affiliations might facilitate divergent thinking and creativity, but at the same time, this process might require a certain level of simplification of cultural ideas (i.e. lower complexity). In contrast, the richer and cognitively complex cultural representations held by low BIIs may highlight aspects about each culture that are distinctive and potentially irreconcilable, thus making it more difficult to bridge and blend knowledge and schemas from each culture into novel ideas.

BII Antecedents and Development

It is important we understand the factors that might contribute to differences in BII given its impact on a wide range of behaviors (Cheng et al., 2014). A small but growing number of studies addressing this issue have identified several important individual- and contextual-level factors. Biculturals who blend their cultural identities are more likely to have had early immersive culture mixing (Martin & Shao, 2016), simultaneous dual language acquisition (Nguyen & Ahmadpanah, 2014), and be higher on the personality trait of openness to experience, while those who report bicultural identity harmony tend to be lower in the trait of neuroticism (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005; Huynh et al., 2016). Contextual pressures also influence BII, so that acculturation strains such as having unsmooth intercultural relations (e.g., being told by others that one is "too American" or "too ethnic"), linguistic challenges (e.g., feeling misunderstood because of one's accent), the experience of discrimination (e.g., being mistreated due to one's ethnicity), and living in environment with low cultural diversity have all been linked to lower levels of both cultural blendedness and harmony (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Huynh et al., 2016; Miller, Kim, & Benet-Martínez, 2011). This research also shows that personality factors and acculturation stressors work jointly in predicting BII, so that

the aforementioned personality traits influence BII both directly and also through the way acculturation stressors are experienced (see Figure 1 in Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005).

Although it is clear that BII develops out of a complex interaction of many individual and contextual factors, there is still much to be understood about the actual processes involved, especially with respect to how specific bicultural life experiences may become significant to a person's developing bicultural identity (Vedder & Phinney, 2014). Further, the evidence reviewed above is largely correlational and thus cannot be used to infer causal relationships. Because of the changing and often lifelong nature of acculturation experiences, BII trajectories and change ought to be examined in experimental and longitudinal studies. In a study that manipulated the recall of (positive vs. negative) bicultural memories, Cheng and Lee (2013) found that the recall of positive bicultural memories boosted BII while the recall of negative memories lowered it, while no effect was found for the recall of non-bicultural memories (see also Cheng & Lee, 2009). The authors argued that because most bicultural individuals are likely to have both positive and negative bicultural experiences, the fact that BII is enhanced when positive experiences are made accessible in memory supports the notion that positive acculturation experiences (e.g., low discrimination, living in culturally mixed environments, acquiring multiple cultural competencies) might be behind the development of high BII. However a recent study shows that this conclusion might be perhaps too simple. Lilgendhal and Benet-Martinez (2016) examined the narratives of spontaneous bicultural memories in an ethnically and age-diverse sample of bicultural adults and found that what matters in predicting BII is how the narrative concludes (positively or negatively), not the valence or content of the events reported in the narratives. Specifically, regardless of the valence of the event recalled, biculturals who reported positive meaning in and resolutions for those experiences scored higher

on both BII harmony and blendededness.[6] These findings suggest that while external negative acculturation stressors might dampen BII levels, being able to find redemptive and positive meaning in these experiences is also a key factor in developing an integrated bicultural identity.

Longitudinal research is arguably the most important next step for future research on BII, and biculturalism in general. Lilgendhal and Benet-Martinez's (2016) study suggests that the processing of significant bicultural memories is a developmental mechanism that might precede BII, but it is also possible that changes in BII (due to external factors and cognitive developmental changes) also result in changes in how bicultural memories are understood and related to the self. Future longitudinal research could examine these processes and also track bicultural identity processes across critical transition points at which questions about cultural belonging might be particularly meaningful (Either & Deaux, 1994), such as changing schools, going to college, finding a partner, getting married, and parenthood. Migrating to a new country is undoubtedly a very important type of social transition point. In a longitudinal study of BII among recently arrived Hispanic immigrant adolescents in Miami and Los Angeles, Schwartz et al. (2015a) identified two longitudinal trajectory classes: youth with consistently higher BII scores and those with stable lower scores (within each group, scores were stable over a 3-year period). This finding suggest that, at least for this group´s initial acculturating period, BII is largely an individual-difference construct unaffected by time lived in the society of settlement. Interestingly, the study also found that, compared to their low-BII counterparts, Hispanic youth who maintained high levels of BII over the 3-year period reported higher self-esteem and optimism, fewer depressive symptoms, and more positive family relations at the final study timepoint. This means that the psychological and relational benefits of higher BII apply over time as well as cross-sectionally. According to Schwartz's et al. (2015a), these benefits might

reflect gains over time in feelings of self-efficacy and belonging due to effective functioning across cultural contexts. Specifically, because in many immigrant families, family members (especially parents and other older relatives) remain closely involved with the culture of origin, youth who are able to integrate the ethnic culture with the new dominant culture (i.e., be high BII) can succeed at both (a) keeping harmonious relationships with traditionally oriented family members, and (b) successfully interacting with friends, teachers, employers, and other individuals within the new society (Schwartz et al., 2015a).

The research reviewed in this section reveals that levels of BII are influenced by biculturals' personality dispositions, their acculturation and cultural socialization experiences, the meaning ascribed to these experiences, and features of the immediate social environment (see Figure 13.1 in Cheng et al., 2014). Yet the larger historical, political, and economic context of their cultural groups might also influence BII levels (Huynh et al., 2011). For instance, African Americans, as compared to Asian Americans, Hispanics, and Arab-Americans, have a longer and more continuous presence in the history of the U.S., which might facilitate having a more heightened sense of shared culture and identity, and also a more widespread recognition by others of their past (e.g., slavery, segregation) and more recent (e.g., Obama being elected as president, "Black Lives Matter" movement) collective history. Because of this, African Americans might less vulnerable to the perpetual foreigner stereotype by both ingroup and outgroup members (e.g., Huynh, Devos, & Smalarz, 2011). All these factors together may perhaps predispose African Americans to be higher on BII, and Asian Americans and Arab-Americans to be lower, with Hispanics falling in the middle due to their long historical presence in territories that are now the US Southwest (see Huynh et al., 2011 for an extensive discussion of these factors in BII development). BII patterns might also shift in response to different types

of global and national political discourse. For instance, discourse reflecting exclusionary and nativist attitudes towards ethnic minorities and immigrants, such as Trump´s recent rhetoric associating being Hispanic and Arab-American with illegality and terrorism respectively (Pruessen, 2016), might decrease levels of BII among individuals belonging to these groups.

Measurement of BII

Much of the early work on BII relied on a vignette-like instrument called the "Bicultural Identity Integration Scale–Pilot Version" (BIIS-P; Benet-Martinez et al., 2002) or a short 8-item scale called the "Bicultural Identity Integration Scale—Version 1" (BIIS-1, Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Recently, a large multi-phase scale development and validation study (Huynh, et al., 2016) has refined the measurement of BII by developing the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale–Version 2 (BIIS-2). After generating new items using qualitative data (open-ended essays written by self-identified biculturals) and having these items evaluated by subject-matter experts and pilot testers, a pool of 45 items were tested in an ethnically diverse sample of 1,049 self-identified biculturals. Seventeen items were chosen for the final BIIS-2 (see Table X in Huynh et al., 2016), and this new scale yield reliable (blendedness vs. compartmentalization $\alpha = .86$ for 9 items; harmony vs. conflict $\alpha = .81$ for 10 items) and stable (Time 1 and Time 2 correlations: $.74 < r < .78$) scores across ethnic groups. Further, confirmatory factor analyses attest to the two-factor structure of BIIS-2 (correlation between blendedness and harmony components is .36), as well as its measurement invariance across ethnic and generational groups.

Beyond Ethnicity, Beyond BII

The construct of BII has been fruitfully applied to the study of identity dynamics beyond culture and ethnicity. For instance, a study of female engineers found that those high in gender-profession identity integration are more creative (Cheng, Darling, Lee, Molina, & Sanchez-

Burks, 2008). Similarly, a study of male nurses (Wallen, Mor & Devine, 2014) found that gender-profession identity integration predicts job satisfaction and organizational commitment. Lastly, Darling, Molina, Sanders, Lee t al. (2008) found that the integration of ethnic and professional/academic identities is negatively related to stress and fear of professional failure and positively related to professional satisfaction and persistence. Supporting the notion of identity reactance previously discussed, assimilation and contrast effects similar to those found with high vs. low BII levels have been observed in studies examining the integration of other types of social identities (Cheng & Tan, 2012; Mok & Morris, 2012; Sacharin et al., 2009).

Surprisingly, beyond BII, one finds very little additional empirical work examining individual variations in how multicultural individuals organize their ethnocultural perceptions and identities, and the antecedents and consequences of these variations (but see Yampolski et al., 2015, for a model dealing with the integration of more than two cultures). Because multicultural experiences often involve managing cross-cutting identities and group memberships that go beyond culture an d ethnicity (e.g., religion, nationality), the construct of social identity complexity (SIC; Roccas & Brewer, 2002) holds particular promise. Work by Schmid and colleagues (Schmid, Hewstone, & Al Ramiah, 2013; Schmid, Hewstone, Tausch, Cairns et al., 2009) for instance, has shown that among majority individuals, high SIC involves seeing one's multiple (cultural, national, religious) in*groups* as non-overlapping (i.e., disagreeing with statements such "Being German means the same as being Christian," or "Being a Catholic (Protestant) in Northern Ireland means the same as being Irish (British)"), and that high SIC is linked to having diversity experiences, living in diverse contexts, and positive intergroup attitudes. Future research should examine the links between SIC and BII as these two constructs tap different and yet interrelated important aspects of managing multiple sociocultural

memberships. Importantly, because BII focuses on the *self* perceptions (e.g. seeing oneself as a blend of cultures or choosing the MexiRican label) while SIC focuses on *group* perceptions (e.g., believing that being American and being Christian are overlapping group categories), the relationship between these two models is not obvious. Specifically, it not obvious that an individual who endorses a blended bicultural identity to describe himself (e.g., sees himself as an Asian-American) would also perceive membership in each of these cultural groups as overlapping (e.g., see all Asians as Americans, and vice versa). Therefore, at this point, it is hard to map differences in BII into different levels of social identity complexity.

Still, recent SIC research with cultural minorities supports the value of going beyond strength of identification with various groups to understand important social psychological outcomes related to multiculturalism. In a study of Turkish-Belgian Muslims and Turkish-Australian Muslims, Dommelen and colleagues (Dommelen, Schmid, Hewstone, Gonsalkorale, & Brewer, 2015) identified a wide range of identity structures representing different degrees of complexity and inclusiveness with regard to the intersection of religious (Muslim), national (Belgian, Australian) and ethnic (Turkish) group memberships. Notably, these variations predicted a wide range of intergroup attitudes, over and above measures taping strength of identification with these ingroups.

Psychological and Social Consequences of Multiculturalism

The issue of whether and how multiculturalism is psychologically consequential for individuals and groups has been theoretically and empirically debated. The literature examining this issue is ample and includes studies examining the effects on psychological (e.g., wellbeing) and social (e.g., lack of delinquency) adjustment of having culturally diverse experiences (e.g., exposure to foreign cultures), having a multicultural "personality" or orientation to life (e.g.,

welcoming and adapting to cross-cultural interactions), identifying with two or more cultures, and being multiculturally competent (for a review see Ponterotto & Fietzer, 2014). There is strong evidence showing that the integration/biculturalism strategy, as compared to the other three acculturation modes (separation, assimilation, marginalization), is the most ideal, leading to greater benefits in key areas of life (Berry, 1997; Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Schwartz et al., 2013; Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, Córdova et al., 2015b; but see Rudmin, 2003).

In Nguyen and Benet-Martínez's (2013) meta-analysis of 83 acculturation studies and 23,197 participants, biculturalism was found to have a 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 separate cultural orientation (dominant or ethnic) and adjustment. Interestingly, the magnitude of the biculturalism-adjustment association was moderated by the type of scale used to measure cultural involvement: the strongest association (r = .70) emerged in for studies where biculturalism was measured using bidimensional scales, where ethnic and dominant cultural involvement is tapped with separate scales; the effect was strong (r = .54) for studies using unidimensional scales, where engagement with each culture represents opposites of one continuum; and the effect was weak to moderate (r = .21) for studies measuring acculturation attitudes directly (i.e., separate scales for the integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization modes). The link between biculturalism and adjustment was also stronger for participants residing in the United States than for those in other countries (for a summary of all the findings see Table 1 in Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013). All in all, the results from this

meta-analysis invalidate accounts of bicultural individuals as "marginal" and stumped between two worlds (Gordon, 1964; Huntington, 2004).

The positive relationship between biculturalism and adjustment may be due to a variety of factors internal and external to the acculturating individual. The cultural and linguistic competencies and cognitive and social flexibility that bicultural individuals acquire in the process of learning and using two cultures (Benet-Martínez et al., 2006; Leung, Maddux, Galinsky, & Chiu, 2008) may make these individuals more adept at adjusting to various life situations (i.e., have higher adjustment). In addition, having social support networks in both cultures may buffer biculturals from the psychological (e.g., anxiety, loneliness) or sociocultural (e.g., interpersonal conflicts, intercultural miscommunication) challenges that sometimes result from acculturation experiences (Repke et al., 2016). The biculturalism-adjustment relationship may also reflect an adjustment → biculturalism effect (rather than a biculturalism → adjustment effect). That is, it is also possible that better adjusted individuals (e.g., those with higher self-esteem and/or social adjustment) find it easier to become bicultural. The biculturalism-adjustment relationship may also be due to a third variable, such as the dominant cultural group's attitudes toward multiculturalism and acculturation. For example, countries or regions with multicultural or intercultural policies and where majority groups have non-discriminatory attitudes toward cultural minorities may allow acculturating individuals both a chance to become bicultural and also attain higher levels of adjustment (Berry & Sam, 2014).

An important agenda for studies examining the effects of multiculturalism should be to examine how the biculturalism-adjustment relationship is moderated by certain contextual and individual factors, such as experiences of discrimination and identity threat (Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2011) or individual differences in bicultural identity (e.g., Chen et al., 2008).

Biculturalism might also predict adjustment in different domains and through different mechanisms depending on generational status, given that immigrants have cultural demands that are different from those of their children. For instance, it is possible that for 1st generation immigrants, engagement with the host culture might mainly bring gains in educational and occupational adjustment, while engagement with ethnic culture ensures interpersonal adjustment through co-ethnic social support (Birman, Simon, Chan, & Tran, 2014). Further, it is important to understand how minorities' dual cultural identities can bolster or undermine their support for certain political views, rights, and actions, such as political ideology (Nauman, Benet-Martinez, & Espinoza, in press), political mobilization (Martinovic & Verkuyten, 2014), and political radicalization (Simon, Reichert, & Grabow, 2013).

When examining the outcomes of multiculturalism at the individual level, it is important to note that multiculturalism is not necessarily an individual choice; early family socialization practices (Mistry, Contreras, & Pufal-Jones, 2014), and inter- and intra-group relations also play an important role (Schwartz, Vignoles, Brown, & Zagefka, 2014). For example, and individual may favor the integration/biculturalism strategy, but if he/she lives in a monocultural community with no representation of other ethnic groups, assimilation may be psychologically adaptive. Although more research is needed to determine causality among intergroup context, multiculturalism, and adjustment, policies facilitating multilingual education, racial/cultural diversity in schools and other organizations, and the prohibition of disparate treatment for different groups, do influence individuals' ability to become multicultural and develop multicultural skills, 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 & Sam, 2014). In minority children and adolescents,

multiculturalism is positively related to greater academic achievement (Mistry et al., 2014). These educationally successful students may be able to contribute a great deal to society when they become adults (Banks, 2014). 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 experiences often translate into intercultural competences and knowledge (Brannen & Lee, 2014; Brannen & Thomas, 2010; Pekerti, Moeller, Thomas, & Napier, 2014). In addition, multiculturals 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 (Ting-Toomey, 2014).

More generally, correlational, experimental, and longitudinal evidence shows that individuals with more extensive multicultural experiences, including those who self-identify as multicultural, show enhanced levels of integrative complexity, creativity, and professional success (Leung et al., 2008; Maddux & Galinsky, 2009; Maddux, Bivolaru, Hafenbrack, Tadmor, & Galinsky, 2014; Tadmor, Galinsky, & Maddux, 2012). Multiculturals, because of their experiences moving between cultural systems, may have richer associations with a single concept than monocultural persons; as a result they might also 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). Tadmor and colleagues (Tadmor, Hong, Chao, Wiruchnipawan, & Wang, 2012) have also found that multicultural experiences, broadly defined, also lead to gains in the intergroup

domain, leading to reduced levels of stereotype use, discriminatory choices, and symbolic racism.

If the experience of managing different cultural systems of thought (e.g., different sets of cultural norms, beliefs, contextual cues, etc.) leads to more divergent and complex thinking, it is not surprising to find that some of these benefits also extend to individuals who speak multiple languages (Dewaele & Wei, 2013; Lambert, 1978), those who are multiracial (Gaither, Remedios, Sanchez, & Sommers, 2015), individuals who had to adapt to new and even adverse circumstances (Ritter, Damian, Simonton, van Baaren et al., 2012; Damian & Simonton, 2015), and those possessing multiple social identities (Steffens, Gocłowska, Cruwys, & Galinsky, 2015). Steffens et al.'s (2015) experiment shows that these cognitive gains (e.g., higher creativity) are driven by cognitive flexibility, and not by other psychological attributes such as self-affirmation needs, novelty seeking, and generalized persistence. Apparently, the high experiential diversity afforded by speaking multiple languages and/or belonging to multiple social/cultural/racial groups brings gains in cognitive flexibility, a skill that in turn leads to gains in creativity and tolerance to ambiguity.

Recent integrative theoretical models put forward by social-personality psychologists (Crisp & Meleady, 2012; Crisp & Turner, 2010; Hirsh & Kang, 2015; Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015) detail the specific conditions and processes through which perceiving multiple social identities, in oneself and others, can lead to psychological challenges (e.g., identity conflict and uncertainty) vs. benefits, including some that go beyond the cognitive domain (e.g., positive intergroup behavior). For instance, Crisp and Turner (2010) posit that exposure to difference and diversity, particularly diversity defined by non-stereotypical intersecting identities (e.g., female engineers, male midwife) activates systematic (vs. automatic) information processing

mechanisms. This more systematic type of cognitive processing, which is needed to make sense of new and/or incongruent social information, is also adaptive in that it enables humans to consider possible new coalitions, reclassify initial perceptions of intergroup differences into intra-group diversity, and improve categorization in future social contacts (Crisp & Meleady, 2012). Because this more effortful cognitive system is linked to divergent thought processes, repeated experiences with socio-cultural diversity can lead, over time, to generalized flexibility in category use, and thus have observable positive effects across a wide range of intra- (e.g., creativity, cognitive complexity) and inter-personal (e.g., prejudice, stereotyping) domains. A recent program of research by Crisp and colleagues provides strong empirical evidence for these effects while also clarifying its boundary conditions (Gocłowska, Baas, Crisp, & De Dreu, 2014; Gocłowska & Crisp, 2014; Prati, Vasiljevic, Crisp, & Rubini, 2015; Vasiljevic & Crisp, 2013).

At the meso-level of analysis, some studies have also shown a link between the cultural diversity of social networks and creativity. Combining experimental methods and social network analysis, Chua (2013, 2015) has shown that having a culturally diverse interpersonal network increases the likelihood of receiving culture-related novel ideas (but not other types of novel ideas) from network contacts. Further, having culturally diverse networks brings creativity benefits in tasks that draw on varied cultural-knowledge resources (e.g., designing a business model for a service that collected and disseminated news around the world), but not on other types of tasks (e.g., designing a local news service). Chua (2013) has also shown that when there is intercultural conflict and disharmony in the social network, the belief that ideas from different cultures are incompatible creeps in, a belief which in turn undermines the aforementioned creativity advantage. Importantly, the benefits of social network diversity transcend individuals and also impact their communities. A study of UK mobile phone networks found that the social

and geographic diversity of individuals' relationships is strongly correlated with the economic development of communities (Eagle, Macy, & Claxton, 2010). These social psychological and sociological findings can clearly contribute to ongoing popular political and economic debates on the potential negative (e.g., ethnic conflict, lowering of social trust) and positive (e.g., increased innovation and productivity) consequences of ethnic diversity. For instance, economists Alesina and Zhuravskaya (2011) have shown that it is the spatial segregation of ethnic and linguistic diversity, and not diversity *per se*, that leads to increased social and economic instability. Intercultural relations, thus, because of their potential to bring people closer together (spatially, socially, and psychologically), are a critically important feature of healthy --i.e., socially cohesive and prosperous—diverse societies.

In conclusion, the research reviewed in this section supports the finding that multiculturalism and other types of culturally diversifying experiences can bring about important psychological (e.g., wellbeing) and behavioral (e.g., creativity, positive intergroup attitudes) gains to individual and society, particularly when these experiences are schema-inconsistent, embedded in individuals' social networks, and harmonious. Harnessing and facilitating these experiences through social policies promoting multiculturalism, social diversity, and positive intercultural relations should thus be a societal imperative.

New Directions

Traditional two-dimensional acculturation models measuring engagement with ethnic and dominant cultures cannot adequately describe the experience of being involved with more than two cultures. For instance, Jamaican immigrants in the U.S. can be oriented towards their original (Jamaican) and the mainstream receiving (Anglo-American) cultures, but also towards the African American culture (Ferguson, Bornstein, & Pottinger, 2012). It is also possible to be

oriented towards an emergent third culture representing the blending of two interacting cultures (e.g., Chicano culture in the U.S., Keefe & Padilla, 1987) or a global international culture (Chen et al., 2008; Chen, Lam, Hui, Ng, et al., 2016; Ozer & Schwartz, 2016). In fact, in most large multicultural cities (e.g. London, New York), changing demographic patterns are resulting in diversification patterns where (1) majority cultures are fading (van Oudenhoven & Ward, 2013), and (2) intercultural relations (and acculturation outcomes) increasingly involve sustained contact among different minority cultural groups varying power in and settling history, besides transactions with the dominant culture (Vertovec, 2015). Therefore, it is critical to develop acculturation frameworks and assessment tools reflecting these important demographic and transactional changes (Celenk & van de Vijver, 2014). Assessment tools tapping individual differences in the integration of more than two cultural identities are also a welcome addition (e.g., Yampolsky et al., 2016).

Understanding how emerging *global cultures* and multicultural spaces that integrate elements from local and foreign cultures influence psychological processes is of paramount importance (for reviews see Chiu & Kwan, 2016; Leung, Qiu, & Chiu, 2014). Although cultures have always been interacting systems rather than independent, static entities (Morris et al., 2015), rapid globalization has lead to a heightened interest in the psychology of cultural mixing. The coexistence of symbols, ideas, and institutions representing different cultural traditions in the same physical space is increasingly common (e.g., placement of Starbucks cafés and McDonald restaurants in traditional, and often historic, buildings throughout Europe and Asia). Chiu and colleagues (Chiu, Mallorie, Keh, & Law, 2009; Torelli et al., 2011) have shown that this mixing of symbols representing different cultural traditions leads to the simultaneous cognitive activation of two or more cultural meaning systems (i.e., joint culture priming) which,

in turn, enhances perceivers' attention to and awareness of the essential attributes that differentiate the these primed cultures. In a study of monocultural Chinese and American individuals who were exposed to either single or joint American and Chinese cultural icons (Chiu et al., 2009), it was found that those in the joint Chinese-American icon presentation condition later attributed more characteristically Chinese (European) attributes to a Chinese (European) target person. This means that joint culture priming increases the tendency to attribute stereotypic characteristics to members of the primed cultures. Interestingly these effects were observed even when participants were exposed to two out-group cultures (Torelli et al., 2011), suggesting that joint culture priming does not necessarily induce a heightened motive to differentiate one's ingroup culture from outgroup cultures.

The simultaneous presentation of symbols representing different cultures leads to two types of psychological reactions (Leung et al., 2014): a type of response involving reactive *exclusionary* feelings (e.g., fear of cultural contamination, nationalism) and/or a response characterized by a learning-oriented, *integrative* mindset (e.g., creative and divergent thinking, curiosity). Integrative responses are less likely to occur when certain social and individual and factors are present, such as the existence of a strong local cultural identity, social cultural threats, and individual feelings of existential anxiety. Note that although exclusionary responses may heighten intercultural tension, they might also mobilize a collective effort to protect positive elements of the local culture and economy from the hegemonic influence of commercialization and globalization (Li, Kreuzbauer, & Chiu, 2015). Ideally, individuals and communities would choose to selectively accept only those foreign cultural elements that are compatible with the (positive) core values of the local culture (Fu & Chiu, 2007).

It is also useful to examine the integrative vs. exclusionary responses to the acculturative changes brought by globalization from an individual difference perspective (e.g., Chen et al., 2016; Szabo, Ward, & Fletcher, 2016). Chen et al.'s (2016) study examined individual variations in the psychological construct of "global orientation" (having proactive attitudes and behaviors indicative of a multicultural orientation) vs. "ethnic protection" (having protective attitudes and behaviors indicative of defensiveness of the local, dominant culture); this construct was examined across majority and minority cultural groups (including immigrants and sojourners), multicultural and monocultural contexts, and Eastern and Western cultures. Their study effectively shows that differences in global orientation are linked to different skills (e.g., proficiency in foreign languages) and personality traits (e.g., openness, extraversion), and also, importantly, that global orientation predicts psychological adaptation, sociocultural competence, and attitudes towards cultural outgroups over and above related constructs such as acculturation expectations/strategies and political orientation.

While much of the accumulated research on multicultural attitudes and identities has focused on conscious, explicit processes (e.g., self-reported cultural values, behaviors, experiences, and identities), a small but growing body of work shows that multicultural identities are also largely shaped by psychosocial processes operating outside awareness, control, or self-reflection (for a review see Devos & Vu, 2014). Like other types of attitudes and self structures, this work shows that explicit and implicit aspects of multiculturalism do not always match onto each other. More research on implicit multicultural processes is needed to better understand the subtle unconscious mechanisms by which cultural knowledge and experiences are incorporated into the self-concept. This research can thus provide key theoretical and empirical insights that will help researchers in integrating processes related to multicultural self and those related to the

multicultural mind (Hong & Khei, 2014), for instance, thus ultimately contributing to the development of a broad theoretical framework on the social-personality psychology of multiculturalism.

There is also growing interest among social-personality psychologists in studying the dynamics and intersection of *other types of cultures* and social identities (Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015; Settles & Buchanan, 2014). Professional and sexual/gender cultures are some examples, but social class, religion, and even geographic region, are also relevant (Cohen, 2009). Sexual minorities, such as LGBT individuals, may also be bicultural, given their experience of having to negotiate and move between their particular minority LGBT culture and mainstream heterosexual culture (Fingerhut, Peplau, & Ghavami, 2005). Furthermore, the "cultures" to which "multiculturalism" refers need not be within the same category.[7] For example, engineering is a male-dominated occupation, therefore, women engineers may also be considered bicultural as they must negotiate their identities as women and as non-traditional engineers (Cheng et al., 2008; Sacharin et al., 2009; Settles, 2004). Multicultural experiences and identity negotiations are also relevant to individuals who live and work in social contexts where the predominant SES and religion are very different from the ones attached to their self-concept --e.g., low SES students attending private colleges and universities (Stephens, Markus, & Fryberg, 2012), or Muslims living in highly secular societies (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). We believe that the identity structures and processes discussed in this chapter (e.g., cultural frame-switching, BII, cultural reactance due to conflict) may also apply to these other types of identities, but more research on these kinds of identity intersectionality is desperately needed (Hirsh & Kang, 2015; Settles & Buchanan, 2014).

Lastly, a full understanding of the psychological effects (gains and costs) of multiculturalism calls for more research on the personality processes driving and resulting from multicultural experiences. In a longitudinal study that included youth studying abroad and a matching control sample, Zimmermann and Neyer (2013) found that sojourning led to increases in Openness and Agreeableness and decreases in Neuroticism (even after controlling for self-selection mechanisms). The fact that these personality changes were largely driven by the formation of new social support systems in the receiving country supports the finding that cultural diversity in social networks is linked to social and cognitive gains (Rua, 2015).

Studying 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. As described in this chapter, 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). However, in their sampling and design choices, many 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 (see Figure 1 in Morris, Chiu, & Liu, 2015). Current and future cultural studies need to move beyond traditional between-group cultural comparisons to include also theoretical models and methodologies that capture the multiplicity and malleability of cultural meaning within individuals (Cheng et al., 2014; See Figure 2 in Morris, Chiu, & Liu, 2015).

Future multiculturalism 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., Van de Vijver, Van Hemert, & Poortinga, 2015). These techniques have the potential of fostering a fruitful synergy between the fields of social-personality psychology – which has provided a wealth of information regarding individual- and group-level characteristics (e.g., traits and values, majority/minority status)—and the fields of and anthropology and sociology, which are particularly informative regarding culture-level phenomena (e.g., economy, religion, organizational factors).

In addition, although many studies have established that cultural forces influence social behavior and personality (i.e., culture→person effects), not enough attention has been given to the processes by which individual factors in turn influence culture (person→culture effects). This is unfortunate given the available evidence showing that our personalities shape the socio-cultural contexts in which we live by influencing both micro- (e.g., personal spaces, music preferences, content and style of personal web pages; Gosling et al., 2002; Rentfrow & Gosling, 2003; Vazire & Gosling, 2004) and macro-cultural elements (e.g., political, economic, social, and health indicators; Rentfrow, Gosling, Jokela, Stillwell et al., 2013).

Lastly, to the extent that social and personality psychology can be seen as two distinct (but relatively similar) 'cultures' within psychology (Tracy, Robins, & Sherman, 2009), and that the research reviewed here attests to the adjustment benefits of having multiple cultures and integrating them within a coherent sense of self, we want to argue that social and personality psychology would benefit from being more "culturally" blended with each other. 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 sub-disciplines 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 important socio-cognitive benefits, the better integration of social and personality psychologies could lead to research that is more creative, multifaceted, and ultimately significant.

Concluding Comments

The diversity of perspectives and studies presented in this chapter will hopefully evidence that one of the strenghts and hallmarks of the social-personality psychological approach to the study of multiculturalism (and related issues, such as globalization, multiple social identities and categorization, and policies to best manage all these issues) is the breadth and sophistication of its methods and theoretical approaches. There is no standard psychological study of multiculturalism—rather, as this chapter shows, one finds experimental and correlational studies of multicultural identity dynamics, longitudinal studies on acculturation and identity formation among youth, large multi-country acculturation studies, and narrative studies of bicultural life stories, to name a few. This diversity also reflects the integration of laboratory and field studies, individual difference and general processes, and intra-person and inter-group perspectives. We believe this breath speaks of the complexity of multicultural experiences, the diversity of internal and external factors that influence them, and the different ways in which this phenomenon can be examined, quantified, and understood.

As eloquently said by Verkuyten: “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, 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 shared duty to maximize its individual and collective benefits.

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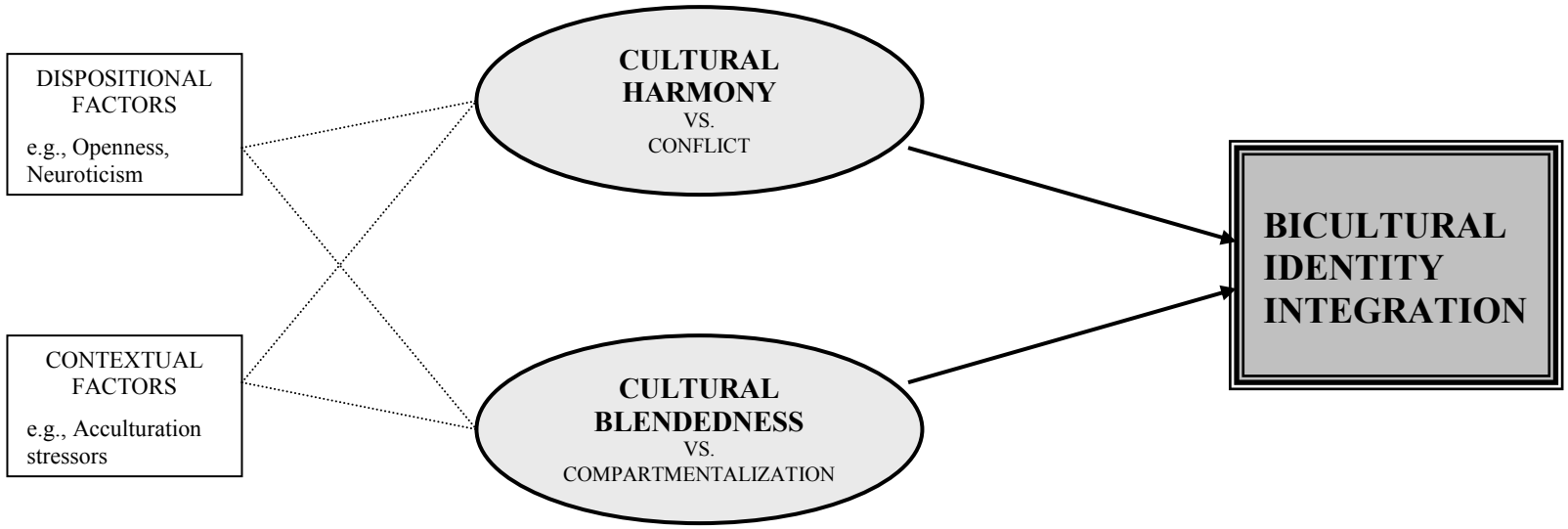
Figure Captions

Figure 2. High vs. low levels of Bicultural Identity Integration result from variations in cultural harmony and cultural blendedness (reprinted from Huynh et al., 2011).


DISPOSITIONAL FACTORS
e.g., Openness, Neuroticism
CONTEXTUAL FACTORS
e.g., Acculturation stressors
CULTURAL HARMONY
VS.
CONFLICT
CULTURAL BLENDEDNESS
VS.
COMPARTMENTALIZATION
BICULTURAL IDENTITY INTEGRATION

Endnotes

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

[2] Decades of research have debunked the idea that having two or more linguistic systems within one's brain severely divides a person's cognitive resources and reduces efficiency of thought and language. Instead, accumulated evidence exists for the cognitive, educational, and social advantages to being bilingual (Fields, 2012).

[3] Interestingly, cross-cultural differences can also be understood from this framework. According to the "culture-as-situated-cognition" perspective (Oyserman, Sorensen, Reber, Chen, & Sannum, 2009), cross-cultural differences in behavior are due to cross-national difference in the likelihood that particular mind-sets are cued systematically. Institutions, media, folklore, and practices within each culture influence the nature of available cues and their ubiquity, and thus the mind-sets that will be more frequently cued (Hong et al., 2000).

[4] Interestingly, a study with Chinese immigrants by Zhang, Morris, Cheng, and Yap (2013) found that exposure to Chinese (vs. American) cues, such as faces and iconic cultural symbols, hinders English language fluency due to the interference created by priming Chinese-language structures. Therefore, subtle reminders of the heritage-culture might increase feelings of security and social comfort and yet, because they activate ethnic cultural schemas, also hinder performance in situations that call for host-culture linguistic and/or cultural competencies.

[5] There is in fact evidence that motivational states influence whether people assimilate or contrast to social cues. Aarts and Dijksterhuis (2003) found that the prime "library" lead to quieter

behavior only among participants who were motivated to visit the library. Similarly, priming the concept of "elderly" made people walk more slowly, but people with negative attitudes toward the elderly showed the opposite effect (Cesario, Plaks & Higgins, 2006).

[6] In this study the correlation between the valence of the events being recalled and narrated and the valence of the conclusions extracted from the events was only .33.

[7] See also earlier section in this chapter titled "Beyond Ethnicity" where we review studies that have applied the BII framework to the study of identity integration beyond culture and ethnicity.