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rality, and beauty; Confused because I have been in many situations where I feel being both cultures is not an option. My cultures have very different views on things like dating and marriage. I feel like you have to choose one or the other.”

33 19-year-old 2nd generation Indian-American (source: Benet-Martínez &
34 Haritatos, 2002)

35 A large portion of the work done in cross-cultural and cultural psy-
36 chology has focused on cross-cultural comparisons, seeking to identify
37 differences between distinct (and supposedly homogeneous) cultural
38 groups on a particular variable or construct. However, in today’s exceed-
39 ingly global world, it is increasingly common for individuals to have in-
40 ternalized more than one culture, speak multiple languages, live in
41 culturally mixed environments, and maintain transnational ties. In short,
42 there is an increasing need for psychological work on the experiences of
43 multi-cultural or bicultural individuals. At the same time, the study of bi-
44 culturalism is relatively new and there is little consensus among research-
45 ers about how bicultural identities are cognitively and interpersonally
46 negotiated, and what impact this process has on individuals’ lives (La-
47 Fromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). For instance, although some
48 studies suggest that biculturalism brings positive outcomes for the indi-
49 vidual (e.g., Lang, Munoz, Bernal, & Sorenson, 1982; Szapocznik & Kur-
50 tines, 1980), others indicate that this type of identity is often filled with
51 contradiction, tension, and social strain (e.g., Lee & Cochran, 1988; Vi-
52 vero & Jenkins, 1999). One possible reason behind these mixed reports
53 may be the lack of consensus among researchers about how to conceptu-
54 alize and measure biculturalism. However, these contradictory findings
55 may also reflect unrecognized complexity and variation in the way bicul-
56 tural individuals experience and organize their cultural identities, varia-
57 tions that themselves may be associated with positive or negative
58 affective experiences.

59 As the opening quote illustrates, biculturalism can involve feelings of
60 pride, uniqueness, and a rich sense of community and history, while
61 also bringing identity confusion, dual expectations, and value clashes.
62 In this paper we show that, far from falling into simple categories, bi-
63 cultural individuals differ considerably in the way they subjectively orga-
64 nize their dual cultural orientations, and that these variations are
65 associated with different patterns of contextual, personality, and perfor-
66 mance variables. We first introduce the construct of Bicultural Identity
67 Integration (BII) as a framework for organizing and understanding indi-
68 vidual differences in the way biculturals perceive the intersection be-
69 tween their mainstream and ethnic cultures. We then report
70 experimental and structural equation modeling findings that elucidate
71 the role of BII in the acculturation process, as well as some of BII’s
72 psychosocial antecedents.

73 2. Bicultural identity integration (BII)

74 Traditionally, the acculturation literature has failed to recognize that
75 while a person may *desire* to maintain positive ties with both cultures (i.e.,
76 may support an ‘integrative’ or bicultural acculturation strategy; Berry &
77 Sam, 1996), particular psychosocial pressures (e.g., national/regional assim-
78 ilationist vs multi-culturalist policies, racial/cultural make-up of one’s living
79 community, personal experiences of discrimination) and individual variables
80 (e.g., personality dispositions, linguistic proficiency, etc.) may lead to signif-
81 icant variations in the process, meanings, and outcomes associated with this
82 effort. Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, and Morris (in press) recently conducted a
83 review of the limited (and mostly qualitative) literature on bicultural identity
84 and introduced the construct of BII as a framework to organize the different
85 meanings and experiences associated with being bicultural. Specifically, in-
86 dividuals high on BII perceive their cultural identities as generally compat-
87 ible, tend to view themselves as part of a combined, or “third” emerging
88 culture, and find it relatively easy to integrate both cultures into their every-
89 day lives. Biculturals low on BII, on the other hand, report difficulty in in-
90 corporating both cultures into a cohesive sense of identity, tend to perceive
91 the two cultures as highly distinct and oppositional, and frequently describe
92 feeling as if they should just choose one culture over the other.

93 Recently, Benet-Martínez and her colleagues (Benet-Martínez et al., in
94 press) have investigated the impact of BII on behaviors for which there is
95 strong evidence of cultural effects, namely social attributions. This study
96 and its conclusions are discussed next.

97 3. Bicultural identity dynamics and cultural frame-switching: A preliminary 98 exploration of BII

99 Extensive research has shown that Westerners are more inclined to ex-
100 plain social events in terms of internal, stable causes (e.g., traits, attitudes,
101 etc.), whereas East Asians are more likely to explain such events in terms
102 of external factors such as social roles, group pressures, and cultural expect-
103 ations (Norenzayan & Nisbett, 2000). Recently Hong, Morris, Chiu, and
104 Benet-Martínez (2000) have extended this work to biculturals, demonstrat-
105 ing that Hong Kong and Chinese-American biculturals make characteristi-
106 cally Western attributions when shown, or “primed with” Western cultural
107 cues, and characteristically East Asian attributions when primed with East
108 Asian cues. This study provides compelling evidence that cultural meaning
109 systems guide socio-cognitive processes, and that biculturals can move be-
110 tween different interpretative lenses rooted in their dual cultural back-
111 grounds, a process that Hong and her colleagues call *cultural frame-*
112 *switching*.

113 Given the previously discussed differences in bicultural identity, a natural
114 next step was to explore whether individual differences in BII moderated the
115 processes involved in cultural frame-switching. Using a priming methodol-
116 ogy similar to that used in Hong et al.'s (2000) study, Benet-Martínez et
117 al. (in press) conducted a series of three studies in which first-generation
118 Chinese-American biculturals were randomly assigned to one of three prim-
119 ing conditions: an American condition which used American cultural icons
120 as primes (e.g., pictures of the Statue of Liberty, Mickey Mouse, etc.); a Chi-
121 nese condition which used Chinese cultural icons as primes (e.g., pictures of
122 the Great Wall of China, Chinese dragon, etc.); or a neutral condition which
123 used non-cultural primes (e.g., pictures of natural landscapes). Shortly after
124 seeing these pictures, participants were shown an ambiguous social display
125 of a single fish swimming in front of a group of fish, and asked to explain
126 why the single fish and the group of fish were swimming apart—participants
127 were asked to provide both open ended explanations and ratings on scales
128 tapping internal and external attributions (e.g., internal: the one fish is
129 swimming ahead because of some personal trait such as independence, per-
130 sonal objective, or leadership; external: the one fish is being chased, teased,
131 or pressured by the others). Finally, participants' degree of Bicultural Identity
132 Integration was assessed with a preliminary, single-item scale developed
133 for this study (Bicultural Identity Integration Scale-Pilot, BIIS-P; Benet-
134 Martínez et al., in press).

135 Benet-Martínez and her colleagues predicted that biculturals high on BII,
136 by virtue of being unconflicted about their two cultural orientations and see-
137 ing them in fluid, non-oppositional terms, would provide prime-consistent
138 attributions to the ambiguous social display (i.e., give stronger internal at-
139 tributions in the American condition and stronger external attributions in
140 the Chinese condition). Biculturals low on BII, on the other hand, who per-
141 ceive their two cultural orientations in opposition to each other, were ex-
142 pected to provide prime-inconsistent attributions to the social display (i.e.,
143 give stronger internal attributions in the Chinese condition and stronger ex-
144 ternal attributions in the American condition); in other words, low BIIs
145 were expected to exhibit a contrast effect. In justifying this hypothesized pat-
146 tern for low BIIs, Benet-Martínez et al. (in press) argued that the cultural
147 conflict and opposition that underlies low BII leads to specific perceptual
148 and cognitive processes (e.g., hyper-vigilance about cultural cues, seeing cul-
149 tural cues as highly valenced) which themselves are commonly associated
150 with reverse-priming or contrast effects (Stapel & Winkielman, 1998). Be-
151 net-Martínez et al.'s (in press) reasoning for the hypothesized contrast effect
152 among low BIIs was also based on their review of the popular media and
153 literature on topics such as immigration, cultural clash, and biculturalism
154 (e.g., Chavez, 1994; Mehta, 1996; O'Hearn, 1998; Roth, 1969), where inner
155 cultural conflict is often described as leading to behavioral and/or affective
156 "reactance" against the cultural expectations embedded in particular situa-

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157 tions (e.g., in Roth's novel, the protagonist finds himself feeling and acting
158 particularly Jewish when traveling to the Midwest, and feeling/acting con-
159 spicuously American when visiting Israel).

160 The findings from Benet-Martínez et al.'s (in press) research consistently
161 supported the above hypotheses and showed that BII is a stable individual-
162 difference moderator of the process of cultural frame-switching (see interac-
163 tion residuals displayed in Figs. 1–3). Interestingly, the hypothesized trends
164 for high and low BIIs were not apparent for neutral (non-cultural) primes,
165 indicating that low BIIs reactivity is specific to culture-laden situations.

166 The studies described above were useful in identifying BII as a key mod-
167 erator of the acculturation process and raised interesting questions regard-
168 ing the possible multi-dimensional nature of BII, the kinds of contextual
169 and individual factors that predict variations in BII, and the possible impact
170 of BII on overall adjustment. To address these issues, Benet-Martínez and
171 Haritatos (2002) conducted a series of studies that examined the structure,
172 antecedents, and consequences of BII. This work, which relied on correla-
173 tional and structural equation modeling methodology, is described in the
174 next section.

175 **4. BII: Components, dynamics, and psychosocial correlates**

176 Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2002) studied five different bicultural
177 samples varying in ethnic composition, professional/educational status, geo-
178 graphic location in the US, and generational status. Participants provided
179 detailed demographic information on their familiarity and competence with
180 both American and ethnic cultures (e.g., years lived in the US and other
181 countries, linguistic proficiency, etc.), as well as self-reports on the following
182 measures: acculturation attitudes (preference for integration, separation, as-
183 similation, or marginalization strategies; Berry & Sam, 1996); identification
184 with mainstream and ethnic culture; Big Five personality dimensions (Benet-
185 Martínez & John, 1998); and overall adjustment (anxiety and depression),
186 among others. Participants also completed new multi-item measures of
187 BII and acculturation stress (the later tapped the following domains: dis-
188 crimination, work and linguistic strains, conflict in intercultural relations,
189 and cultural isolation) developed for the purposes of this study (see Be-
190 net-Martínez & Haritatos, 2002; for detailed information on these two mea-
191 sures).¹

¹ Space limitations make it impossible for us to summarize all the findings obtained in this multi-study (which included five samples and three sets of path analyses); therefore, we limit our discussion to those results which seem to be of most relevance to personality psychology (Study 2 in Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2002), and omit a discussion of BII's generational differences and links to anxiety and depression.

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192 Factor analysis of the new BII measure yielded two orthogonal and reli-
193 able dimensions: cultural conflict (vs harmony) and cultural distance (vs
194 blendedness), each representing different aspects of the dynamic intersection
195 between mainstream and ethnic cultural identities in bicultural individuals.
196 As the items defining each dimension in Table 1 reveal, *cultural conflict* cap-
197 tures the experience of feeling torn between two cultural orientations, and
198 encompasses a more emotion-based, subjective element of bicultural identity
199 dynamics than is typically described in the acculturation literature. *Cultural*
200 *distance*, on the other hand, taps the perception of having non-overlapping,
201 compartmentalized cultural identities. Interestingly, the psychometric inde-
202 pendence of cultural conflict and distance suggests that BII is not a uniform
203 and linear process where perceptions of clash and dissociation (vs harmony
204 and overlap) with regard to one's two cultures go hand-to-hand. Rather, this
205 pattern suggests that a bicultural individual could perceive his/her ethnic
206 and mainstream cultural orientations to be relatively dissociated but not feel
207 that they clash with each other; or alternatively, subscribe to a combined or
208 hyphenated identity but also feel that the two identities are somewhat con-
209 flictual.

210 Fig. 1 summarizes the main results from a series of path analyses con-
211 ducted to explore the unique contribution of some of our acculturation (bi-
212 cultural competence), personality (Big Five), and contextual (acculturation
213 stress) variables in predicting BII.² As the figure indicates, BII's cultural

Table 1
Factorial structure of the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale-Version 1 (BIIS-1)

	Cultural	
	Distance	Conflict
I am simply a Chinese who lives in North America	.72	-.03
I keep Chinese and American cultures separate	.58	-.13
I feel Chinese-American	-.73	-.04
I feel part of a combined culture	-.79	-.03
I am conflicted between the American and Chinese ways of doing things	.04	.66
I feel like someone moving between two cultures	.18	.64
I feel caught between the Chinese and American cultures	.00	.76
I do not feel trapped between the Chinese and American cultures	.09	-.78

Note. N = 133 first-generation Chinese-Americans. Source: Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2002).

² Bicultural competence is a dummy variable differentiating between these two types of bicultural individuals: (1) those who were highly involved with both cultures (in terms of both linguistic proficiency and level of identification), and (2) those who were EITHER significantly more involved with one of the two cultures OR were involved with both cultures but only moderately so.

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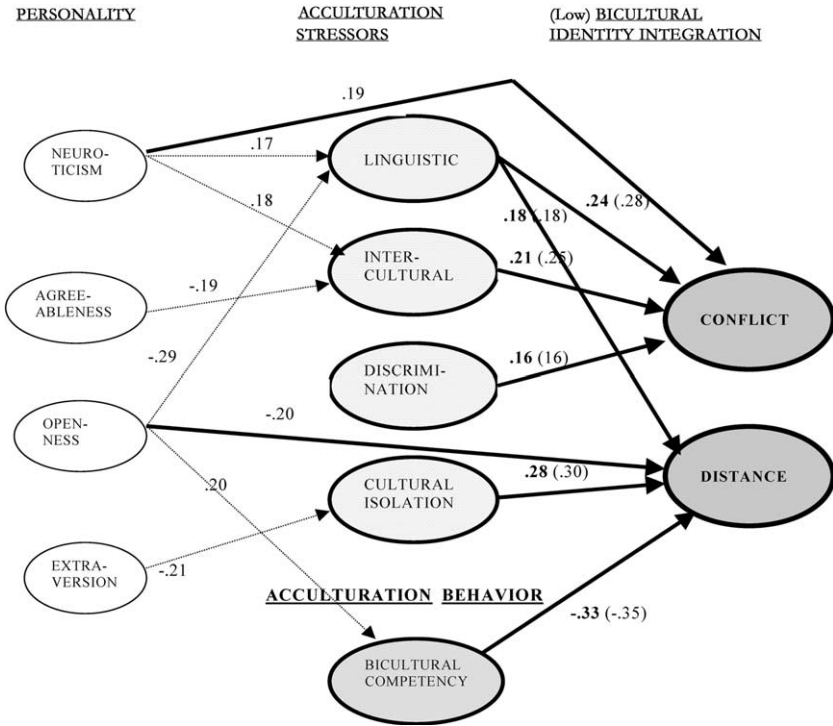


Fig. 1. Bicultural Identity Integration (BII): components (cultural distance and conflict) and antecedents (personality dispositions, acculturation orientation, and acculturation stressors); $N = 133$ first-generation Chinese-American biculturals; all path coefficients were significant at a p value of .05 or lower; numbers in parenthesis are path coefficients obtained when the Big Five personality dispositions were not included in the model. Fit statistics for the model: $\chi^2/df = 1.65$, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .07 Source: adapted from Fig. 1 in Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2002).

214 conflict and distance components have a unique pattern of antecedents,
 215 which helps explain why very different phenomenological experiences of bi-
 216 culturalism are possible. Cultural conflict is heightened by having an anx-
 217 ious disposition (high neuroticism), and three specific types of
 218 acculturative threats: discrimination, strained intercultural relations (e.g.,
 219 being described by ethnic peers as being too American and vice versa),
 220 and linguistic concerns (e.g., being self-conscious about one's accent). Cul-
 221 tural distance, on the other hand, is heightened by having a close-minded
 222 disposition (i.e., low openness), low levels of bicultural competency, and
 223 two acculturative threats: linguistic concerns and living in an environment
 224 that is culturally limited, particularly with regard to one's ethnic group
 225 (i.e., feeling culturally isolated).

226 Several personality variables, most notably neuroticism and openness to
 227 experience, emerged as antecedents of BII's cultural distance and conflict, as

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228 well as other variables in the model. Overall, neuroticism and low openness
229 appear to put bicultural individuals at risk of experiencing the negative as-
230 pects of acculturation. Neurotic biculturals (probably because of their high-
231 er levels of vulnerability, rumination, and emotional rigidity) were more
232 likely to feel caught between their two cultural identities, and also more
233 prone to experience stress in the linguistic and intercultural relations do-
234 mains (experiences that, in turn, predicted conflict). Closed-minded bicultur-
235 als, on the other hand, were more likely to see their identities as dissociated,
236 and also more prone to experience linguistic stress and be less biculturally
237 competent (variables that, in turn, predicted cultural distance). Perhaps
238 the experiential rigidity of low openness makes biculturals both less willing
239 to acknowledge the flexible boundaries between cultures and less ‘permeable’
240 to new cultural ideas and life styles, characteristics that, in turn, may lead to
241 the belief that their two identities cannot come together (i.e., high cultural
242 distance), as well as lower levels of bicultural competence.

243 The interpersonal traits of agreeableness and extraversion also played a
244 role in the acculturation processes depicted in Fig. 1. Agreeable biculturals,
245 probably because of their easy-going nature, were less likely to experience
246 and/or report stress in their intercultural relationships. Extraverted individ-
247 uals, perhaps because of their interpersonal resources and the gains associ-
248 ated with being sociable and outgoing, were less likely to feel strained in
249 culturally isolated (i.e., non-multicultural) social environments. Lastly, con-
250 scientiousness had no effects in our model, a finding that suggests that this
251 personality disposition does not play an important role in the present accul-
252 turation and identity processes. Overall, the pattern of relationships de-
253 picted in Fig. 1 highlights the complex, multi-dimensional nature of BII,
254 and suggests that variations in this construct, far from being purely subjec-
255 tive identity representations, are psychologically meaningful experiences
256 linked to specific dispositional factors and contextual pressures.

257 5. Conclusion

258 As cultural and cross-cultural psychology moves beyond a focus on doc-
259 umenting cultural differences toward an interest in how culture and the psy-
260 che mutually constitute each other (Markus & Kitayama, 1998), the need for
261 complex and process-oriented studies that acknowledge the interplay be-
262 tween cultural, socio-cognitive, personality, and adjustment variables has
263 become more critical. The present research applied such an integrative ap-
264 proach to the understanding of individual variations in bicultural identity
265 integration or BII. We hope that this work has demonstrated the importance
266 of studying biculturalism for the understanding of how culture (and multiple
267 cultures) affects individual behaviors and adjustment outcomes. We also
268 hope to raise a broader point about the need to integrate work on person-

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269 ality and cultural psychology and move away from the idea that these two
270 disciplines represent independent forces on the individual. Rather, these dis-
271 ciplines can inform each other about the different ways in which individuals
272 construct meaningful identities as members of their (often complex) cultural,
273 national, and local communities.

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