

Que-Lam Huynh, Angela-Minh Tu D. Nguyen,
and Verónica Benet-Martínez

Abstract

Given the growing numbers of bicultural individuals in the United States and around the world, bicultural identity integration (BII) is an important construct that helps researchers to better capture the diversity within this group. In this chapter, we organize and summarize the limited literature on individual differences in bicultural identity, with a special focus on BII. First, we discuss and define biculturalism and cultural identity in general. Second, we introduce individual differences in bicultural identity and the ways in which these differences have been studied. Third, we define BII, summarize research on this construct, and introduce the latest applications of BII theory to other areas of identity research. In unpacking the construct of BII, we first define it along with its components (harmony and blendedness) and nomological network. We also discuss what we believe to be the process involved in integrating one's dual cultural identities. We then present correlates of BII, including self-group personality perceptions, culturally related behaviors and values, and sociocultural and psychological adjustment. Finally, we discuss how BII relates to other important social-cognitive constructs, such as cultural frame switching or code switching. We end with a brief overview of the latest applications of BII theory (e.g., to gay identity) and suggestions for future research on bicultural identity. In summary, our goal for this chapter is to introduce BII and to help readers understand the importance of culture in identity.

Since 1970, international migration has doubled worldwide. According to a recent report by the United Nations, about 175 million people are

living in a country other than where they were born, and about 1 in 10 persons in “more developed” regions is an international migrant (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2002). In addition to these changes in international migration, advances in technology have drastically increased cross-cultural contact and cultural diversity across the globe (Arnett, 2002), and changes in attitudes and laws about

Q.-L. Huynh (✉)
Department of Psychology, San Diego State University,
San Diego, CA, USA
e-mail: huynh.quelam@gmail.com

inter-ethnic marriage in some parts of the world have led to more inter-ethnic families whose children have mixed cultural backgrounds. Overall, people have more opportunities now than ever before to interact with those who are culturally different from them due to international migration, globalization, travel, and the Internet (cf. Arnett Jensen et al., [Chapter 13](#), this volume). As a result of this cross-cultural exposure, there has been a large increase in the number of bicultural individuals – people who have internalized at least two cultures. It is essential for those interested in issues of identity to understand how dual-cultural identities operate within bicultural persons.

Broadly speaking, bicultural individuals may be immigrants, refugees, sojourners, indigenous people, ethnic minorities, or mixed-ethnic individuals (Berry, [2003](#); Padilla, [2006](#)). However, bicultural individuals are not necessarily cultural minorities or those in non-dominant ethnocultural groups. For example, individuals from the dominant group (e.g., non-Hispanic White Americans) who have lived abroad or in ethnic enclaves, and those in inter-ethnic relationships, may also be bicultural. More strictly defined, bicultural individuals are those who have been exposed to and have internalized two cultures (Benet-Martínez, in press; Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, [2005](#); Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, [2007](#), [2010](#)), so the cultural domain of identity is especially important for them. The focus of this chapter is on bicultural identity, specifically bicultural identity integration (BII; Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, [2005](#)), as outlined below. We explore the diversity of the bicultural experience, present BII as a way to understand individual differences in biculturalism, and discuss the implications of and suggest future directions for BII.

Types of Biculturals

From the acculturation literature, biculturalism is conceived as one of four possible acculturation strategies: (a) the integration strategy (i.e., biculturalism) refers to involvement in both dominant and ethnic cultures, (b) the assimilation

strategy is involvement in the dominant culture only, (c) the separation strategy is involvement in the ethnic culture only, and (d) marginalization is involvement in neither culture (Berry, [2003](#)). Traditionally, cultural psychologists have focused on differences *between* bicultural individuals (those using the integration acculturation strategy) and other acculturating groups (those using the assimilation, separation, or marginalization acculturation strategies). However, empirical research, mostly conducted on young adults and adolescents, has shown that the majority of acculturating individuals are bicultural (Berry, [2003](#); Van Oudenhoven, Ward, & Masgoret, [2006](#)). Therefore, it may be more fruitful to focus on differences *among* bicultural individuals, rather between bicultural individuals and other acculturating individuals. For example, do all bicultural individuals integrate their two cultures in the same way, in the same contexts, and for the same reasons? Until recently, there has been little research exploring differences within this large group that uses the integration strategy and whether these differences are meaningful. New research, however, suggests that bicultural or integrated individuals do not comprise a homogeneous group and that there are clearly variations among them (Schwartz & Zamboanga, [2008](#)).

One of the earliest typologies of bicultural individuals, obtained with a sample of Latinos in the United States, included (a) the synthesized multicultural individual, (b) the functional multicultural individual with a mainstream cultural orientation, and (c) the functional multicultural individual with a Latino cultural orientation (Ramirez, [1984](#)). The synthesized multicultural individual represents the “true” bicultural individual who is competent in and committed to both cultures. The functional multicultural individual is competent in both cultures but is committed to or identified with only one culture – either the mainstream or Latino (or other ethnic) culture. Although this typology was developed for Latinos, it may apply more broadly to other bicultural individuals. See [Table 35.1](#) for a summary and comparison of typologies of bicultural individuals.

Table 35.1 Types of Biculturals Identified in Previous Research

Description	Theorists					
	Ramirez (1984)	LaFromboise et al. (1993)	Birman (1994)	Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997)	Benet-Martínez et al. (2002)	Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005)
Competent in and identified with both dominant and ethnic cultures		Fused	Blended	Blended	High BII	High blendedness and/or high harmony
	Synthesized	Alternating		Alternating	Low BII	Low blendedness and/or low harmony
Competent in both cultures, identified with dominant culture only	Functional/mainstream		Integrated			
Competent in both cultures, identified with ethnic culture only	Functional/ethnic					
Competent in both cultures, identified with neither dominant nor ethnic culture	Instrumental					

Subsequently, LaFromboise, Coleman, and Gerton (1993) proposed two bicultural modes: alternation and fusion. Alternating bicultural individuals “alternate” or shift between their two cultures in accordance with the situation, whereas fused bicultural individuals subscribe to a “fused” or emergent third culture created by mixing and recombining their two cultures. Building on the above conceptualizations, Birman (1994) described three types of bicultural individuals: (a) blended, which is similar to LaFromboise et al.’s (1993) fused category, (b) instrumental, which includes individuals competent in both cultures but identified with neither, and (c) integrated, which is similar to Ramirez’s (1984) functional multicultural individual with a Latino cultural orientation. To empirically test these theoretical propositions regarding types of bicultural individuals, Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997) conducted a study with Mexican American and

African American adolescents using both quantitative and qualitative methods. They found support for two types of bicultural individuals: blended and alternating. Although both types feel positively about their two cultures, alternating bicultural individuals appear to feel conflicted about having two cultures, whereas blended bicultural individuals do not.

The above researchers are credited with calling attention to bicultural individuals and for advancing this area of research. However, a conceptual limitation of these typologies is their confounding of identity and behavioral markers. Specifically, whereas the labels “blended” and “fused” refer to identity-related aspects of the bicultural experience (e.g., seeing oneself as Asian American or Chicano), the label “alternating” refers to the behavioral domain, that is, the ability to engage in cultural frame switching (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000).

Naturally, individuals' subjective experience of their identity and their behavior/competencies may not necessarily map onto each other (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). For instance, a bicultural individual may have a blended or fused identity (e.g., someone who sees himself/herself as a product of both Jewish and American cultures and accordingly identifies as Jewish American) *and* also alternates between speaking mainstream English and Yiddish depending on the context. Thus, researchers should be aware that labels such as "blended" and "alternating" do not tap different types of bicultural individuals but rather different components of the bicultural experience (i.e., identity vs. behaviors, respectively). In other words, blending one's two cultural identities is not incompatible with alternating between different cultural behavioral repertoires. Given this, the validity of the above "blended" versus "alternating" groupings (e.g., Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997) as separate types of biculturals is unclear.

To address the above shortcomings of the biculturalism literature, Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, and Morris (2002) introduced the construct of BII, an individual difference variable which captures the phenomenology of managing one's dual cultural identities. More recently, Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) demonstrated that BII is not a unitary construct, but instead that it encompasses two different and psychometrically independent components (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005): (a) cultural *blendedness* versus compartmentalization – the degree of dissociation versus overlap perceived between the two cultural orientations (e.g., "I see myself as a Chinese in the United States" vs. "I am a Chinese-American"); and (2) cultural *harmony* versus conflict – the degree of tension or clash versus compatibility perceived between the two cultures (e.g., "I feel trapped between the two cultures" vs. "I do not see conflict between the Chinese and American ways of doing things").¹ In other words, for bicultural individuals, cultural blendedness is subjective distance, which varies among people and is more relevant and meaningful than the objective distance between two cultures (Rudmin, 2003). Cultural blendedness and cultural harmony are psychometrically

independent components and are differentially related to important contextual and personality variables. Specifically, lower blendedness is linked to personality and performance-related challenges (e.g., lower openness to new experiences, greater language barriers, and living in more culturally isolated surroundings), whereas lower harmony stems from other personality traits and strains that are largely interpersonal in nature (e.g., higher neuroticism, greater perceived discrimination, more strained intercultural relations, and greater language barriers – see Benet-Martínez, in press; Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005, for a full discussion and graphing of these results). Bicultural individuals can have any combination of high or low blendedness and high or low harmony.

The BII framework emphasizes the subjective (i.e., perceptual) elements of perceived blendedness and harmony between the two cultures. This emphasis is a strength of the theory, as a study of over 7,000 first- or second-generation immigrant adolescents in 13 countries found that objective cultural differences do not relate to adjustment (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). Objective cultural difference was operationalized as the difference in countries' scores determined by Hofstede (1983) on his dimensions of individualism-collectivism, power distance, masculinity-femininity, uncertainty avoidance, and long- versus short-term orientation.

Measurement of BII

Early versions of the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale. The Bicultural Identity Integration Scale – Pilot version (BIIS-P) is comprised of a short descriptive vignette that bicultural individuals rate on an 8-point Likert-type scale (1 = definitely not true, 8 = definitely true) with regard to how much it reflects their bicultural identity experiences. This measure was used in the first study of BII (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002) to assess the perceived compartmentalization (lack of blending) and conflict (lack of harmony) between

two cultures in a multi-statement paragraph. Although this measure has high face validity with respondents, it confounds the two components of BII, cultural blendedness and harmony, by requiring participants to rate a statement that contains both of these elements. The Bicultural Identity Integration Scale – Version 1 (BIIS-1) is an eight-item measure of BII blendedness (4 items) and harmony (4 items; Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). These items are rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree). Although the BIIS-1 is adequately internally consistent ($\alpha_{\text{blendedness}} = 0.69$, $\alpha_{\text{harmony}} = 0.74$; Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005), the reliability of scores yielded by this instrument is not ideal. In addition, the few items assessing each component of BII do not adequately cover all relevant content domains of BII. Therefore, in a series of development and validation studies, Huynh (2009) improved the measurement of BII with the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale – Version 2 (BIIS-2).

After generating items using qualitative data (open-ended essays written by self-identified bicultural college students) and item evaluation by subject-matter experts and pilot testers, Huynh (2009) administered 45 new items of the BIIS-2 to an ethnically diverse group of more than 1,000 self-identified bicultural college students. Approximately half of the participants (55.5%) were women, and the mean age of the sample was 19.3 years. The majority of participants were either Latinos/as (32.1%) or Asian Americans (48.6%), and most participants were either first- (34.6%, mean years in the United States = 10.6 years) or second- (55.9%) generation Americans. The final BIIS-2 consists of 19 items rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree; see Appendix A for sample items). These items yield reliable (blendedness vs. compartmentalization $\alpha = .86$ for 9 items; harmony vs. conflict $\alpha = .81$ for 10 items) and stable ($n = 240$; $M = 6.93$ days, $SD = 0.90$ days; Time 1 and Time 2 correlations: $0.74 < r < .78$) scores across ethnic groups. In addition, results from both exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses suggest that the BIIS-2 is comprised of separate blendedness and

harmony components. Finally, the BIIS-2 showed measurement invariance (i.e., that the structure of the BIIS-2 is similar across groups) for two ethnic groups (Asian American and Latino) and two generational groups (first and second generation). Across groups, the blendedness and harmony components were moderately correlated ($r = .36$), but they were distinguishable in the exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses described above.

Previous Findings on BII

Previous literature suggests that BII has important implications for bicultural individuals' adjustment, cognition, and behaviors. We first review earlier literature on BII when it was still considered a unitary construct, and then we review more recent literature on the blendedness and harmony components of BII. Regarding adjustment, researchers have found that BII was associated with greater adjustment (i.e., higher self-esteem, greater life satisfaction, greater subjective happiness, lower depression, lower anxiety, and less loneliness) for Mainland Chinese adult immigrants in Hong Kong, native-born college students in Hong Kong, and native-born college students in Mainland China (Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Bond, 2008). Further support for the relation between BII and adjustment comes from research on multicultural identity integration (MII, an extension of BII from two to three cultures: e.g., ethnic culture, English Canadian culture, French Canadian culture) in Quebec. Researchers also found a link between MII and greater psychological well-being (i.e., self-acceptance, positive relations with others, autonomy, environmental mastery, purpose in life, and personal growth) in young adults from diverse backgrounds in Quebec (Downie, Koestner, ElGeledi, & Cree, 2004; Downie, Mageau, Koestner, & Liodden, 2006). In summary, individuals higher on BII tend to be better adjusted.

To understand the cognitive correlates of global BII (i.e., BII as measured by the BIIS-P), Benet-Martínez, Lee, and Leu (2006) compared

the cognitive complexity of Chinese American undergraduate students high versus low on BII. They found that individuals low on BII had more cognitively complex representations of culture because they provided more abstract and dense descriptions of their cultures than did those high on BII. In other words, individuals low on BII described culture using multiple perspectives, compared and contrasted those different perspectives, included more ideas and words in their descriptions, and made evaluative judgments of each culture. Benet-Martínez and colleagues reasoned that the more systematic and careful processing of cues that underlies the monitoring of conflictual information (Botvinick, Braver, Barch, Carer, & Cohen, 2001) would lead low BIIs to develop cultural representations that are more complex (e.g., richer in content, more differentiated and integrated) than high BIIs. This finding is in agreement with the work of Suedfeld and colleagues (Suedfeld, Bluck, Loewen, & Elkins, 1994; Suedfeld & Wallbaum, 1992), which showed that conflict between desired but contradictory values (e.g., individual freedom and social equality) leads to more complex descriptions of each value.

Differences between individuals high versus low on BII also extend into social networks (Mok, Morris, Benet-Martínez, & Karakitapoglu-Aygun, 2007). In a sample of Chinese American undergraduate students, graduate students, visiting scholars, and their spouses, the social network of individuals high on BII included more dominant-culture friends, and their dominant-culture and ethnic-culture friends were more interconnected. In summary, variations in BII levels are associated with variations in cognitive complexity and social behavior.

In terms of the two components of BII, recent studies have helped to delineate the unique links between these components and adjustment, sociocognitive variables, and behavioral variables. Across multiple studies with bicultural individuals from several different ethnic groups in university and community settings, BII harmony (but not BII blendedness) was related to lower rates of depression and/or anxiety symptoms (Benet-Martínez, Haritatos, & Santana,

2010). However, regarding social perceptions such as self- and group-stereotypes, BII blendedness (but not BII harmony) was consistently related to higher overlap among personality ratings that Latino college students and Cuban American adults ascribed to the self, a typical Latino, and a typical American (Miramontez, Benet-Martínez, & Nguyen, 2008). This suggests that, as theorized, BII blendedness captures the organization and structure of one's two cultural orientations, whereas BII harmony indexes the feelings and attitudes toward those cultures. Finally, it appears that BII blendedness and BII harmony are associated with different aspects of the acculturation process (Nguyen, Huynh, & Benet-Martínez, 2010). In a sample of Vietnamese American bicultural individuals, BII harmony was related to acculturation in terms of values, such that individuals who only endorsed one set of cultural values (e.g., only American values) perceived more harmony between their cultures than those who endorsed both sets of cultural values. Furthermore, BII blendedness was related to behavioral acculturation, such that individuals who engaged in behaviors associated with both cultures had blended rather than compartmentalized identities.

Building on the Nomological Network for BII

Using the BIIS-2, Huynh (2009) found further support for the notion that blendedness represents the behavioral or performance-related component, whereas harmony represents the affective component of BII. Meaningful relations have been found between these BII dimensions and acculturation, identity, personality traits, and psychological adjustment. BII blendedness was correlated with orientation to American culture (e.g., years in the United States, English language proficiency and use, and US cultural identification). This suggests that exposure to American culture is related to perceiving one's heritage and receiving cultures as more similar, and that this exposure is important in forming a combined identity. Furthermore, supporting

previous research on the relationship between BII blendedness and acculturation strategies (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005), there were small to moderate correlations between BII blendedness and stronger integration attitudes and weaker separation attitudes. This suggests that bicultural individuals who wish to integrate their two cultures and do not endorse separation from the mainstream culture are more likely to find it easy to combine their two cultural identities. In addition, BII blendedness was only weakly related to acculturation stressors (e.g., perceived discrimination, problematic intercultural relations, work challenges), well-being, anxiety, depression, and hostility, further supporting the claim that blendedness is the less affect-laden component of BII. These findings also suggest that the perception of compartmentalization between two cultures is not likely linked to either contextual pressures or to psychological adjustment.

Regarding findings for BII harmony, there were small to moderate positive correlations between this BII component and ethnic identity affirmation, a dimension of ethnic identity that emphasizes positive attitudes toward one's ethnic group. In addition, BII harmony generally was moderately and negatively correlated with contextual acculturation stressors and neuroticism. This supports the claim that BII harmony involves affective elements of bicultural identity and is driven more strongly by contextual pressures compared to BII blendedness (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). In addition, BII harmony had small to moderate positive correlations with measures of mental health (higher general well-being and lack of depressive symptoms). This suggests that there are links between the perception of conflict between a person's two cultures and lower psychological well-being and higher psychological distress (Chen et al., 2008). In general, BII harmony evidenced weak relationships with traditional acculturation variables (e.g., years in the United States, language proficiency, cultural identification, bicultural competence, cultural orientation, acculturation attitudes; Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005) – providing further evidence that the two BII dimensions are largely separate.

Huynh (2009) also examined the antecedents and consequences of BII via path analyses and found that personality and acculturation variables influence individuals' perceptions about their dual identities (BII), which in turn influences adjustment [tests of model fit: $\chi^2(34) = 220.86$, $p < 0.0001$, CFI = 0.93; RMSEA = 0.07 (90% CI = 0.06–0.08); SRMR = 0.05]. Specifically, these analyses indicate that individuals who perceive the greatest harmony between their cultures are those who are more emotionally stable (or less neurotic); those who have harmonious intercultural relations, few culture-related work challenges, and few linguistic problems in English; and those who live in culturally diverse areas (i.e., personality and acculturation variables predict BII harmony). Consequently, individuals who perceive harmony between their cultures, as well as those who are emotionally stable, suffer the least from depressive symptoms (i.e., personality and BII harmony both predict psychological adjustment). Furthermore, individuals who blend their cultures most are those with few linguistic problems in English, those strongly identified with their ethnic culture, those highly oriented to American culture, and those preferring the integration strategy. In other words, acculturation variables predict BII blendedness, which in turn is *not* predictive of adjustment.

Development of an Integrated Bicultural Identity

BII may be determined by a variety of factors, ranging from personality to the immediate social environment to the larger historical, political, and economic context of one's cultural group. Although research on BII has been limited to correlational data, which does not allow for causal inferences, we can advance some theoretical propositions regarding the developmental process of BII. First, the history and current status of one's cultural group within the dominant culture may determine the range of one's BII level. For example, Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997) found that the majority of African American adolescents were blended

biculturals (e.g., high BII), whereas the majority of Mexican American adolescents were alternating biculturals (e.g., low BII). It is possible that African Americans' long and stable history in the United States, allowing for the development of a widespread African American culture, facilitates their cultural blendedness. Conversely, despite their long history in the United States, Mexican Americans are at the center of often controversial immigration debates, which impose on them an ever-present immigrant status even for those who are not immigrants. These tensions may predispose them to being alternating biculturals. Although BII has been found to be valid across highly diverse cultural and ethnic groups (Huynh, 2009), these groups may differ in the relative level of BII blendedness or harmony experienced.

In addition to larger contextual factors, variations in BII might be further influenced by dispositional factors, such as one's personality. For example, more neurotic or less emotionally stable individuals tend to perceive lower harmony between their cultures. Moreover, those who are more open to new experiences tend to perceive greater blendedness between their cultures (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005).

Finally, the actual degree of BII reported by a given person also may be determined by his/her immediate social environment and experiences. For example, previous research on large, diverse samples of bicultural individuals (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Huynh, 2009) showed that experiences with discrimination, interpersonal problems with culturally different others, and linguistic barriers were associated with bicultural individuals' perception of lower harmony between their two cultures. Furthermore, path analyses in those studies indicated that linguistic barriers and culturally isolated environments were associated with bicultural individuals' perception of lower blendedness between their two cultures.

In addition to these antecedents of BII, we believe that, although blendedness and harmony are theoretically independent and only weakly correlated, BII blendedness may precede BII harmony (see Fig. 35.1 for a pictorial depiction of the proposed developmental process of BII). Researchers have proposed that bicultural individuals with two cultures that are considerably different experience lower identity integration and greater identity conflict than those with two cultures that are more similar to one another

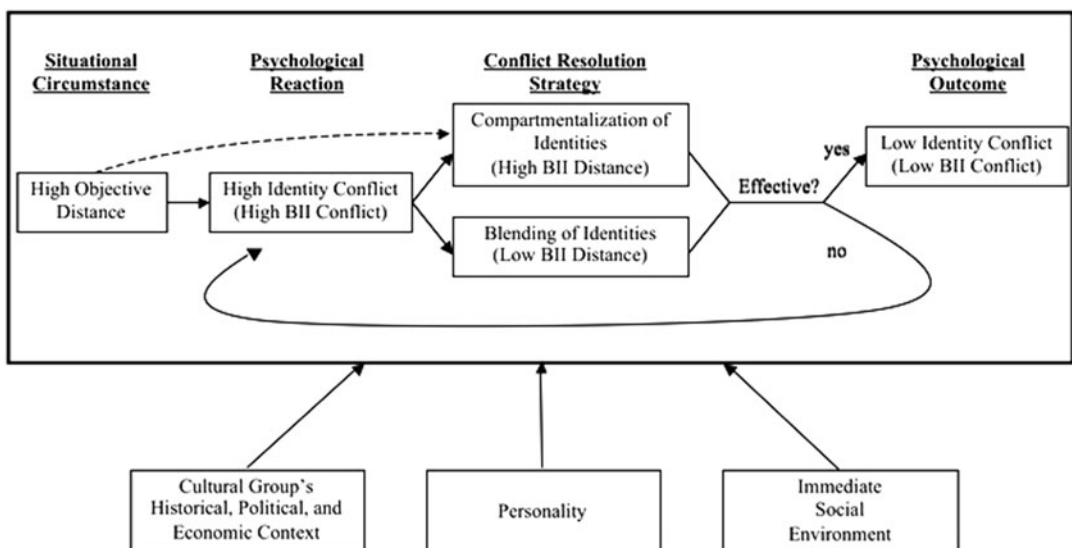


Fig. 35.1 Development of an integrated bicultural identity

(Amiot, de la Sablonnière, Terry, & Smith, 2007; Ward, 2008). In other words, high objective cultural distance [e.g., difference in countries' scores on Hofstede's (1983) dimensions] may lead to high BII conflict (low harmony). However, if the two cultures are kept separate, bicultural individuals may not recognize or perceive conflict at all (Amiot et al., 2007). As an attempt to resolve identity conflict, individuals may choose to blend or integrate different aspects of one's two identities into a new, merged identity in order to reconcile conflict, or they may choose to compartmentalize or separate their identities in order to avoid conflict (Amiot et al., 2007; Ashforth, Kreiner, & Fugate, 2000; Baumeister, Shapiro, & Tice, 1985). In other words, subjective cultural distance (low blendedness or high compartmentalization) may be a response to high BII conflict (low harmony). Alternatively, *objective* cultural distance also may have a direct influence on *subjective* cultural distance, such that bicultural individuals may be forced to keep their cultures compartmentalized if the two cultural identities represent truly different ways of being (e.g., marriage for love vs. arranged marriage).

Note that blending versus compartmentalizing one's identities is only an attempt, and thus may not be successful, at resolving conflict. For example, the blending of some norms from two cultural systems (e.g., dating and marital preferences) may not be possible and cannot be used to resolve cultural conflicts. Therefore, whereas some individuals with either blended or compartmentalized identities may not perceive any conflict between their two cultures, other individuals with either blended or compartmentalized identities may still perceive conflict. In other words, whether identity conflict is decreased or remains high may depend on the effectiveness of blending or compartmentalizing identities, which is not always possible given cultural and situational constraints. This would lend further support to the theoretical and empirical independence of BII blendedness and harmony. In summary, we believe that the degree to which one's two cultures are objectively different (high objective cultural distance) would influence one's

perception of conflict between the two cultures (low BII harmony), which in turn might influence the degree to which one either blends or compartmentalizes the two cultures (BII blendedness or subjective cultural distance). These theoretical propositions await empirical examination, and findings from such studies would further our understanding of the development of BII and biculturalism.

BII and Cultural Frame Switching

Biculturalism includes the adoption of two sets of behavioral repertoires (Rotheram-Borus, 1993) as well as the ability to switch between two sets of cultural schemas and norms (Hong et al., 2000). This shifting of cultural thoughts and behaviors in response to cultural cues or primes is referred to as cultural frame switching (Hong et al., 2000). Cultural frame switching has been shown to occur for cognitive styles (Hong et al., 2000), personality (Ramirez-Esparza, Gosling, Benet-Martínez, Potter, & Pennebaker, 2006), self-identification and cultural values (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002), self-construal (See Smith, Chapter 11, this volume), affect (Perunovic, Heller, & Rafaeli, 2007), and decision making (Briley, Morris, & Simonson, 2005), among others. Although cultural frame switching is characteristic of bicultural individuals, individuals high versus low on BII frame-switch in different ways (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Cheng, Lee, & Benet-Martínez, 2006; Zou, Morris, & Benet-Martínez, 2008). More specifically, individuals high on BII respond to cultural cues by performing prime-consistent behaviors (e.g., behaving in Chinese ways after being primed with Chinese culture), whereas individuals low on BII respond to cultural cues by displaying prime-resistant behaviors (e.g., behaving in American ways after being primed with Chinese culture). Because individuals high in BII perceive their cultures as non-oppositional, it may be easier for them to switch between cultural frames in a fluid manner, by responding to cultural cues in culturally consistent ways. On the other hand, individuals low in BII perceive their cultures as oppositional

and may chronically polarize their two cultures, which in turn may lead to cognitive linking of the cultures as a single dichotomy (i.e., viewing the two cultures as evaluative/conceptual opposites). Thus, priming one culture (e.g., Chinese) would lead to the activation of the other culture (e.g., American; Hong et al., 2000), perhaps through a process of comparison and contrast (see Benet-Martinez, in press; for a more detailed account of this phenomenon). This suggests that BII may be associated with cultural comfort and expertise, where individuals high in BII are able to respond appropriately to cultural primes from each of their respective cultural backgrounds.

Constructs Related to BII

Given the paucity of research on biculturalism and BII, we discuss suggestions for future research. Theoretically, there are several constructs, both within and outside the cultural area, that may relate to BII; however, empirical data are needed to determine whether these constructs are distinct. Baumeister et al.'s (1985) identity compartmentalization, which refers to the separation of identities into different domains or situations, may relate to low BII blendedness, and their construct of identity conflict, which refers to the perception of incompatibility between two identities, may relate to low BII harmony. Moreover, Ward's (2008) ethnocultural identity conflict, which refers to the perception of conflict between one's ethnic and dominant cultures, may relate to low BII harmony. In addition, Ogbu's (1993) oppositional identity (vs. non-oppositional identity), which refers to an identity that involves two groups that are in conflict with one another, may relate to low BII harmony. Finally, identity synthesis (vs. confusion; Schwartz, 2006), which refers to a coherent and consolidated identity, may relate to both components of BII. All of these associations are in need of empirical investigation.

Another construct relevant to BII is social identity complexity, which may provide further insight into individual differences in biculturalism. Roccas and Brewer (2002) proposed four

types of social identity representations based on the structure of individuals' two social identities and how those identities create a perceived in-group. First, individuals in the intersection mode only perceive those sharing both their identities as the in-group (e.g., Mexican Americans). Second, individuals in the dominance mode view those sharing their more dominant identity (e.g., either Mexican or American) as in-group members. Third, individuals in the compartmentalization mode define their in-group members depending on the situation (e.g., Americans in American settings, Mexicans in Mexican settings). Finally, those in the merger mode view their in-group members as those who share at least one of their identities (e.g., Mexican Americans, Mexicans, and Americans). Further research is needed to understand how these social identity representations map onto cultural identities and BII. For example, it is likely that individuals low on blendedness may be in the compartmentalization mode. However, it is uncertain whether individuals high on blendedness would be in the intersection or merger mode. Future research may help to determine whether individuals high on blendedness comprise a heterogeneous group and whether further delineation of this BII component is needed.

Beyond Cultural Applications of BII

Applications of BII theory. The principles of BII are not necessarily restricted to ethnocultural identities. They may apply to any other type of dual identities, such as sexual, religious, or professional identities. For example, Fingerhut, Peplau, and Ghavami (2005) examined lesbian women's identification with lesbian culture and their identification with the mainstream heterosexual culture. Ideas from the BII literature could be incorporated into a study such as this by asking participants whether they perceive conflict between lesbian and heterosexual cultures and whether they compartmentalize their affiliations with these two cultures. Furthermore, in addition to extending to identities other than ethnocultural identities (e.g., racial identities),

BII theory can also extend to multiple (more than two) identities, as in the case of multiracial identity integration (Cheng & Lee, 2009) or multicultural identity integration for tricultural individuals such as Chinese Canadians in English-French Quebec (Downie et al., 2004). Overall, the processes associated with BII are likely to generalize to other identities, such as career identity (see Skorikov & Vondracek, Chapter 29, this volume), religious/spiritual identity (see MacDonald, Chapter 21, this volume; Roehlkepartain, Benson, & Scales, Chapter 22, this volume), and sexual identity (see Dillon et al., Chapter 27, this volume; Savin-Williams, Chapter 28, this volume). For example, BII theory may apply to the integration of one's Buddhist identity with the dominant culture's Christian identity. These identities may also be described as conflictual or compartmentalized; however, further research is needed to determine whether the integration of other types of identities follows the same principles as the integration of cultural identities.

Not only can BII be applied to dual identities within a single category (e.g., Buddhist and Christian religious identities), but it can also be applied to dual identities from two different categories (e.g., cultural identity and religious identity). For example, Verkuyten and Yildiz (2007) examined Turkish-Dutch Muslims' identification with their ethnic (Turkish) culture, their dominant (Dutch) culture, and their religious (Muslim) culture. BII could have contributed to this study by capturing the degree of perceived blendedness and harmony among Turkish, Dutch, and Muslim cultures, and the Muslim culture may be contrasted with the secular Dutch culture – given that most Dutch people do not endorse organized religion. BII could also be used to examine the degree of harmony versus conflict perceived between the sexual identity and religious identity of Muslim gay men (of Pakistani descent in the United Kingdom; Jaspal & Cinnirella, 2010) and Jewish gay men (in the United Kingdom; Coyle & Rafalin, 2000). In a study of female engineers, BII was applied to examine the degree of compartmentalization between participants'

identities as women (i.e., gender identity) and as engineers (e.g., professional identity; Cheng, Sanchez-Burks, & Lee, 2008). They found that female engineers with more integrated identities designed more creative products than those who perceived lower blendedness between their gender and professional identities. Other research within the work domain, such as that on women who are both African Americans and professionals (Bell, 1990) and men who are both fathers and managers (DeLong & DeLong, 1992), may also benefit from the introduction of BII into their research paradigm.

Suggestions for future research. Concepts from sociology, anthropology, ethnic studies, and education that have the potential for further elucidating the construct of BII include biculturalization, hybridity, pan-ethnicity, segmented assimilation, and intersectionality. [See also Jensen, Arnett, and McKenzie's (Chapter 13, this volume) chapter on globalization and hybridity.] First, biculturalization refers to the process of adapting to two cultures (Polgar, 1960; Sadao, 2003; Valentine, 1971). Biculturalization differs from acculturation, which presupposes that one (ethnic) culture is learned first, followed by the second (dominant) culture (Berry, 2003); biculturalization allows for the possibility of individuals learning their two cultures simultaneously (Birman, 1994; Padilla, 2006; Szapocznik, Kurtines, & Fernandez, 1980). Biculturalization is more appropriate for and more inclusive to the experiences of bicultural individuals, such as mixed-ethnic individuals and second-generation children of immigrants or refugees. Analogous to the comparison of acculturation versus biculturalization is the comparison of coordinate bilingualism versus compound bilingualism within the area of psycholinguistics (Ervin & Osgood, 1954). Coordinate bilinguals learn one language before the other, learn their two languages in different contexts, and organize their two language systems separately, whereas compound bilinguals learn their two languages at the same time and in the same context, and the organization of their two language systems tend to overlap. It thus follows that bicultural individuals who learn their two cultures simultaneously should be more

likely to have overlapping identities (high blendness) than those who learn one culture before the other; however, further research is needed to test this hypothesis.

Second, hybridity, or an emergent third culture, is a concept that has received increasing attention (Hermans & Kempen, 1998; Hutnyk, 2005; Lowe, 1996; Oyserman, Sakamoto, & Lauffer, 1998). Hybridity refers to a new culture that emerges from a dynamic interaction, rather than merely a summation, of existing cultures. It is also known as ethnogenesis (Flannery, Reise, & Yu, 2001) or transculturation (Comas-Diaz, 1987). A well-known example of hybridity is Chicano culture, which is comprised of Mexican culture, US American culture, as well as Mexican American culture and other cultures (Garza & Lipton, 1982). Another example is British Indian culture (including the recently invented chicken tikka masala dish) which stems from but is distinctly different from both mainstream British culture and Indian culture as found on the Indian subcontinent (Cook, 2001). There seem to be many parallels between hybridity and blendedness, and it is therefore important for future research to identify the distinctions and overlap between these two constructs.

Third, pan-ethnicity refers to the identification with a racial or pan-ethnic group (e.g., Asian, Latino) rather than with their specific ethnic group (e.g., Chinese, Mexican; Rumbaut, 1994). It is also known as panethnogenesis, or the creation of a culture based on ethnicity. A pan-ethnic culture might consist of values and behaviors common among hyphenated ethnic cultures of that pan-ethnicity (e.g., all Asian Americans) but not found in the cultures of origin (e.g., cultures in Asia) – for example, identification as “AZN” (shortened form of “Asian”), driving a modified (“tricked-out”) imported vehicle, and drinking boba (a drink with tapioca pearls). Pan-ethnically identified individuals tend to belong to later generations, to have experienced discrimination, and to have higher socioeconomic status (Masuoka, 2006; Rumbaut, 2005). It is possible that blendedness for these individuals involves the merging of multiple hyphenated ethnic cultures of that pan-ethnicity along with the

dominant culture, rather than merely the merging of their ethnic culture with the dominant culture. Moreover, because pan-ethnic labels were created by US institutions to classify groups of individuals (Espiritu, 1996; Lopez & Espiritu, 1990), a pan-ethnic culture may also include the blending of the dominant group’s perceptions of the pan-ethnic group with actual characteristics of the pan-ethnic group (e.g., the term “Hispanic” is a US-American grouping of 21 Latin American groups). Future research is needed to understand the conceptualization of blendedness among pan-ethnically identified bicultural individuals.

Fourth, segmented assimilation refers to an orientation to neither the dominant culture nor the ethnic culture, but rather an orientation to the culture of an impoverished, underprivileged, lower-class, inner-city, and reactive racial-minority segment of dominant society (Portes & Zhou, 1993). For example, some low-income Vietnamese Americans in New Orleans identify with and are friends with the traditionally low-income, marginalized group in that city: African Americans (Bankston & Zhou, 1997). As with pan-ethnicity, individuals participating in segmented assimilation tend to belong to later generations and to have experienced discrimination. However, unlike pan-ethnically identified individuals, those participating in segmented assimilation tend to have lower socioeconomic status and to experience greater economic and class inequality (Portes, Fernandez-Kelly, & Haller, 2005; Portes & Zhou, 1993). Baumeister et al. (1985) proposed that individuals resolve identity conflict by either blending or compartmentalizing their identities. Segmented assimilation may be a third possible response to identity conflict. As a way of resolving conflicts between their two cultures, individuals may choose to or be forced to withdraw from both cultures and seek refuge in another culture, a culture for those who face racial and economic conflicts and hardships. Future research is needed to determine whether segmented assimilation is related to low BII harmony, or possibly to the marginalization acculturation strategy (Nguyen, Huynh, & Benet-Martínez, 2009).

Finally, the dual identities from different categories alluded to earlier (e.g., cultural and religious identities, gender and professional identities) are often referred to as intersectionality. Intersectionality is defined as the unique experience associated with having multiple identities and multiple types of oppression (e.g., gender, race, sexual orientation, religion, class, ability; Cole, 2009; Collins, 1998; Stirratt, Meyer, Ouellette, & Gara, 2008; Warner, 2008). Individuals with multiple subordinate identities (e.g., African American lesbian women) face unique obstacles, such as intersectional invisibility (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008), whereby they are not recognized as traditional members of any of their groups. Thus, BII, especially the harmony component, is relevant to and can inform the study of intersectionality and the interaction of multiple identities. Research on BII and intersectionality can both be advanced by the study of these constructs in conjunction with each other.

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, we have reviewed the importance of biculturalism and of variations among bicultural individuals within the larger framework of studying identity. We believe that bicultural individuals are the key to uncovering the dynamics of culture and identity, and the field of biculturalism offers many new and exciting opportunities for future inquiries. Attention to variations in bicultural identity (e.g., LaFromboise et al., 1993; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997) has propelled the field forward, and BII is a part of this exciting new movement (Benet-Martínez, in press; Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Huynh, 2009; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2007).

Thus far, across different ethnic groups and geographic locations, researchers have found that BII consists of two components: blendedness and harmony. These components are distinct, and they are related to different personality and situational variables. In addition, they are differentially related to emotional stability and adjustment, supporting previous

theoretical propositions that blendedness is the more organizational, behavioral, and performance-related component of BII, whereas harmony is the more affective, psychological component of BII. There is an increasing body of empirical research on BII and its nomological network or set of correlates (e.g., Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Benet-Martínez et al., 2006; Huynh, 2009; Miramontez et al., 2008; Nguyen et al., 2010), but much still remains to be discovered about dual identity integration.

Although topics from across the social sciences such as biculturalism, emergent third culture and hybridity, pan-ethnicity, segmented assimilation, and intersectionality offer promising new directions to the field of biculturalism, they have been relatively unexplored within psychology. To further move the field forward, it is essential to gather empirical evidence to examine the commonalities and differences between these constructs and psychological constructs such as BII. Moreover, with increasing diversity, other dual identities and the intersection of multiple identities require more research. The BII framework can be used within these areas of research to elucidate how people affectively and cognitively manage their various, and sometimes potentially incompatible, identities.

Given the important changes in international migration and increasing cultural exposure around the world within the past few decades, empirical work on biculturalism from an individual differences perspective is a surprisingly new and under-researched area of inquiry in psychology. Much more research is needed to understand how increasing cultural diversity and global interconnectedness affect people's identities, which has important implications for individuals as well as for societies.

Note

1. Note that Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) initially named the two components of BII distance versus blendedness and conflict

versus harmony. However, recently, we have renamed the dimensions blendedness versus compartmentalization (not distance, to better capture the dissociation, rather than objective distance, between the cultures) and harmony versus conflict (to take focus away from the negative pole of the dimensions). For ease of reading, we will refer to the blendedness versus compartmentalization component as “blendedness” and the harmony versus conflict component as “harmony” from now on.

Appendix

Examples of the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale–Version 2

Items are rated on a 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) scale; an asterisk indicates a reverse-scored item to measure the positive pole of the BII component.

Blendedness versus compartmentalization:

I feel _____ and American at the same time.

I do not blend my _____ and American cultures.*

Harmony versus conflict:

I find it easy to harmonize _____ and American cultures.

I feel that my _____ and American cultures are incompatible.*

For the full BIIS-2 scale, please see Huynh (2009), or contact Que-Lam Huynh at qhuynh@projects.sdsu.edu.

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