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Bicultural Social Identity: Do Biculturals Assess Workplace Deviance Differently Across Different Ethnicities?

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BICULTURAL SOCIAL IDENTITY: DO BICULTURALS ASSESS WORKPLACE
DEVIANCE DIFFERENTLY ACROSS DIFFERENT ETHNICITIES?

by

ANDY YU-YEN CHIOU

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Business in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the
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Abstract

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Adviser: Professor Stephan Dilchert

Research on biculturals has informed us much regarding their cognition and identity integration, however little as to the bicultural perception of in- and out-groups, and whether it can be primed. I examined this question in a workplace setting using the black sheep framework, specifically: Given the activation of one of a bicultural's specific cultural identities, will he or she allocate punishment to deviant employees of different cultural backgrounds differently based on whether he or she views them as an in-group or out-group member? In Study 1, I show that Asian-American biculturals do assess deviant employees of different cultural backgrounds differently depending on the cultural prime, and that this effect is moderated by their level of bicultural identity integration. In Study 2, I show that Hispanic-American biculturals exhibit a contrastive response to cultural primes, which still supports the main hypotheses (Study 2). The reason for this difference between the two study samples, implications for bicultural research, and organizational behavior research are discussed.

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To all biculturals, and those around them

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Introduction

Technological and economic advances in the past few decades have created a shrinking world in which goods, services, and ideas are transported around the globe at a much faster pace than before. Due to this globalization phenomenon, various distinct cultures and values have also mixed and mingled as people migrate from locale to locale. This increased exposure to different cultures and values has led to an increasing number of "biculturals." Specific definitions of biculturalism vary, ranging from general assumptions of identification with two cultures, to requirements of dual cultural knowledge frameworks. Nguyen and Benet-Martínez (2007) noted that early attempts at explaining the bicultural experience have tended to confound two components of biculturalism: ability and identity. That is, how biculturals are able to function in two cultures, and how biculturals feel about their dual cultural backgrounds. Current bicultural definitions and research have been largely cognitively based, with focus on cultural knowledge frames, and less upon identity.

Although recent research on biculturals has greatly increased our understanding of biculturals as individuals with "hyphenated" (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005, p. 1019) identities, much remains unknown regarding the effects of biculturalism on the individual (Brannen & Thomas, 2010). Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997) noted that despite extensive examination of the bicultural phenomenon, little research has been conducted on how biculturals relate to the two cultures to which they belong. Since Phinney and Devich-Navarro's suggestion for further social identity research, most current studies have still predominantly focused upon bicultural cognition, with less attention paid to how biculturals interact with the social world around them. Chirkov (2009), in a much more recent commentary, likewise argued that acculturation research, which encompasses much of bicultural research, has not yet progressed

beyond the examination of intrapersonal psychology and into the realm of the interpersonal. Fitzsimmons' (2013) review of multicultural¹ employees on the workplace likewise focused more on individual work characteristics, such as identity plurality, identity integration, and individual decision making and analytical skills. The lack of more discussion and research on bicultural interactions is an important omission, given that individuals mostly live and work in the presence of, and in contact with, others around them. Do biculturals' capacities for dual cultural identities also have an influence upon how they see other people around them? Do biculturals have a preference for members of their home or host culture, identifying one group as the in-group and the other as the out-group?

These questions of how biculturals interact with the people around them are of applied interest to many businesses and organizations today. In the US, the number of approved naturalizations saw an approximately 180% increase from 1990 to 2012 (Department of Homeland Security, 2012). Accompanying this increase in immigration is the ensuing growth of bicultural groups in the following generations, which eventually enter the workforce. Given our understanding of social identity and intergroup bias phenomena such as in-group extremism in resource allocation (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) — of relevance to organizations' reward structures, and punishment (Marques, Yzerbyt, & Leyens, 1988) — of relevance to HR interactions relating to discipline, it is of theoretical and applied importance who biculturals feel closer to. Additionally, a better understanding of biculturals will also benefit multinational organizations that rely on international assignments, as biculturalism is an issue that affects both expatriates and repatriates. Research has shown that expatriates that are able to interact with host country nationals as in-groups tend to experience an easier adjustment process (Toh & DeNisi, 2007). While expatriates may not necessarily be recognized as being bicultural early on during their

¹ Fitzsimmons' (2013) discussion includes biculturals within the larger context of multiculturals.

assignments, many eventually fulfill the common definitions (based on time abroad). More directly, the adjustment process expatriates go through may be similar to the acculturation process experienced by biculturals. Therefore, the question of biculturals and how they relate to different groups is important to today's organizations for many of the reasons discussed above.

Although studies have examined various bicultural outcomes using the social identity approach (SIA), most of the existing research has looked at *self*-identification, rather than how biculturals see *others*. In order to address this gap, the central research question of this dissertation is: *Will biculturals with their dual identities view members of their respective cultures as in-groups members or out-groups members depending on the context?* In the following sections I will first provide a basic overview of biculturalism and the development of dual identities, and how these identities are managed within biculturals. I will then follow with a discussion of bicultural social identities, specifically as it applies to how biculturals might interact with other individuals. I then consider a specific application of the research question in organizational settings, by discussing how bicultural social identity could influence the severity of punishment towards employees and coworkers. A study design will be proposed to examine the research question at hand, followed by a discussion of possible outcomes and implications.

What Is Biculturalism?

Despite the amount of research on biculturals, the portrait of what exactly is a bicultural, and what is biculturalism, remains unclear. Theoretical and empirical discussions of biculturals have used the terms "bicultural" and "biculturalism" very loosely, incorporating Native Americans (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993), Asian-Americans (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002), and Hong Kong citizens (Y.-Y. Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000). Although arguments have been made the Hong Kong citizens may indeed be bicultural by virtue of globalization and British colonization (Bond & Cheung, 1983; Bond, 1993; Y.-Y. Hong et al., 2000), Nguyen and Benet-Martínez (2012) noted that from an acculturation perspective, Hong Kong biculturals are different from many bicultural research samples in that the dominant and heritage cultures represented are the same, whereas for most biculturals the dominant and heritage cultures are different (i.e. the difference between biculturalism via globalization and biculturalism via immigration).

Indicators of common conceptualizations of biculturals are found in participant recruitment requirements (e.g., requiring more than five years of exposure to various cultures or recruiting self-identified Asian-Americans). Often, researchers make simple assumptions regarding the actual biculturalism of the participants based on such operational considerations. Theoretical examinations of biculturalism have also been focused on specific niches (e.g., cognition and identity integration), making it difficult to clearly define what a bicultural is. In order to provide a sound basis for further discussion of bicultural social identity, I will first discuss how previous studies have defined biculturalism, both conceptually and empirically, then provide an overview of the development of the current bicultural paradigm, followed by a discussion of selected issues in current bicultural research.

Conceptual Approaches Toward Biculturalism

Conceptual definitions approach biculturalism in three different ways: cognition, ability, and identity. While most scholars tend to focus on only one, many broader theoretical discussions of biculturalism recognize that all three must be examined in order to provide an overarching conceptualization of the construct. The majority of current approaches to biculturalism can trace their conceptual roots to LaFromboise, Coleman, and Gerton (1993), who viewed biculturalism in terms of cultural competence, or how an individual who lives “at the juncture between two cultures and can lay claim to belonging to both cultures [...handles the] multilevel continuum of social skill and personality development” (1993, p. 396). LaFromboise et al. further discuss four general components to biculturalism: behavioral, knowledge, self-efficacy, and identity. This definition of biculturalism, along with the four general components, has been adopted and adapted by most bicultural scholars. Table 1 presents a summary of the different definitions that have been developed in the last two decades.

The varied ways in which researchers have defined biculturalism — some overlapping, while others expanding upon different views — come together to form an intuitive and coherent concept of biculturals. There is a general understanding of biculturals that is shared amongst scholars, with each study elaborating on different portions of the larger bicultural definition as needed for the goals of the respective study.

Based on the overlap of these various approaches, for the purposes of this study a bicultural individual is defined as *an individual who has extensively experienced two different cultures* (David, Okazaki, & Saw, 2009), *has internalized the two cultures and identifies with both* (Brannen & Thomas, 2010; Mok, Morris, Benet-Martínez, & Karakitapoglu-Aygun, 2007), *while having gained fluency in the norms of both cultures and being capable of adjusting his/her*

behavior in response to the cultural setting and his/her knowledge of the cultural setting (Mok, Cheng, & Morris, 2010; Mok & Morris, 2009). Given the above, a bicultural individual must be bicultural in terms of cultural cognition, identity, and behavior. In the following section, I will discuss common ways in which current bicultural research has operationalized biculturalism.

Operationalization of Biculturalism

While conceptual definitions of biculturalism have developed to provide a relatively cohesive and intuitive understanding of biculturals, the operationalization of biculturalism in empirical research is less consistent. Oftentimes the sample characteristics of each study do not necessarily fit the definition of biculturalism used in the same study, and are largely based upon assumptions researchers make on how bicultural the participants are, harkening to debates in the general field of culture research on issues regarding the non-measurement of cultural value assumptions regarding country culture (Tsui, Nifadkar, & Ou, 2007). Even when biculturals are identified, the methods by which they are measured vary widely with no agreed-upon consensus, with some scholars arguing for biculturalism to be treated as a singular construct (that is, biculturalism is viewed as a spectrum, with monoculturalism at one end and biculturalism at the other), while others argue biculturalism, due to involving two cultures, must be bi-dimensional (that is, biculturalism must be assessed by determining the respondent's dual cultural orientations; cf. Lopez & Contreras, 2005). There is also no consensus on the actual scales used. Nguyen and Benet-Martínez's (2012) meta-analysis provided evidence of this, listing 42 methods of measuring biculturalism across the 83 studies summarized. Reviewing this literature, there seems to be three broad approaches: relying upon identification by the researcher, relying upon self-identification by the participants, or determination via measurement of acculturation.

In this section, I will discuss examples of each type of bicultural operationalization in order to illustrate the common approaches taken.

As an example of *researcher-identified* biculturalism, Y.-Y. Hong et al. (2000) discussed the results of a series of experimental studies based on two groups of participants. The first group recruited “Westernized Chinese students in Hong Kong” (Y.-Y. Hong et al., 2000, p. 713) who had undergone primarily English instruction throughout secondary school education and had been acculturated to Western values due to Hong Kong being a British-administrated territory until 1997. The second group recruited “China-born Californian college students who had lived at least five years in a Chinese society and at least five years in North America” (2000, p. 714). Y.-Y. Hong et al. argued that the two groups of participants represent the two methods by which cultural values are disseminated: globalization and immigration. Ng and Lai’s (2009, 2011) research on biculturalism did not provide a specific definition of biculturalism, however likewise argued that Hong Kong’s westernization process has created a bicultural population, and recruited Hong Kong undergraduate students for their experiments (assuming that all of them necessarily were biculturals). Bond’s (1993) theoretical discussion argued that Hong Kong citizens, due to their traditional Chinese culture, combined with exposure to various Western values, form distinct clusters that can be more Chinese-identified or more Western-identified. Although the researcher-identified approach to biculturalism operationalization provides intuitive appeal, it runs the danger of making assumptions about the sample’s characteristics, and indeed even how the sample population views themselves, that are difficult to support without individual level measurements.

Various studies have also recruited participants who *self-identified* as biculturals. Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) recruited with the following criteria: "(a) were born in a Chinese

country (People's Republic of China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao, or Singapore), (b) had lived in a Chinese country for at least 5 years, (c) had lived in the United States for at least 5 years, and (d) considered themselves bicultural" (2005, p. 1024). Mok and Morris (2009) recruited via campus fliers soliciting "East Asian-American biculturals" (2009, p. 885). David et al. (2009) recruited a wide range of first- and second (or later)-generation minority biculturals for their scale development study. Although this self-identified approach provides a different intuitive appeal compared to the researcher-identified approach, in that it might not be the role of a researcher to determine the biculturalism status of a given individual, it also fails to satisfy demands of the conceptual definition of biculturalism. For example, although an American-born Asian-American may lay claim to dual cultures and possess a hyphenated identity, if said Asian-American has never travelled to the home culture and has no knowledge of how to behave in the home culture, then one of the basic requirements for biculturalism discussed earlier — fluency in the norms of both cultures and being capable of adjusting their behavior in response to the cultural setting and their knowledge of the cultural setting — would not have been satisfied.

The last method of operationalizing biculturalism is via *measurement of acculturation*. This method operates under the assumption that biculturalism is one of several ways by which a given individual, or group, can manage acculturation. Many discussions of biculturalism have identified it as an important part of acculturation, as either part of the process or an ideal end-state (Y.-Y. Hong et al., 2000; LaFromboise et al., 1993; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2012; Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006). Acculturation is typically defined as the process which occurs when different ethno-cultural groups come into continuous first-hand contact, resulting in the learning and adaptation of a new culture (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989; Bourhis, Moise,

Perreault, & Senecal, 1997; Rudmin, 2003). Chirkov's (2009) overview of the acculturation literature defines acculturation as:

A result of CONTACT of two or more cultures; following this contact some CHANGES or MUTUAL INFLUENCES take place in the interacting parties; these changes and mutual influences occur OVER TIME; and acculturation may occur either at a GROUP or INDIVIDUAL level, or both. (2009, p. 98; emphasis original)

In the context of this study, assessing biculturalism via measurement of acculturation would mean defining it as having acculturated to both a home culture and a host culture. This should allow for the identification of biculturals who favor, identify with, and develop the abilities necessary to function in both cultures (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Rudmin, 2003; Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006).²

Although determination of biculturalism via acculturation measurement may potentially be the most rigorous method of operationalizing biculturalism, studies have rarely made use of it by measuring the full spectrum of acculturation, focusing on only one of the facets. Most bicultural studies that have taken some form of measurement largely measured identification with home/host culture (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Benet-Martínez, Lee, & Leu, 2006; Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Bond, 2008; Cheng, Lee, & Benet-Martínez, 2006; Mok et al., 2010; Mok & Morris, 2013; Tadmor, Galinsky, & Maddux, 2012; Zou, Morris, & Benet-Martínez, 2008), language ability or fluency (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Benet-Martínez et al., 2006, 2002; Chen et al., 2008; Cheng et al., 2006; Mok et al., 2010), or acculturation attitudes (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Cheng et al., 2006).

² It is important to recognize the distinction between assessment of acculturation, the approach discussed here, and assessment of acculturation attitudes, the approach taken by classical Berry-esque discussions of acculturation. While Berry's typologies are useful in understanding acculturation, the strategies outlined focus on ideals that are *perceived and valued*, rather than actually practiced. For a more detailed discussion, please see Boski (2008) and Rudmin (2003).

Of the three methods of assessing biculturalism via measurement of acculturation, acculturation attitudes is the weakest form of acculturation measurement, as it does not measure actual acculturation, but rather an individual's positive or negative attitude towards different forms of acculturation (cf. Rudmin, 2003). Language ability and fluency, two acculturation measures that are highly predictive of psychosocial adjustment (Kang, 2006), and correlated with identification (Huynh, 2009), only encompass limited aspects of biculturalism. While measurement of acculturation could serve as an objective operationalization, care should be taken in determining which acculturation scales to use in a given bicultural study. Ideally, the full spectrum of acculturation should be assessed in order to determine biculturalism.

In sum, of the various methods of operationalizing biculturalism discussed in this section, two (identification by the researcher, self-identification by the participants) rely on subjective assumptions of who may or may not be a bicultural at time of recruitment and one relies on measurement of related but not identical construct. A summary of the studies using the three different methods of assessing biculturalism I have discussed in this section is provided in Table 2.

When combined with the conceptual definition of biculturalism discussed above, various issues arise when taking into consideration cognition, behavior, cultural fluency, and identification. In the current study, the issues discussed in this section will be addressed by taking the most conservative approach, by recruiting all bicultural participants and assessing their biculturalism via measurement of acculturation during the study itself. However, rather than treating the sample as a homogeneous population, I will further investigate how the varying levels of acculturation and biculturalism influence the outcomes of our study. In the following section I will further explore what current bicultural research has learned of biculturals, and

discuss the development of the current bicultural paradigm as it relates to the development of bicultural cognition and identity.

Bicultural Cognition and Identity

Despite issues in definitions and operationalization, bicultural research has been instrumental in exploring how biculturals organize and reconcile their dual cultural heritage. Early discussions of biculturals portrayed them as socio-cultural marginals, individuals who were in constant psychological conflict, unable to decide on their own identity, ultimately leading to divided loyalties and ambivalence towards either side of their cultural identities (Park, 1928; Stonequist, 1935). However, this view of biculturals has been re-examined in recent decades, casting biculturals in a more positive light as more adjusted individuals (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2012). In particular, modern developments in our understanding of cultural cognition has allowed for a more detailed examination of claims of biculturals as marginals. Although the field of biculturalism has not yet come to a consensus on a theoretical framework of biculturalism (Brannen & Thomas, 2010), there is a general agreement that the development of biculturalism typically begins with cultural cognition, after which cultural identity develops (see Table 1). Accordingly, most bicultural research has focused on these two areas. In this section, I will provide a brief overview of bicultural cognition, followed by a more detailed discussion of bicultural identity.

Bicultural cognition. Morris and Fu (2001) argued that culture can be conceptualized as a loose cognitive network. Rather than culture exerting a constant influence upon individuals at all times, the influences of culture wax and wane depending on how accessible the cultural knowledge is at a given time (Morris & Fu, 2001). The accessibility of cultural knowledge is, in turn, governed by a given individual's past socialization process and the current environmental

stimuli that the individual is exposed to. If the stimulus is culturally meaningful to an individual such that the stimulus can be associated with a given culture, it will trigger culturally relevant knowledge networks which exert influence over individual behavior (Morris & Fu, 2001). For example, an individual who grew up in Taiwan would not constantly be thinking about the elements of Taiwanese culture when living in the United States, however a Chinese pop song performed by a Taiwanese artist playing in the background might trigger memories of Taiwan and the associated cultural, culinary, or linguistic knowledge. The same music would have no such association for an individual from the United States, who would have never listened to Chinese pop music in Taiwan. This phenomenon can be extended to any culturally meaningful stimulus, and forms the basis of cultural priming in bicultural research.

The view of culture as loose cognitive networks has since been used to examine bicultural cognition. Y.-Y. Hong et al. (2000) proposed that biculturals possess dual "cultural frames" due to in-depth exposure to two cultures. The dual cultural frames are organized in a loose fashion such that accessing knowledge of one cultural frame does not mean knowledge from the other cultural frame would be accessed, allowing biculturals to shift freely between the two, a phenomenon called *cultural frame switching* (CFS; Y.-Y. Hong et al., 2000). To continue with the example of the Taiwanese-American individual above, the Chinese pop song would only trigger knowledge about Taiwan, but not trigger knowledge about the United States. Likewise, an American rock song might only trigger knowledge about the United States, but not knowledge about Taiwan.

Y.-Y. Hong et al. (2000) demonstrated the CFS effect by first exposing Hong Kong biculturals to one of two types of cultural icons (in the forms of pictures), American (e.g., the US flag or Abraham Lincoln), or Asian (e.g., the Forbidden Palace or Confucius). This cultural

priming process is meant to make one particular cultural frame salient without triggering the other. These primed bicultural participants are then asked to evaluate and explain culturally neutral situations, i.e. graphical scenes that do not convey any cultural association, allowing observers to attribute their own meaning to their explanations. In this particular study, the task involved evaluating a picture of a school of fish with an individual fish in front of the school. Research has shown that Asians tend to explain the behavior of the individual fish based on external factors (e.g., being chased), while Americans tend to utilize internal factors in their explanation (e.g., leading; Y.-Y. Hong et al., 2000; Morris & Peng, 1994). Results indicated biculturals primed with Chinese cultural icons made more external and group based attributions in their explanations compared to biculturals primed with American cultural icons (Y.-Y. Hong et al., 2000). Therefore, biculturals primed with Chinese icons accessed their Chinese knowledge framework, essentially becoming more Chinese, when explaining a culturally neutral scene.

In addition to scene attributions, researchers discovered that CFS influences personality test scores in Mexican-American biculturals such that English language priming lead to a more "American" personality profile (higher scores in extraversion and agreeableness), while Spanish language priming lead to a more "Mexican" personality profile (lower scores on extraversion and agreeableness; Ramirez-Esparza, Gosling, Benet-Martínez, Potter, & Pennebaker, 2006), a finding replicated with Hong Kong and Western personality profiles in Hong Kong bilinguals (Chen & Bond, 2010). Further research also showed that the personality profiles of more acculturated Asian-American men were more similar to those of European-Americans, compared to the personality profiles of less acculturated Asian-American men (Eap et al., 2008). Moreover, Qiu, Lin, and Leung (2013) demonstrated that Singaporean biculturals are able to switch their

online information sharing behavior to be culturally appropriate depending upon the social networking site used (Facebook or Renren).

Brannen and Thomas (2010) implied that cognition and identity are distinct concepts and may exist separately. An individual may develop a cultural cognition without developing the accompanying cultural identity (e.g., international students), however an individual with a cultural identity must have developed the accompanying cultural cognition in order to have developed the identity. In the case of biculturals, the development of cultural identity is a necessary next step (Brannen & Thomas, 2010). In the following section, I will discuss how biculturals organize their dual cultural identities.

Bicultural identity and Bicultural Identity Integration (BII). Cultural identity can be defined as a set of beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors that people share with their culture group (Berry, 2001; Jensen, 2003; Strizhakova, Coulter, & Price, 2012). Brannen and Thomas (2010) noted that cultural identification involves considering the question of "Who am I?" in reference to "a particular set of values, attitudes, beliefs, and behavioral assumptions [...] called cultural knowledge traditions" (2010, p. 6). It is important to recognize that biculturals, by definition, have dual cultural identities. Early discussions of biculturals view them as social marginals who are unable to come to terms with who they are (Park, 1928; Stonequist, 1935), while other discussions refer to biculturals as a blending of two cultures, able to draw from the strengths of both sides (cf. LaFromboise et al., 1993). Benet-Martínez et al. (2002) proposed that the seemingly contradictory views are caused by individual differences in how biculturals perceive their dual cultural identities to be either complementary or contradictory, or, the degree of *bicultural identity integration* (BII) each bicultural possesses. Biculturals who possess more integrated dual identities are more likely to experience the positive benefits of biculturalism and

experience less acculturation stress, while those who have not integrated their dual cultural identities tend to be the social marginals discussed in early bicultural research and thus more prone to the psychological stresses associated with acculturation processes (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002).

Results from a series of studies revealed that Asian-American biculturals who viewed their dual cultural identities as being complementary responded to cultural primes in a culturally congruent fashion (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002). That is, those who were exposed to Chinese cultural primes made more external and group based attributions to the Hong et al. (2000) fish scenario (see above) than those exposed to American cultural primes. Results indicated Asian-American biculturals who viewed their dual cultural identities as being conflicting responded to cultural primes in a culturally contrastive fashion (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002). Biculturals exposed to Chinese cultural primes made *less* external and group based attributions to the fish scenario than those exposed to American cultural primes, while biculturals exposed to American cultural primes made *more* external and group based attributions. Benet-Martínez et al., referencing Phinney and Devich-Navarro's (1997) and Vivero and Jenkins' (1999) work, argued that the result seen in less integrated biculturals was due to "a cognitive-affective linkage of the two cultural meaning systems, increased cognitive effort in processing cultural cues in the environment, and perception of cultural cues as highly valenced" (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002, p. 510).

Since Benet-Martínez et al.'s (2002) initial discovery, many studies have studied BII by examining its effects as a moderator on bicultural cognition. Mok and Morris (2010b) noted BII's effects on bicultural creativity. Individuals high in BII who were exposed to American cultural primes exhibited a higher number of novel solutions to divergent thinking tasks than

those exposed to Asian cultural primes. However, for low BII biculturals, exposure to American cultural primes decreased the number of novel solutions compared to those exposed to Asian cultural primes (Mok & Morris, 2010b). Mok and Morris (Mok & Morris, 2010a) also discovered that low BII biculturals are better able to resist groupthink tendencies when in a group of their cultural peers.

The concept of BII may further encompass two sub-facets: cultural blendedness and cultural harmony. These two sub-facets of BII have been shown to be two distinct factors within the BII construct via factor analysis (Huynh, 2009), however neither have been examined in detail with regard to their nomological network (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Generally, cultural blendedness is recognized to relate to performance outcomes (e.g., language use and cultural competence), while cultural harmony is related to affective outcomes among biculturals (e.g., acculturative stress; cf. Huynh, 2009; Miramontez, Benet-Martínez, & Nguyen, 2008). It is possible that many of the past discussions regarding the bicultural as a social marginal suffering from psychological stress would be mostly a function of the cultural harmony aspect of BII (Miramontez et al., 2008). Although the two BII constructs overlap in important areas, most times the distinction between them is not made sufficiently clear. For the purposes of the current discussion, it is important to recognize the key differences between the two, and how each relates to a bicultural's dual identities.

Cultural harmony. Cultural harmony³, while not clearly defined by Benet-Martínez or past literature (cf. Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Benet-Martínez et al., 2002), may paradoxically be the best examined construct in bicultural research in terms of actual usage in experimental settings. I will first discuss the theoretical basis underlying cultural harmony, followed by a summary of empirical results relating to cultural harmony.

Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) note cultural harmony may relate to feelings of being caught or trapped between two cultures, and further argue the concept may relate to identity confusion/conflict as discussed by Baumeister (1986). Identity conflict can be seen as resulting from having too many identities, leading to “the multiply defined self whose multiple definitions are incompatible [sic]” (Baumeister, 1986, p. 199). Individuals undergoing identity conflict exhibit many of the negative symptoms discussed in early bicultural literature, given they are faced with incompatible demands of each identity in which satisfying one would mean betrayal of another, oftentimes resulting in an unwillingness to act, or at least delayed action while being trapped between multiple identities (Baumeister, 1986). As individuals may be unable to resolve their own identity conflict, the situation and circumstances around the individual may force the individual to choose one identity (Baumeister, 1986). It is possible that the congruent and contrastive effects of BII are predominantly driven by the bicultural’s internal cultural harmony.

Similar discussions on the possible conflicting effects of multiple identities can be seen in the research of organizational identities. Since Ashforth and Mael's (1989) seminal discussion on social identity and organizations, many studies have attempted to investigate the relationship

³ Different bicultural research groups have referred to this construct as either *cultural harmony*, *cultural conflict*, or *harmony v. conflict*. As the items in the BII scale are coded such that higher ratings indicate higher levels of harmony, we will utilize *cultural harmony* for the remainder of this discussion unless there is reason to discuss conflict specifically.

between the two, either examining multiple-identity organizations (e.g., Foreman & Whetten, 2002), or how employees balance multiple identities (Pate, Beaumont, & Pryce, 2009; van Dick, Wagner, Stellmacher, & Christ, 2004). Research into multiple organizational identities likewise indicates that employees faced with multiple competing identities (e.g., team, departmental, professional, or organizational) face divided or ambiguous loyalties (Alvesson, 2000; Pate et al., 2009).

Miramontez et al. (2008) argued that cultural harmony captures the affective, interpersonal component of biculturalism, such that a bicultural who has higher levels of harmony would not feel torn between two cultures and instead expresses “rapport and compatibility between each cultural orientation and membership (irrespective of the degree of overlap or similarity perceived between the two cultures)” (2008, p. 433). Empirical results support this argument, as results from Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) showed that cultural conflict is correlated with intercultural relations, discrimination, and cultural isolation factors, and also correlated with the personality trait of neuroticism. Of import for the current discussion, cultural conflict was *not* correlated with US or Chinese identification for the Chinese-American sample population examined by Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005). Huynh (2009) showed that harmony is correlated with various acculturation stress factors and mental health factors such as general well-being, anxiety, depression, and hostility. Harmony is additionally correlated with various ethnic identity factors, albeit to a lesser degree than blendedness (Huynh, 2009), the details of which I will discuss in the next section.

Agar (1991) indicated that biculturals and bilinguals who feel caught in a *Zwischenwelt* (between-world) do not feel an attachment to either culture, and would feel the urge to balance themselves out when immersed in one particular language environment, such as speaking

English when engaged in a French immersion course. This feeling of being in a “between-world” is one of the key methods by which cultural harmony has been described, and is one of the central concepts captured in many of the BII scale items relating to cultural harmony, which often begin with “I feel conflicted...”, “I feel torn...” or “I feel caught between...” (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Miramontez et al., 2008). Mok’s series of bicultural studies utilized the cultural harmony subscale of the BII to focus upon the relationship between identity conflict and reactance (cf. Erikson, 1950), lending further support to the idea of bicultural harmony as the primary driver behind the BII moderation effect (Mok et al., 2010; Mok & Morris, 2009, 2012b, 2013). Specifically, Mok argued, and presented empirical results to support, that high-integrated biculturals, due to feeling that they do not have to choose between two cultures, are able to make the smooth transition between their dual cultural knowledge frames. Conversely, low-integrated biculturals *do* feel the pressure to choose, however in being presented with a given cultural stimulus in their environment, feel that the culture not represented is under threat and therefore must be protected.

Cultural blendedness. Cultural blendedness, also referred to as cultural identity distance, compartmentalization, hyphenation, or blending⁴, refers to how biculturals perceive the “distance or compartmentalization between [their] cultural identities” (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005, p. 1022). Benet-Martínez and Haritatos further noted that blendedness may be related to concepts such as cultural identity fusion and alternation as discussed by LaFromboise et al. (1993) and Phinney and DeVich-Navarro (1997). Despite its status in the current bicultural literature as a recognized construct (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005), and despite being represented via scale items in the BIIS-2 (the most recent version of the scale used to assess BII;

⁴ As with cultural harmony, different research groups refer to *cultural blendedness* in a variety of ways. As the BII scale items are coded such that higher ratings indicate higher levels of blendedness, we will utilize *cultural blendedness* for the remainder of this discussion unless there is reason to discuss other construct names specifically.

Huynh & Benet-Martínez, 2010), cultural blendedness has not yet been examined in detail in the research literature. In contrast to Mok's prolific usage of the BII-Harmony subscale, the BII-Blendedness subscale has only been empirically examined specifically in one study in relation to the BII-Harmony subscale (Miramontez et al., 2008).

Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997) argued that the issue of bicultural identities may be conceptualized as overlapping circles (see Figure 1). How a bicultural is situated amongst the dual cultural identities results in either a blended bicultural (cf. Birman, 1994) or an alternating bicultural (cf. LaFromboise et al., 1993). A blended bicultural may be akin to a bicultural high on cultural blendedness, while an alternating bicultural may be akin to a bicultural low on cultural blendedness. Therefore, a bicultural high on cultural blendedness may be able to easily switch between dual cultural identities, while a bicultural low on cultural blendedness would not be able to easily do so, if at all. This is supported by anecdotal evidence in the bicultural research community that shows high-BII individuals are more susceptible to cultural priming than low-BII individuals.

Results from Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) revealed cultural blendedness to be correlated with US identification, bicultural competence, separation, linguistic acculturative stress, cultural isolation, and the openness dimension of personality. Huynh (2009) further showed cultural blendedness to be correlated with US identification (.30, more so than BII-Harmony, .17), ethnic identity, acculturation attitudes, various acculturation stress factors (however less so than BII-Harmony), and the extraversion, agreeableness, and openness dimensions of personality. Table 3 presents a summary of correlations of cultural harmony and cultural blendedness with various outcome measures.

In general, we can see that there is some overlap with regard to how the two sub-facets of BII relate to various outcome measures. It is, however, unclear how harmony and blendedness relate to each other. Although factor analysis has shown a two-factor structure (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Huynh, 2009), correlational evidence of the two sub-scale scores is far from conclusive regarding their relationship, showing either no correlation (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005) or moderate correlation (around 0.3; Huynh, 2009; Miramontez et al., 2008). With regard to their nomological networks, cultural harmony primarily, and more strongly, relates to the psychological well-being factors of being a bicultural, while cultural blendedness more strongly relates to how a bicultural relates or identifies with different cultures.

Given that the two BII constructs have not yet been fully examined, it is unclear whether they might differ in their moderation effect upon different outcome measures. This is of particular importance given that most of the bicultural literature to-date has referred to the moderation effect of BII as a general BII moderation effect, despite the two BII constructs being measured separately in the BIIS-2 scale, with researchers advised to *not* combine the two sub-scales to form a general BII measurement (Huynh & Benet-Martínez, 2010). In addition, many prior studies have focused on harmony and implied the findings generalize to both BII constructs, while blendedness as an independent construct has not received similar attention. In short, there is a disconnect between the theoretical conceptualization of BII and its components, construct measurement, and typical operationalization that needs to be addressed in empirical research. The current study attempts to address this issue by examining the constructs separately, with a particular focus on blendedness. As identity conflict, and by extension harmony, is the primary driver behind the BII moderation effect discussed earlier, it is likely that the BII moderation

effect found in many bicultural studies is a result of the harmony aspect of biculturalism, with blendedness having little to no effect in terms of moderation.

The need to differentiate the moderating effects of blendedness and harmony is relevant to the current study, as the primary concern of this work is less related to affective outcomes, but rather identification related outcomes. Specifically, given previous research that has demonstrated blendedness' effect, and harmony's lack thereof, on identification (Miramontez et al., 2008), I can also expect blendedness will have more of an influence on the current study compared to harmony.

The distinction between harmony and blendedness is only one of the many issues and gaps that current bicultural research has not yet examined in sufficient detail. In the following section, I will discuss some of these issues in more detail, along with an examination of gaps in the literature that are important to the main question of the current study. I then discuss how the current study will attempt to address these questions and gaps in the literature.

Biculturals as Social Beings

The literature on biculturalism informs us that as an individual status, biculturalism is a complex construct in which cognition, behavior, and identity come together in the development of biculturals. The psychological well-being of a bicultural is highly dependent upon being competent, in order to interact in the various cultural environments, and also dependent upon achieving a degree of integration, in order for a bicultural to come to terms with who he or she is (cf. Benet-Martínez et al., 2002). However, despite much research on bicultural cognition, relatively little has been done to investigate the social psychology of biculturals, specifically how biculturals view and interact with others (cf. Brannen & Thomas, 2010; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997).

Most current studies that have utilized theories such as the social identity approach (SIA) have also tended to focus upon utilizing SIA to explain individual bicultural senses of self, rather than predict how biculturals will behave in social settings. It is important to note that although SIA, a fundamentally social-psychological approach, has indeed been used to examine biculturals, most of the dependent variables involved are related to internal cognition, rather than how biculturals evaluate the outside world. The lack of research on how biculturals relate and identify with others is puzzling, given not only academic discussions of bicultural identity (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Mok & Morris, 2012b), but also more practically the various distinctions that are prevalent within bicultural communities where phrases such as ABCs (American Born Chinese), FOBs (Fresh Off the Boat), or “Asian pride” are used to differentiate one group from another. Below I will discuss some of the research that cited social identity as the primary focus of their investigation of biculturals. I will also highlight the limitations in each study and whether social identity was truly examined..

Verkuyten and Pouliasi (2006) utilized SIA in order to examine the group identification of Greek-Dutch biculturals. Results showed that Greek-Dutch biculturals will self-identify more as either Greek or Dutch, depending on the cultural prime they were presented with, with Greek primes eliciting greater self-identification as Greek, while Dutch primes elicit greater self-identification as Dutch (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006). Again, it is important to note that of the dependent variables examined, group identification (Greek/Dutch), personal and collective self-evaluations (affective reactions towards the words “I” and “we”), self-stereotyping (self evaluations of various traits), and attitudes towards family integrity and friendship, most of the variables examine self-concept, rather than evaluations and attitudes towards others. Only one of the variables could potentially be used to examine more social interactions, which would be group identification. However even then the wording of the items used indicates self-identification, rather than attitudes towards others, i.e., "participants were asked to what extent they, internally [...], felt really Greek and the extent to which they felt really Dutch" (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006, p. 315).

Ng and Lai (2011) utilized social identity theory in order to examine Hong Kong biculturals, and discovered that bicultural individuals “strongly endorsed all three identities” (i.e., Chinese, Hongkonger, Hongkong Chinese) compared to individuals who were Sino- or Western-centric (Ng & Lai, 2011, p. 94). Similar results for American and Mexican identification were found for Mexican-Americans (Devos, 2006). Yasuda and Duan (2002), however, discovered that Asian-Americans have a higher sense of Asian identity than Asian international students, findings which are supported by Umana-Taylor’s (2004) study on the Mexican identities of Mexican-Americans. Once again, all four studies described here examine

self-identification, with the scale language asking how individuals felt about *themselves*, rather than *others*. Table 4 summarizes the studies described.

Zou, Morris, and Benet-Martínez's (2008) study on identification and dis-identification of biculturals offers some evidence on who biculturals might identify as their in-group or out-group. Their results suggest that the culturally consistent and contrastive behaviors discovered in earlier bicultural studies are driven by a bicultural's motivation to identify or dis-identify him- or herself with a given cultural group. Willadsen-Jensen and Ito's (2008) study examining Asian-American recognition of Asian and Caucasian faces likewise provided strong support not only for bicultural dual social identity, but also that Asian-American identification with one ethnicity or the other can be primed through a more Asian or a more Western contextual stimulus.

Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997) noted the importance of cultural identity in the identity establishment process and discovered three different types of biculturals, with each type of bicultural relating to their dual cultures differently. Biculturals who were blended had positive attitudes towards both cultures (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). Alternating biculturals, while still positive towards both cultures, were *more* positive towards their ethnic culture (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). The third group, separated biculturals, kept their dual cultures separate, and only felt positive towards their ethnic culture and, for some, rejected the mainstream American culture altogether (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). According to this method of categorization, biculturals as operationalized in the current literature, especially those who are highly blended, should be able to identify both cultures as possible in-groups.

Birman (1994)⁵ likewise pointed out that biculturalism can be defined via different combinations of bicultural behavior and identification. First, a bicultural may be *blended*, in

⁵Birman's four typologies discussed here predate the current bicultural paradigm. Therefore the names of the four typologies bear no relation to biculturalism concepts later developed.

which the individual not only identifies with both home and host cultures, but is also able to participate behaviorally in both. This type of bicultural may best be described as having created a hyphenated identity and most closely identify with other individuals with hyphenated identities. For example, an Asian-American would, instead of identifying with Asians or Americans, associate more with other Asian-Americans. Second, a bicultural may be *instrumental*, able to be behaviorally involved with home and host cultures but not identify with either. Although the individual in question may pass as a member of either culture quite competently, he or she will have a torn sense of identity, resulting in psychological marginalization (Birman, 1994). The third type of bicultural is the *integrated* bicultural, referring to individuals who are behaviorally competent in both home and host culture, however only identify with the home culture (Birman, 1994). The last type of bicultural, according to Birman, is the individual undergoing *identity exploration*. This type of individual is behaviorally involved with only the host culture and identifies exclusively with the home culture. This approach towards biculturalism informs us that although many of the definitions covered in Table 1 take the view that biculturalism is a developed process by which cognition leads to identity and behavior, the current approaches to biculturalism only encompass a narrow segment of a possible wider field.

Miramontez, Benet-Martínez, and Nguyen (2008) conducted one of the few studies to directly examine the issue of bicultural social identity in terms of self in relation to others, with focus on cultural blendedness. They found that high-BII Mexican Americans perceived an overlap in personality between themselves and how they perceived Anglo-American and Mexican personalities, while also perceiving an overlap between Anglo-American and Mexican personalities (Miramontez et al., 2008). This lends more support to the idea what biculturals may perceive both of their cultures as in-groups.

Ying, Lee, Tsai, Lee, and Tsang (2001) discovered that Chinese-Americans from different immigrant waves have different social network compositions. Those who were late immigrants, having immigrated after the age of 12, were more likely to have social networks composed largely of Chinese people, while those born in the US were more like to have mixed-race social networks. Chinese-Americans who were early immigrants had social network compositions in between the two respective groups. Mok et al. (2007) further discovered that high BII Asian-American biculturals tend to have more non-Chinese friends who are more interconnected within the bicultural social network (Mok et al., 2007). Given the positive correlation between level of BII and length of American cultural and linguistic exposure found in many bicultural studies (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Cheng et al., 2006), biculturals may begin to develop their second culture social network throughout their acculturation process, becoming more embedded within the given second culture society.

Although many studies have utilized social identity theory towards the examination of biculturals, most have sought to answer the question of how biculturals view themselves (e.g., “Do I feel more American?” or “Do I feel more Asian?”). While it would then be logical to extend this line of reasoning by asking “How do biculturals view others?”, the two types of questions, while related, may not necessarily be equivalent. Hogg, Terry, and White (1995) in their discussion differentiating between identity theory and social identity theory, noted that although the two share many similarities, each theory makes distinct assumptions regarding identity, and seek to explain different phenomena. Most succinctly, identity theory seeks to “explain individuals’ role-related behaviors, while social identity theory [...] sets out to explain group processes and intergroup relations” (Hogg et al., 1995, p. 255). Even more importantly, identity theory “places little emphasis on the impact of people’s identities on their relations with

out-group others” (Hogg et al., 1995, p. 264) and focuses on individualistic outcomes, while for social identity the emphasis is on how a salient social identity influences “people’s perceptions of and conduct towards others” (Hogg et al., 1995, p. 264). Therefore, in order for social identity theory to be put to full use, the given outcome variable of a study must concern perceptions of and conduct towards others, rather than being limited to self-views or self identification, which would fall into the realm of self-identity research.

From the above discussion we can see that despite the current wealth of research on biculturals as individuals, little has been done on the more social aspects of being a bicultural, how the bicultural self relates to others. The research results discussed above addressed mostly the motivations behind bicultural self-identification. While some initial research has begun to investigate bicultural interactions with the external world, such as Kim-Jo, Benet-Martínez, and Ozer’s (2010) study on bicultural conflict resolution styles, most research still focuses upon the *social-self*, rather than the *social-self* of biculturals, and therefore has not yet made predictions on how biculturals would perceive and conduct themselves towards others. In the following section I will begin with an introduction of the social identity approach, followed by research on how individuals organize multiple social identities.

In-groups and Out-groups

The social identity approach. The dual theories of social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and self-categorization theory (SCT; Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987), referred to jointly as the social identity approach, describe the influence of group identity upon individuals. Tajfel and Turner argued that individuals may derive a *social identity* from any arbitrary group membership, the “minimal group paradigm” (Tajfel, 1970). Group formation need not have a rich history of interaction between group members. The formation of

a group identity may be as arbitrary as a laboratory experiment assigned group membership (Tajfel, 1970), or even as innocuous as a given shirt or uniform color (Rehm, Steinleitner, & Lilli, 1987). The mere fact of an individual belonging to a group gives rise to the “us” and “them” mentality, driving individuals to positively evaluate the “us” versus the “them”, and by extension leading to in-group favoritism, in order to maintain a positive self-image (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Turner’s SCT further extends the social identity view by noting that individuals will utilize fuzzy prototypes, i.e. stereotypical views of in-group and out-group members, in order to describe them (Turner et al., 1987). This adaptation of a prototypical view of in-group and out-group members prescribes “attitudes, emotions, and behaviours” that are appropriate to the given group context (Hornsey, 2008). Of relevance to the current discussion, Turner also notes that individuals possess multiple self-concepts which may be activated depending on the specific situation. One particular aspect of an individual’s self-concept may become more salient given a social context which allows for the greatest fit of said self-concept (Turner et al., 1987).

Combined, the social identity approach informs us that through group membership individuals become part of a larger whole, treating in-group members with more deference compared to out-group members (Hornsey, 2008). The phenomenon of in-group favoritism and out-group derogation has since received much empirical support in a variety of settings (Hertel & Kerr, 2001; Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 1996; Messick & Mackie, 1989; Otten & Wentura, 1999; Pinter & Greenwald, 2011; Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961; Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971). Brewer's (1999b) review of intergroup bias studies further highlights the role that in-group favoritism plays in the social identity process, noting that the primary

driver of intergroup bias is that of preference for the in-group, rather than hostility towards the out-group.

Crossed-categorization. Although the SIA informs us on in-group favoritism, the minimal group paradigm approach utilized is constrained to a laboratory setting, where artificial, short-living, and singular social identities are constructed. In real life, most social identities tend to be much more complex, and most individuals possess multiple social identities, any of which may be made salient at a given time depending upon environmental and social cues (Turner et al., 1987). Brewer and colleagues (Brewer & Pierce, 2005; Roccas & Brewer, 2002) note that the self is not contained within the individual, but rather derived from numerous in-group memberships. Who, or which group, is seen as the in-/out-group at a given time depends on how an individual organizes their multiple social identities, either via intersection, dominance, compartmentalization, or merger (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Using biculturals as an example, intersection would indicate a blended identity straddling both cultural identities, e.g. a hyphenated identity in which only individuals who “share both ethnic heritage and residence in the host society” are seen as in-groups (Roccas & Brewer, 2002, p. 92). Dominance would indicate the adaptation of the bicultural’s host culture as the in-group, casting the ethnic culture as the out-group (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). However, within the dominance situation it is also possible that a given bicultural may engage in the reverse and opt to view of the ethnic culture as the in-group, and the host culture as the out-group, per the acculturation typologies outlined by Berry et al. (1989) and Rudmin (2003). Compartmentalization would call for a bicultural to alternate between social identities, adjusting behavior depending upon the social and cultural context (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). The final method of organizing multiple social identities,

integration, would allow a bicultural to simultaneously view both social identities as in-groups (Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

The possibility of multiple combinations of in-group and out-groups has come to be called *crossed-categorization*, in which “people who belong to an individual’s membership group according to one categorization simultaneously belong to a different group according to a second categorization” (Hewstone, Islam, & Judd, 1993, p. 779), resulting in four possible combinations an individual may use to organize their crossed-categories: in-group/in-group, in-group/out-group and out-group/in-group, and out-group/out-group. Table 5 provides the various in- and out-group combinations. In the current study I will refer to in-group/in-group as full in-groups, in-group/out-group and out-group/in-group as partial in-groups, and out-group/out-group as full out-groups. The crossed-categorization phenomenon has been demonstrated in both laboratory-induced minimal groups (Crisp & Hewstone, 2000), and also real world group memberships (Crisp & Hewstone, 2001; Hewstone et al., 1993; Singh, Yeoh, Lim, & Lim, 1997).

Brewer, Ho, Lee, and Miller’s (1987) study on the intergroup identification of Hong Kong schoolchildren is particularly informative regarding how biculturals could organize crossed-categories. Hong Kong has been identified as a society which sits upon the intersection of Eastern (Cantonese) and Western (British) cultures (Y.-Y. Hong et al., 2000). In addition, Hong Kong during the time of Brewer’s study (1980s) also maintained a separate identity distinction from Mainland China, an issue Hong Kong continues to grapple with after the 1997 transition (Brewer, 1999a). Brewer et al. (1987) discovered that when presented with profiles of other schoolchildren, Hong Kong schoolchildren, consistent with the crossed-categorization predictions, rated other Cantonese (full in-groups) the highest in terms of similarity to self and

intimacy, Indians (representing full out-groups) the lowest, and Shanghai and American targets (representing partial in-groups) between Cantonese and Indians. Additionally, the effect size of evaluations of in-group and out-group members of the same sex were greater than those of cross-sex evaluations, with differences in the evaluation of ethnicities only apparent in same-sex situations (Brewer et al., 1987).

Biculturals and Reward/Punishment

The exploration of bicultural social identity opens up many possible venues for the study of biculturals within organizations. Although the roots of bicultural research lie in the realm of social cognitive psychology, the implications for organization research have already been recognized and investigated by scholars (Brannen & Thomas, 2010; Mok et al., 2010). Results from many fields within organizational behavior research could be applied towards the investigation of biculturals within organizations, such as performance appraisal (Mok et al., 2010), group cohesion (Levine & Moreland, 1990; Moreland & McMinn, 1999), group performance (H.-J. Hong, 2010; Lount Jr. & Phillips, 2007), and intercultural negotiation (Adair, Okumura, & Brett, 2001; Kern, Lee, Aytug, & Brett, 2010). In particular, Mok et al. (2010) discovered that high-BII Asian-Americans applied more American explanations (i.e., dispositional attributions) to employee performance when exposed to the American cultural prime, while low-BII Asian-Americans applied more Asian explanations (i.e., situational attributions) to employee performance under the same priming condition. Given existing research on bicultural performance appraisal, it would be natural to investigate employee discipline (coercion of "punishment") with regard to bicultural identity. Both reward and discipline are used in organizational settings. In particular, Hogg and Terry's (2000) discussion on the effects of in-group and out-group differentiation in the workplace note that within an organizational setting, individuals tend to be harsher towards deviant in-group members than deviant out-group members, a phenomenon described as the "black sheep effect".

Black Sheep Effect

Marques and colleagues observed that judgments and reactions towards in-group members tend to swing in further extremes than those about out-group members (Marques et al.,

1988). When in-group members uphold the in-group prototype and values, they are favored over out-group members, as the Social Identity Approach would predict. However, when in-group members violate the expected in-group prototype and values, they are also punished more harshly than out-group members who commit the same violations, a characteristic response dubbed the “black sheep effect” (Marques et al., 1988). This extreme reaction against in-group violators of the group norm serves as a form of in-group favoritism, albeit placing favoritism for the group over favoritism over individual members of the group. If the goal of in-group favoritism is to preserve a positive group self-image, then likewise the black sheep effect of treating in-group violators more harshly is operating towards the goal of preserving a positive group self-image by punishing the deviant (Marques et al., 1988). Studies have found that group deviants are viewed as possessing less likeable and less attractive personal characteristics, and punished more harshly compared to normative group members or even deviant out-group members (Abrams, Marques, Brown, & Dougill, 2002; Brown & Abrams, 2003; Shinada, Yamagishi, & Ohmura, 2004; Wellen & Neale, 2006). The primary motivation behind this extremism is that the presence of an in-group deviant is essentially seen as a threat to the prototypicality of the group and the other members of the group (Branscombe, Wann, Noel, & Coleman, 1993; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001). A deviant in-group member would also threaten the positive esteem group members hold for their own group above other out-groups.

It is important to note that the deviants being evaluated must be salient to the social identity of the evaluator — something that makes this phenomenon particularly relevant to the current discussion of biculturals — Pinto and colleagues’ study discovered that the evaluation of targets is moderated by the membership status of the target such that full members were evaluated more extremely than partial or out-group members (Pinto, Marques, Levine, &

Abrams, 2010). Gollwitzer and Keller (2010) similarly discovered that responses towards deviant behavior are more negative when the target is a member of the in-group versus the out-group. Therefore, the deviant in question must be first recognized as being an in-group member, and therefore a threat to the prototypically and positive esteem of the in-group, in order for the extremity of judgment to take effect. The black sheep effect presents an interesting scenario for biculturals, as they can potentially have two cultural identities, either of which can be made more salient depending on the context. While bicultural identities, and multiple social identities, has been discussed in their respective literature, the black sheep effect thus far has only been experimentally examined in relation to a singular social identity, making the question of multiple identities vis-à-vis the black sheep phenomenon to be even more tantalizing.

The black sheep literature additionally emphasizes the evaluation of the deviant *actor* engaged in the behavior, and does not indicate whether different *types* of deviant behavior will have an effect upon the evaluation of the target, so long as the behavior of the actor reflects negatively upon the group as a whole. Many of the different types of deviant behavior used in previous black sheep hypothesis research, such as variations of theft (Gollwitzer & Keller, 2010; Lieberman & Linke, 2007), inappropriate physical behavior (Chekroun & Nugier, 2011), or misuse of information (Eidelman & Biernat, 2003), have all been successful in triggering the black sheep effect. Even though common typologies of deviant behavior on the workplace have been careful to note that workplace deviant behavior is distinct from deviant behavior that violate group norms (Robinson & Bennett, 1995), for the purposes of this study the focus will be upon any deviant behavior that is both against the organization's legitimate interests (see Sackett & DeVore, 2001) and that could negatively reflect upon the group.

Study Hypotheses

Given the black sheep phenomenon discussed earlier in this section, combined with our understanding of biculturals and the social identity approach, I can make predictions regarding how biculturals would respond when faced with deviant in-group members from either of their two cultural identities, specifically to answer this question: *Given the activation of one of a bicultural's specific cultural identities, will he or she allocate punishment to deviant employees of different cultural backgrounds differently based on whether he or she views them as an in-group or out-group member?* Previous research has indicated that bicultural identity may be primed, resulting in varying views of the overlap of personality profiles between the other and self (Miramontez et al., 2008). It is therefore possible for biculturals to identify specific cultural groups as the in-group depending on the cultural prime. In the case of the black sheep effect, this would suggest that biculturals will evaluate their primed in-group more harshly than the unprimed in-group in situations of employee deviance.

H1: Biculturals with one of their cultural identities primed will punish a deviant individual from the primed group more harshly than a deviant individual from the unprimed group.

Discussions on multiple social identities also note that the multiple social identities within a given individual tend to be correlated, such that it is possible that the activation of one social identity might have an effect upon other social identities (Ashforth, Harrison, & Corley, 2008). Results from bicultural research that has taken cultural identification measurements show mixed results, with some showing a positive correlation (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005), some showing a negative correlation (Cheng et al., 2006), and some showing no correlation between measures assessing identification with the two cultures (Mok & Morris, 2010a, 2013;

Zou et al., 2008). Hewstone et al.'s (1993) experimental results indicated that comparatively, representatives of an individual's partial in-groups would be evaluated most favorable as in-groups, while representatives of an individual's complete out-groups would be evaluated least favorably and thus be out-groups. Therefore, a deviant who does not represent any of the cultural identities of a bicultural, and therefore is a full out-group member per the crossed categorization (Hewstone et al., 1993), would be punished less harshly than any of the partial in-groups.

H2: The punishment meted out by biculturals towards both possible in-groups will be more harsh than that given to a neutral out-group member.

Given research on the BII moderation effect upon biculturals, I likewise expect BII to moderate who biculturals will identify with. However, as the two components of BII have been shown to be related to different outcomes of biculturalism (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005), I expect that cultural blendedness, being more related to the *perceptual* and *performance* aspects of biculturalism (Miramontez et al., 2008), will drive the moderation effect, as the outcomes of interest in this study do not belong to the realm of acculturation stress or psychological distress. The culturally contrastive responses of low-BII biculturals and congruent responses of high-BII to cultural stimulus material (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002) would predict that given an American prime, the former might identify Asian targets as the in-group, while the latter might identify American targets as such.

H3a: Given a prime, low BII-Blendedness biculturals will punish a culturally contrastive other more harshly, while punishing a culturally congruent less harshly.

H3b: Given a prime, high BII-Blendedness biculturals will punish a culturally congruent other more harshly, while identifying a culturally contrastive other less harshly.

Study 1

Study 1 Methodology

Hewstone, Rubin, and Willis (2002) recommend that when conducting research relating to multiple social identities, “the effect of being categorized should be separated from the effect of judging a target who is categorized as a group member” (Hewstone et al., 2002, p. 579). That is, a given experimental participant should be categorized into all the possible social groups relevant to the study, and judge all possible social group members: in-group, out-group, and a neutral group. Therefore, for this study participants will evaluate all possible in- and out-group membership combinations.

Classic investigations on intergroup bias have tended to use tools such as Prisoner’s Dilemma Games or Tajfel Matrices (Messick & Mackie, 1989), while contemporary studies have utilized explicit evaluations of attributes or performance, in addition to other implicit measures, such as indirect self-report measures or response-latency procedures (Hewstone et al., 2002). Dovidio and colleagues argue that explicit and implicit measures of intergroup bias may diverge from one another when sensitive minority issues, such as those of race and gender, are examined (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Beach, 2003; Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997). It should be noted, however, that Dovidio and colleagues’ examinations of the divergence of explicit measures and implicit measures of intergroup bias, via laboratory experiments (Dovidio et al., 1997) and meta-analysis (Dovidio et al., 2003), are focused upon the evaluation of Whites towards African-Americans, which may be a particularly sensitive racial issue in an US context. As the current study intends to investigate the evaluation of Asian-Americans towards other Asians and Americans, I do not expect sensitivity issues to be a major concern. Additionally,

this study will not utilize traditional verbal methods of intergroup bias evaluation (see below), which should also alleviate possible sensitivity issues.

Participant recruitment. The participants for this study were recruited from the combined participant pool of the Management and Psychology Departments at Baruch College. A simple power analysis indicated that in order to detect a moderately large effect size (e.g., group mean-score difference of 0.50 standard deviation units or above between any two groups) about 25 participants would be needed for each study condition (without correction for multiple comparisons). Given that this study is a 2 (priming condition) \times 3 (evaluation targets) design, this would require me to recruit 150 or more participants. The language of the recruitment material posted on the participant pool recruitment website requested "East Asians and East Asian-Americans" to participate in a study investigating how individuals evaluated "deviant workplace behavior engaged in by different types of employees".

Procedure. All participants completed study materials online. The survey website was programmed in a manner that provided a controlled experimental environment in which participants were exposed to the cultural priming materials, described below, for a set amount of time.

Cultural priming. A wide variety of cultural priming methods were available for the purposes of this study. Classic cultural icon priming methods expose participants to culturally meaningful graphic scenes (e.g., Great Wall of China or Capitol Hill as used in Y.-Y. Hong et al., 2000), with some studies asking participants to consciously identify the culture that is evoked through the aforementioned scenes (Ng & Lai, 2009) and to describe what the thoughts evoked by the cultural icons are (Mok & Morris, 2009). Additionally, language priming methods, which activate the cultural knowledge frameworks of the participants by simply altering the language of

the experimental material either in terms of aural, spoken, or written material, are also methods to prime cultures. The language priming method has been widely used in a variety of studies and has been shown to be effective in eliciting culturally-appropriate personality profiles, cognition, and behaviors in biculturals (Chen & Bond, 2010; Kern et al., 2010; Ramirez-Esparza et al., 2006). Additionally, there are also studies that have used both types of cultural priming methods simultaneously, exposing research participants to cultural icon primes, and presenting research material and questionnaires in prime-consistent languages (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2006).

For Study 1, a combination of priming methods was utilized in order to attain the strongest possible cultural priming effect. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two cultural priming conditions: American or Asian. The graphical priming material, show in Figure 2, and method were drawn from Mok's series of bicultural studies (Mok & Morris, 2012a, 2013), as opposed to the graphical priming methods utilized by Hong et al.'s (2000) classic studies, as the Mok primes are more relevant to daily life and therefore should resonate more with participants.

Within each condition, each image was shown to participants for a minimum of five seconds before participants were allowed to proceed to the next item, in order to ensure that the participants were able to properly process the contents of each image. The minimum time limit was enforced by a timing function within the survey software. After being shown each image, participants were then asked to describe the thoughts, feelings, emotions, or memories evoked by the images in order to reinforce the prime. After the entire set of four images within each priming condition was shown to the participants, they were asked to identify the culture represented by the total image set.

Stimulus material. Following the cultural prime, participants were asked to read an introduction of a company in order to provide a setting for the experimental material consisting of employee behavior vignettes presented to them later in this study. The initial scenario description presented was (prime-based modifications are displayed in brackets):

A&B International Corporation is a global conglomerate with headquarters in the US [Asia]. You are part of a joint international audit team for A&B International Corporation. The audit team brings together a selection of high level managers from around the world and works in conjunction with an external accounting firm. You have been highly recommended by the business unit in your country to participate in the audit team.

The role of the audit team is twofold: First, to audit issues concerning budget and equipment of the Corporation to ensure proper usage, and second, to minimize the Corporation's risk exposure due to lawsuits or other related issues. Over the course of the audit your team has uncovered several incidences around the world for which your team must make recommendations regarding how the Corporation should handle them. Your role is to go through several of these issues and recommend what you believe is the most appropriate course of action for the Corporation.

Deviance operationalization. After reading the company description, participants were given a set of six vignettes that illustrated deviant employee behavior (work behavior contrary to the organization's legitimate goals): stealing from the company, misuse of company time and resources, destruction of company property, inappropriate verbal actions, stealing from the individual, and destruction of personal property. The vignettes were designed to cover the two commonly measured broad aspects of counterproductive work behaviors (organizationally and

interpersonally targeted deviance), and to span different content domains (e.g., withdrawal, property deviance, incivility). The vignettes are provided in Appendix A.

Evaluation targets. In order to determine participants' reaction towards the different groups, participants were asked to recommend a course of action towards the offending employee in each scenario. Each participant was randomly presented with one of three sets of evaluation targets: Asian, American, and Indian. Each of these targets represented a possible in-group, out-group, or neutral group depending on the prime and condition. The cultural identity of the evaluation targets was invoked by manipulating the names described in the vignette in such a way that all participants read about individuals identified only by their first initial and last name, with last names carrying the cultural information (E.g., A. Li/A. Lacey/A. Lachwani). Gender for the individuals in the vignette was not specified. Aside from the name change, all other elements within the vignettes were identical, with participants being shown the complete set of all six vignettes involving evaluation targets of identical cultural origins.

Responses to deviance. Measurement of participants' reactions towards the deviance vignettes was conducted via a combination of various deviance response scales. Gollwitzer and Keller's (2010) deviance response scale is a scale measuring three aspects of reactions towards in-group deviance, using between 1 and 3 items per aspect, each evaluated on a six-point scale: anger/outrage, societal concerns, and punishment severity. There are three anger/outrage items: "I am outraged about this employee", "I am angry about this offense", and "I am angry about the employee". In the present sample, internal consistency reliabilities (Cronbach's alpha) of scores ranged from .83 to .91 across vignettes, with an overall $\alpha = .89$. There are two societal concerns items: "I think this deed threatens the normative cohesion among us employees" and "These people threaten the validity of important norms among us employees" ($\alpha = .86 - .93$ across

vignettes, with overall $\alpha = .90$. There are three punishment severity items: “To what extent should the [employee’s] behavior be punished”, “How severe the punishment should be”, and “The [employee] should be severely punished” ($\alpha = .87 - .93$ across vignettes, with overall $\alpha = .88$).

The Punishment severity portion of the scale was augmented by Lieberman and Linke’s (2007) deviance punishment items, which asks respondents to assign hypothetical monetary fines (overall $\alpha = .72$ across vignettes) and suspension (overall $\alpha = .75$ across vignettes) for the deviance in question. Items are presented in Appendix B. Due to the combination of two scales with punishment-centric items, I made a distinction between the two by labeling the items from Gollwitzer and Keller (2010) as “felt punishment”, and the items from Lieberman and Linke as “assigned punishment”, as the former asked the participants how they felt, while the latter asked the participants to assign an actual punishment for the deviant behavior in question.

Behavioral acculturation. It was important to determine whether the Asian-American participants in this study were acculturated in both of their cultural backgrounds. Tsai, Ying, and Lee’s (2000) Chinese and American versions of the General Ethnicity Questionnaire (GEQ) were adapted for this study. The GEQ is a general behavioral measure of acculturation that can be tailored to the culture of interest, and has been used by Tsai and colleagues to examine acculturation behavior of Asian and American cultures, with items such as “I listen to American [Asian] music”, and “I celebrate American [Asian] holidays” (GEQ-American, $\alpha = .90$; GEQ-Asian, $\alpha = .90$, in the present sample). The two scales may be used together to determine an individual’s bicultural acculturation status. A detailed description of the items is presented in Appendix D.

Bicultural identity integration. Measurement of BII was conducted utilizing the latest version of the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale (BIIS-2; Huynh & Benet-Martínez, 2010; Huynh, 2009). This version of the BIIS contains two subscales, one for assessing a bicultural's sense of harmony, with items such as "I find it easy to harmonize Asian and American cultures" and "I feel that my Asian and American cultures are complementary" ($\alpha = .86$ in the present sample). The other subscale assesses a bicultural's sense of blendedness, with items such as "I feel Asian and American at the same time" and "I feel part of a combined culture" ($\alpha = .81$ in the present sample). The items are presented in Appendix C.

Demographics background. At the conclusion of the study, participants were asked to complete a detailed demographics questionnaire designed primarily to collect information about the immigration status and cultural exposure of the participants and their parents, with most of the variables operationalized in a quantitative manner, e.g., number of years. This differs from the acculturation information gathered by the GEQ, as the GEQ collects behavioral, attitudinal, and linguistic data, while the demographics sheet collects such data as citizenship status, immigration generation, and number of years spent in various countries. This nuanced assessment allowed me to also explore some of the distinctions of biculturalism definitions, compared to past studies that have used more rigid cut-offs in recruiting participants (see discussion in "Operationalization of Biculturalism"). The items are presented in Appendix E.

Study 1 Results

Sample characteristics. A total of 343 participants signed up for the study. After filtering out incomplete responses, non-East Asian participants, mixed-race participants⁶,

⁶ Discussions comparing biculturals (individuals who obtain dual cultural knowledge frames an identities due to acculturation via immigration) and biracials (individuals who obtain their dual-culturalism through having parents of different ethnicities) have noted the two, while related, are distinct (cf. Cheng & Lee, 2009; Cuyjet, 2008; Marks, Patton, & Coll, 2011). As the focus of this dissertation is on biculturals, biracials were excluded from analysis.

participants who did not finish the survey between 15 to 90 minutes, and participants who were shown as being on mobile phone devices, 184 responses remained. Incomplete responses were identified automatically by the online survey website. Non-East Asian participants were identified through a combination of self-identified ethnicity (participants were allowed to select multiple ethnicities), and the cultural background of both parents. Responses were filtered for response time as analysis of the response times present showed wide variance, ranging from less than 8 minutes to over 76 hours. Mobile devices were identified via use of browser meta-data records. Mobile phones as the relatively smaller screen size of mobile phones would require participants to either scroll in order to view the entire image, or view the entire image in a size that may not be sufficient to discern the crucial culture-centric elements contained with.

Of the 184 participants, 111 (60.3%) self-identified as Asian-American, 114 (62%) identified as Chinese, 19 (10.3%) identified as Korean, and 2 (1.1%) identified as Taiwanese. In terms of gender, 46.2% of the participants were male and 53.3% were female, with 1 (0.5%) that did not identify their sex. The mean age of the sample population was 21.73 years old ($SD = 2.95$).

Most (51.1%) of the participants in Study 1 were first generation immigrants who were born overseas (predominantly China, 40.8%) and later moved to the US, with 43.5% who were second generation born in the US to parents who immigrated, and 5.4% being third generation and beyond. Amongst the first generation immigrants, 15.1% had been in the US for at least four years, and 10.4% had been in the US at least 7 years.

The self-reported acculturation measures indicate that the Asian-American participants recruited for Study 1 were significantly more acculturated in Asian culture ($M = 3.72$, $SD = 0.46$) than American culture ($M = 3.31$, $SD = 0.51$), $t(183) = -7.09$, $p < .05$, with the two

measures of acculturation being negatively correlated with each other. These results are in line with acculturation results obtained in Tsai et al.'s (2000) examination of different Chinese-American groups using the GEQ, and with those obtained by Miramontez et al. (2008) who likewise discovered significantly differing levels of acculturation in Mexican-Americans. Taking into account previous discussions on acculturation and biculturalism, the current Asian-American sample is therefore bicultural. The correlations for the variables investigated in Study 1, along with the means and standard deviations for each, are presented in Table 6.

Analysis. In order to test Hypothesis 1, an ANOVA analysis was first conducted in order to determine whether the priming had any effect on the black sheep evaluation outcomes for each target, while controlling for level of acculturation in both cultures. Table 7 shows the means and standard deviations for all of the conditions, and the effect sizes of the comparison for all conditions across priming conditions. Results showed no effect for any of the Prime \times Target conditions in terms of conventional statistical significance. However, the results did show medium to strong effect sizes. More specifically, the interaction effect for Felt Anger showed that the Asian-American biculturals felt more Anger towards Caucasian targets when exposed to the American primes ($n = 27$, $M = 3.83$, $SD = 0.50$) than when exposed to the Asian primes ($n = 30$, $M = 3.60$, $SD = 0.42$) in terms of a medium effect size that is practically meaningful, $d = 0.50$ (95% CI = 0.06, 0.94). The participants also felt more Societal Concern towards the Caucasian targets when exposed to the American primes ($n = 27$, $M = 4.00$, $SD = 0.38$) than when exposed to the Asian primes ($n = 30$, $M = 3.61$, $SD = 0.60$), in terms of a strong effect size $d = 0.77$ (95% CI = 0.32, 1.22), as well as Felt Punishment when exposed to the American primes ($n = 27$, $M = 3.40$, $SD = 0.57$) than when exposed to the Asian primes ($n = 30$, $M = 3.14$, $SD = 0.46$), in terms of a medium effect size $d = 0.51$ (95% CI = 0.06, 0.95). For the assigned punishment outcomes

the effect sizes were smaller; the participant assigned heavier fines towards the Caucasian targets when exposed to the American primes ($n = 27$, $M = 2.78$, $SD = 0.76$) than when exposed to the Asian primes ($n = 30$, $M = 2.66$, $SD = 0.72$), $d = 0.17$ (95% CI = -0.26, 0.61), as well as lengthier suspensions when exposed to the American primes ($n = 27$, $M = 2.46$, $SD = 0.78$) than when exposed to the Asian primes ($n = 30$, $M = 2.44$, $SD = 0.84$), $d = 0.03$ (95% CI = -0.41, 0.46). Figure 3 presents the Cohen's d values and 95% CI for all of the dependent variables. Overall, the participants exhibited more extreme responses towards the Caucasian targets under the American priming condition than the Asian priming condition. Therefore, Hypothesis 1 was partially supported.

In order to test Hypothesis 2 the dependent variables for the Asian and Caucasian targets were compared to the Indian targets in both priming conditions. Results show that the although participants exhibited overall more extreme responses towards the Asian and American targets than the Indian targets under the American priming condition, and overall less extreme responses towards the Asian and American targets than the Indian targets under the Asian priming condition, the effect sizes were generally small. Table 8 reports the Cohen's d and 95% CI for the comparisons, and Figure 4 presents the Cohen's d and 95% CI for all of the dependent variables for all of the targets compared to the Indian targets in both priming conditions. The results do not support Hypothesis 2 in that while most of the primed groups were punished more harshly than the unprimed groups, the supposedly neutral Indian targets were not punished least harshly in any of the priming conditions.

In order to examine the BII moderation effect proposed in Hypotheses 3a and 3b, regression analysis was conducted on each of the sub-samples separately. Regression analyses were conducted while controlling for acculturation for both of the cultures measured. All of the

control and moderating variables were centered prior to running the analysis. Analyses showed significant results for the Asian and Indian targets on a limited number of the dependent variables. There were no significant interaction effects for the Caucasian targets. Tables 9, 10, and 11 report the regression results for the Asian, Caucasian, and Indian targets respectively.

Regression results for the Asian targets revealed a significant Prime \times BII-Blendedness interaction for Felt Punishment at $p < 0.05$. The significant interaction is presented in Figure 5, plotted at one standard deviation above and below the moderator, and shows that the priming had different effects on how high and low BII-Blendedness individuals reacted towards Asian deviants. Specifically, low BII-Blendedness individuals felt the Asian deviants should be punished more harshly under the American priming condition, while high BII-Blendedness individuals felt the Asian deviants should be punished more harshly under the Asian priming condition. In essence, the low BII-Blendedness individuals exhibited contrastive responses to the prime when responding to in-group deviants, while high BII-Blendedness individuals exhibited congruent responses to the prime when responding to in-group deviants.

Regression results for the Indian targets revealed a significant Prime \times BII-Blendedness interaction for Suspension at $p < 0.05$. The significant interaction is presented in Figure 6, plotted at one standard deviation above and below the moderator, and shows that the priming had different effects on how high and low BII-Blendedness individuals reacted towards Indian deviants. Specifically, low BII-Blendedness individuals assigned lengthier suspensions to the Indian deviants under the Asian priming condition, while for high BII-Blendedness individuals they assigned lengthier suspensions to the Indian deviants under the American priming condition. Supporting the moderation results discussed for the Asian deviants, the low BII-Blendedness individuals exhibited contrastive responses to the prime when responding to in-

group deviants, while high BII-Blendedness individuals exhibited congruent responses to the prime when responding to in-group deviants.

The combined results of the moderation effect for the Asian deviants and the Indian deviants provides support for Hypotheses 3a and 3b, albeit only with regard to the two conditions described. Therefore, Hypotheses 3a and 3b are partially supported.

Study 1 Discussion

The results from Study 1 are mixed in that Hypotheses 1 was partially supported, Hypothesis 2 was not supported, while Hypotheses 3a and 3b were partially supported. Table 12 presents a summary of all the hypotheses and the results vis-à-vis support for each hypothesis. However, even though Hypotheses 1 and 3 were only partially supported, a closer investigation of the effects the cultural priming had on each target reveals an interesting effect in the overall directions of the Priming \times Target interaction, which can be seen in Figure 7. In particular, the largest shift in terms of response towards deviance occurred for the Caucasian targets, with smaller shifts for the Asian and Indian targets, indicating the cultural priming had more of an effect on the assessment of the American targets. It seems the identification of Americans as in-groups is more elastic and can be primed, while the identification of Asians and Indians as in-groups is relatively inelastic. It is possible that the phenomenon observed here is a result of how Asian-American biculturals view the various cultural groups around them. Other Asians, due to sharing backgrounds in terms of cultural of origin, will always be an in-group, therefore the in-/out-group status of other Asians is not mutable. Other Americans, while not sharing origin cultures, represent the host culture into which Hispanic-Americans are attempting to integrate into, and therefore may be in-groups or out-groups depending on the situation. Indians may represent cultural groups that are viewed as sharing little in common and viewed as out-groups,

and therefore the in-/out-group status is not mutable. This may explain the lack of support for Hypotheses 1 and 2.

Additionally, it is possible that the variance introduced by recruiting a general East Asian sample population, and thus needing to formulate the names of the deviants involved in each vignette, resulted in the participants being unable to specifically identify the various deviant targets as belonging to their own specific East Asian cultures and instead as being part of a general East Asian culture. This may have contributed to the lack of statistically significant findings by further reducing observed effects, and thus amplifying the issue of comparatively low power.

The partial support found for Hypotheses 3a and 3b provides evidence that BII-Blendedness does moderate how biculturals feel about deviants from different cultures. Additionally, the results obtained also indicate that the BII moderation effect is not limited to cognitive outcomes such as scene evaluation or creativity, but also how biculturals interact with other people.

While the results from Study 1 are informative, the sample population was limited to a single bicultural comparison - East Asian-Americans. In order to establish generalizability of the findings and determine whether effects are applicable to other bicultural groups, I conducted a second study on another bicultural sample population.

Study 2

Study 2 Methodology

Study 2 examined whether the results obtained in Study 1 generalized to other bicultural groups by applying the same experimental design to Hispanic biculturals. Some details were adjusted, as described below, in order to take into account unique characteristics of and experimental needs related to the Hispanic bicultural population.

Participant recruitment. The participants for Study 2 were recruited online through an online panel provider (Amazon's Mechanical Turk [M-Turk] program). Amazon's M-Turk is a panel sourcing initiative that allows for the recruitment of individuals around the world to engage in simple tasks. As with Study 1, power analysis indicated that the design would require a sample size of 150 or more participants to detect an effect of moderate size with relative confidence. The language of the recruitment material posted on M-Turk requested "Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, or Cubans" to participate in a study investigating how individuals evaluated "deviant workplace behavior engaged in by different types of employees". Due to issues with recruiting residents of bicultural and bilingual societies such as Hong Kong or Singapore in bicultural research (Merunka, 2013), recruitment was restricted to those whose geolocation (as determined by M-Turk) were in the continental US, thus limiting the sample population to participants who were in the US and excluding residents of Puerto Rico.

Procedure. As with Study 1, all participants completed study materials online. The survey website was programmed in a manner that provided a controlled experimental environment in which participants were exposed to the cultural priming materials, described below, for a set amount of time.

Cultural priming. The cultural primes used in Study 2 were adjusted for a Hispanic bicultural population. While the American cultural primes were drawn from Mok's series of studies (Mok & Morris, 2012a, 2013; Figure 2), a new set of Hispanic cultural primes had to be created, as no suitable primes were available in the research literature. For this purpose, I consulted with Hispanic bicultural individuals and experts. The resulting primes are presented in Figure 8. The primes were chosen to be as parallel to the Mok et al. primes (developed for Asian-Americans) as possible, in that they represented similar situations, themes and items as those stimuli (e.g., ethnic musicians, individuals socializing, culturally-specific food items). The method by which the cultural primes were displayed to participants was identical to that of Study 1.

Stimulus material. Following the cultural prime, participants read the same introductory material as with Study 1, with adjustments made to the priming language only, i.e.: " A&B International Corporation is a vertically integrated global conglomerate with employees and branch offices in the US [Latin America]."

Deviance operationalization. After reading the company description, participants were given the set of six deviance vignettes as with Study 1: stealing from the company, misuse of company time and resources, destruction of company property, inappropriate verbal actions, stealing from the individual, and destruction of personal property (again, see Appendix A).

Evaluation targets. As with Study 1, each participant was also randomly presented with one of three sets of evaluation targets: Hispanic, American, and Indian. Each of these targets represents a possible in-group, out-group, or neutral group depending on the prime and condition. The cultural identity of the evaluation targets was invoked by manipulating the names described in the vignette in such a way that all participants read about individuals identified only

by their first initial and last name, with last names carrying the cultural information (E.g., A. Lopez/A. Lacey/A. Lachwani). Gender for the individuals in the vignette was not specified. Aside from the name change, all other elements within the vignettes were identical, with participants being shown the complete set of all six vignettes involving evaluation targets of identical cultural origins.

Responses to deviance. To measure participants' reactions towards the deviance vignettes I utilized the same deviance response scales as used in Study 1. Internal consistency reliabilities for the Hispanic bicultural sample for the anger/outrage scale were .90 to .93 across vignettes, with overall $\alpha = .95$. For the two societal concerns items reliabilities ranged from .88 to .94 across vignettes, with overall $\alpha = .94$. For the three punishment severity items, the reliabilities ranged from .91 to .93 across vignettes, with overall $\alpha = .93$. For the deviance punishment items, the overall reliability was .69 across vignettes for fines, and .74 across vignettes for suspension.

Behavioral acculturation. For Study 2, Tsai, Ying, and Lee's (2000) Chinese and American versions of the General Ethnicity Questionnaire (GEQ) were likewise adapted for use. However, the phrasing within the GEQ was adjusted to suit a Hispanic bicultural population, with items such as "I listen to American [Hispanic] music", and "I celebrate American [Hispanic] holidays" (GEQ-American, $\alpha = .83$; GEQ-Hispanic, $\alpha = .93$).

Bicultural identity integration. Measurement of BII again relied on the BIIS-2 (Huynh & Benet-Martínez, 2010; Huynh, 2009). Sample items for the two respective subscales are "I find it easy to harmonize Hispanic and American cultures", "I feel that my Hispanic and American cultures are complementary" (BII-Harmony; $\alpha = .88$); "I feel Hispanic and American at the same time", "I feel part of a combined culture" (BII-Blendedness; $\alpha = .81$).

Demographics. At the conclusion of the study, participants were asked to complete the same demographics sheet as the one used for Study 1. For a detailed description of the items please refer to Appendix F.

Study 2 Results

Sample characteristics. A total of 237 participants were recruited, and after excluding incomplete responses, non-Hispanics, and mixed-race participants⁷, 145 responses remained. As with Study 1, incomplete responses were identified automatically by the online survey website. There were no unusual variances in terms of response time, therefore responses were not filtered by response time. All participants are identified by browser meta-data as taking part from a desktop computer.

Of the 145 participants, 145 self-identified as Hispanic, 36 identified as Hispanic-American/Latin-American, 73 identified as Puerto-Rican, 37 identified as Cuban, and 23 identified as Dominican. In terms of gender, 47.6% of the participants were male, 51% were female, and 1.4% did not indicate their sex. The mean age of the sample population was 30.29 years old ($SD = 8.38$).

Most (44.8%) of the participants in Study 1 were second generation immigrants who were born in the US to immigrant parents, with 33.1% who were first generation immigrants born overseas (predominantly in Cuba, 16.7%, and the Dominican Republic, 11.1%), and 17.9% being third generation and beyond. Amongst the first generation immigrants, 11.1% had been in the US for at least 20 years, and 9.7% had been in the US at least 10 years.

The self-reported acculturation measures indicate that the Hispanic-American participants recruited for Study 2 were significantly more acculturated in Hispanic culture ($M = 3.78$, $SD =$

⁷ As with Study 1, mixed-race participants were excluded due to the possible differences between bicultural and biracial individuals (cf. Cheng & Lee, 2009; Cuyjet, 2008; Marks et al., 2011).

0.60) than American culture ($M = 3.64$, $SD = 0.41$), $t(143) = -2.28$, $p < .05$. The results are once again in line with previous acculturation research and the results obtained in Study 1, therefore the Hispanic sample recruited for Study 2 were overall bicultural.

The correlations for the variables investigated in Study 2, along with the means and standard deviations for each, are presented in Table 13.

Analysis. In order to test Hypothesis 1, I conducted an ANOVA analysis in order to determine whether there was a Prime \times Target moderation effect for the black sheep outcomes for each target, while controlling for level of acculturation for both American and Hispanic cultures. Analysis showed there were no significant effects for Anger, Societal Concern, and Punishment. Analysis using Fine as the dependent variable showed that there was a significant interaction effect, $F(2, 134) = 3.47$, $p < 0.05$. Analysis using Suspension as the dependent variable showed that there was a significant interaction effect, $F(2, 134) = 3.15$, $p < 0.05$. The interaction effects for Fine and Suspension showed that the Hispanic-American biculturals fined the Caucasian targets less severely when exposed to the American primes ($n = 24$, $M = 2.55$, $SD = 0.71$) than when exposed to the Hispanic primes ($n = 28$, $M = 3.27$, $SD = 0.63$) in terms of statistical significance, $t(50) = -3.86$, $p < .05$, and strong effect sizes that are practically meaningful, $d = -1.08$ (95% CI = -1.57, -0.59). The participants also suspended the Caucasian target less severely when exposed to the American primes ($n = 24$, $M = 2.48$, $SD = 0.88$) than when exposed to the Hispanic primes ($n = 28$, $M = 3.24$, $SD = 0.64$) in terms of statistical significance, $t(50) = -3.62$, $p < .05$, $d = -1.00$ (95% CI = -1.48, -0.52). There were also small to medium effect sizes towards the Caucasian targets for Anger and Societal Concern. Punishment meted out to the Hispanic and Indian targets were not affected by the primes, with no results in terms of statistical significance, and also a small effect size. Table 14 displays means and

standard deviations, and the effect sizes of the comparison for all conditions across priming conditions, and Figure 9 shows the plotted interaction effect. The effect sizes and 95% for all dependent variables for the Caucasian targets comparing the two primes is displayed in Figure 10. Overall, the participants appeared to exhibit in-group favoritism effects towards the Caucasian targets under the American priming condition than under the Asian priming condition. Therefore, Hypothesis 1 seemed to not be supported, however this will be further discussed in the Study 2 Discussion, as there may be reason to believe the results are in support of Hypothesis 1.

Further analysis comparing the mean levels of the dependent variables for the targets in both priming conditions in order to test Hypothesis 2 showed that under the American priming condition there seemed to be less extreme responses towards the Hispanic and Caucasian targets when compared to the Indian targets in terms of small to medium effect sizes for Anger, Societal Concern, Fine, and Suspension. That is, under the American priming condition that participants expressed more Anger, Societal Concern, and assigned higher Fines and lengthier Suspensions to the Indian targets than the Hispanic and Caucasian targets. In the Hispanic priming condition when comparing the targets most of the effect sizes were small, however overall under the Hispanic priming condition there were less extreme responses towards the Hispanic targets compared to the Caucasian or Indian targets. In neither of the priming conditions were the Indian targets the least punished, therefore Hypothesis 2 is not supported. Table 15 reports the Cohen's d and 95% CI for the comparisons, and Figure 11 presents the Cohen's d and 95% CI for all of the dependent variables for all of the targets compared to the Indian targets in both priming conditions.

In order to examine the BII moderation effect, regression analysis was conducted on each of the sub-samples individually. Regression analyses were conducted while controlling for acculturation for both of the cultures measured. All of the control and moderating variables were centered prior to running the analysis. Analyses showed a significant interaction effect for the Hispanic targets on one of the dependent variables. There were no significant interaction effects for the Caucasian or the Indian targets. Tables 16, 17, and 18 report the regression results for the Hispanic, Caucasian, and Indian targets respectively.

Regression results for the Hispanic targets revealed a significant Prime \times BII-Blendedness interaction for Suspension at $p < 0.05$. The interaction is presented in Figure 12, plotted at one standard deviation above and below the moderator, and shows that the priming had different effects on how high and low BII-Blendedness individuals reacted towards Hispanic deviants. Specifically, low BII-Blendedness individuals punished the Hispanic deviants less harshly under the Hispanic priming condition, while for high BII-Blendedness individuals they punished the Hispanic more harshly deviants under the American priming condition. In essence, the low BII-Blendedness individuals exhibited congruent responses to the Hispanic prime when responding to the Hispanic deviants, while high BII-Blendedness individuals exhibited contrastive responses to the prime when responding to the Hispanic deviants. As with Hypothesis 1, it seems Hypotheses 3 were not supported, however this will be further discussed in the Study 2 Discussion, as there may be reason to believe the results are in support of Hypotheses 3.

Study 2 Discussion

None of the Study 2 results appeared to support the proposed hypotheses, and the analysis of the data for Hypotheses 1, 3a, 3b, show opposite effects from that of the Study 1 data.

Specifically, in Study 2 when the participants were exposed to the American primes, American targets appeared to be punished less harshly, while when exposed to the Hispanic primes, Hispanic targets appeared to be punished less harshly. Additionally, in the BII moderation analysis low BII-Blendedness individuals identified Hispanics as the in-group and punished them more harshly under the Hispanic priming condition, while high BII-Blendedness individuals identified Hispanics as the in-group and punished them more harshly under the American priming condition.

Although there is every indication that the results obtained point towards an in-group favoritism effect for Hypothesis 1, it should be noted that there is emerging research that indicates given a cultural prime Hispanic-Americans exhibit contrastive effects with regard to outcome variables such as identification and relationships (LeChuga & Wiebe, 2009; Schwartz et al., 2014). Although it is not quite clear why this effect exists, Schartz and colleagues hypothesize that identity threat and hyper vigilance towards cultural primes may be a contributing factor. It is possible that the contrastive effect is also present in the current study. Therefore, by exposing the participants to Hispanic primes, it was the American identity that was activated, therefore identifying American the targets as the in-group and being punished more harshly, while the Hispanic targets were identified as out-groups and punished more harshly. Using this logic and taking into account for a contrastive response, Hypothesis 1 was therefore partially supported in Study 2.

Taking into consideration for the contrastive response of Hispanics towards cultural primes, the BII moderation analysis must also be understood opposite of what the results would otherwise indicate. More specifically, the low BII-Blendedness biculturals still responded contrastively towards the cultural prime in that the Hispanic prime activated the American

identity of the Hispanic-American biculturals, however due to their low BII-Blendedness they then identified Hispanics as the in-group. Conversely, the for the high BII-Blendedness Hispanic-Americans, the American prime activated their Hispanic identity, and they responded congruently by identifying Hispanics as the in-group. In essence, the effect of the cultural prime was flipped twice of the low-BII Blendedness Hispanic-Americans, and was flipped only once for the high-BII Blendedness Hispanics-Americans. Table 19 presents a summary of all the hypotheses and the results vis-à-vis support for each hypothesis.

As with Study 1, the cultural priming in Study 2 had more of an effect on the assessment of the American targets indicates the identification of Americans as in-groups is elastic and can be primed, while the identification of Hispanics and Indians as in-groups is inelastic and cannot be primed. Here again, as with Study 1, it is possible that the results obtained are due to how the biculturals view the various cultural groups around them, potentially explaining the lack of support for Hypothesis 2.

That the results were only significant for the dependent variables measuring actual assigned punishment instead of the felt items is also interesting. There are many possible reasons why this was the case. It is possible that it may be a result of range restriction for the felt items. Post-hoc analysis of the outcome variables shows that this is possible, with the skewness and kurtosis of some of the felt items in Study 1, and all of the felt items in Study 2 to be outside the range of normal distribution (skewness greater than 1.0, less than -1.0, and kurtosis far from zero), resulting in most responses grouping to the right of the mean, and also greater likelihood of extreme responses for the felt items. In comparison, the distribution of the assigned punishment items was more normal. The relevant statistics are reported in Table 20. However,

the sample size for Study 2 was too small for a meaningful analysis of the distribution. Further discussion on the possible reasons will be conducted in the General Discussion section.

General Discussion

This study builds upon research using the black sheep effect that proposes individuals punish in-group deviants more harshly than out-group deviants. Specifically, I proposed and investigated whether biculturals can be primed into identifying different in-groups, thereby varying who they view as the black sheep in workplace deviance contexts, and whether any potential punishment is distributed accordingly.

The direction of the Prime \times Target effect in the Asian-American sample in Study 1 pointed towards the existence of black sheep effect, while in the Hispanic-American sample the results indicated black sheep effect only when contrastive response patterns were taken into consideration. The current literature does not provide a sound explanation as to why the two groups exhibit different response patterns, however several possibilities have been presented.

It is possible that the differences between Asian-American and Hispanic-American biculturals may lie in such measurable cultural differences as those based on the Hofstede cultural dimensions (Hofstede, 1980), GLOBE (House, Javidan, Hanges, & Dorfman, 2002; Javidan, House, Dorfman, Hanges, & Sully de Luque, 2006), or even cultural tightness and looseness (Gelfand et al., 2011; Gelfand, Nishii, & Raver, 2006). In particular, the concept of cultural tightness and looseness as it relates to how different cultures view deviance and the punishment thereof may have some influence on the outcomes of the two studies in this dissertation. However, a closer examination of the measured cultural tightness and looseness of China and the few Hispanic countries present in Gelfand et al. (2011) show the two cultures to be remarkably similar. As such, the results obtained in the current studies may lie in measurable differences between Asian and Hispanic cultures that have not yet been captured fully and

analyzed. Such an examination, however, is not within the scope of the current study, and should be investigated in future research.

The cultural primes used in the current study, having drawn from or designed to be as parallel as possible to current established bicultural research, should represent possible cultural icons that are culturally meaningful to biculturals. That is to say, the cultural icons, while meaningful to biculturals and triggering a specific cultural knowledge frame or identity, may seem irrelevant to individuals who not familiar to the given culture of the icon. Each culturally centric icon should therefore activate culturally specific and appropriate responses (Y.-Y. Hong et al., 2000). Many different types of cultural icons have been used in various bicultural research studies to the same effect, from stereotypical images such as the Status of Liberty and the Great Wall of China (Y.-Y. Hong et al., 2000), to magazine covers from various societies (Mok & Morris, 2009), to images of people from everyday life engaging in culturally centric activities (Mok & Morris, 2012a, 2013), all of which have been successful in evoking culturally appropriate responses from participants.

For the two bicultural groups in this dissertation to have responded to their respective cultural primes differently would indicate that the cultural meanings and identities activated by the respective primes may be different. Asian-Americans and Hispanic-Americans may represent different types of biculturals found in the US, with different acculturation experiences in relation to the host country. Schwartz et al. (2014) presented two competing explanations: Contrastive effects arise either from the *lack* of association between a particular cultural prime and cultural values and behaviors, leading to non-congruent responses, or from stereotype threat in which individuals are hypervigilant towards cultural cues and stereotypes, and seek to distance themselves from negative stereotypes. However, the former argument relies on a specific subset

of Hispanic-Americans, specifically Miami Cubans, while the latter assumes cultural primes active negative stereotypes. Schwartz et al. further proposed several possible explanations, such as locale, Hispanic nationality, and social economic status for the triggering of stereotype threat and therefore the contrastive response to cultural primes. Specifically, the different immigration and acculturation experiences of Miami Cubans, which composed most of the sample in Schwartz's study, could have contributed to the findings (Schwartz et al., 2014). However, the participants in the current study are predominantly Dominican, followed by Cuban and Puerto Rican, and after analyzing the geo-IP information from their response data, as shown in Figure 13, were located all over the US. Therefore, the contrastive effect is not limited to Miami Cubans, but may be generalizable to other Hispanic groups.

It is important to note that hypervigilance towards cultural cues and own cultural identity is one of the primary drivers behind the contrastive responses exhibited by low-BII individuals (cf. Benet-Martínez et al., 2002). Another possible explanation can therefore be seen in Benet-Marintez and Haritatos's (2005) discussion, which noted that low-BIIs are particularly sensitive to tensions arising from different cultural orientations, and are often comfortable aligning with one or another culture, but not both at the same time. The contrastive response patterns in Hispanic-Americans have more in common with low-BII Asian-Americans than with high-BII Asian-Americans. It is possible that rather than the possible explanations provided by Schwartz et al. (2014), both Hispanic-Americans and low-BII Asian-Americans possess a strong ethnic cultural identity which prevents individuals in both groups from considering American culture as being compatible. Currently, without further research it is difficult to determine exactly why Hispanic-Americans respond contrastively to cultural primes.

Taken together, the results from the two studies indicate that biculturals do exhibit the black sheep effect. That is, given a particular cultural prime, biculturals do identify a particular cultural group, either congruent or contrastive to the prime depending on level of BII (Study 1) or cultural background (Study 2), and punish deviants of that cultural group more harshly than members of other cultural groups.

The results obtained in the two studies also seem to indicate different response patterns across different types of black sheep effect outcome measures. More specifically, the difference seems to arise from affective reactions to the deviant behavior and actual punishment of the deviant behavior. Given the distinction drawn between psychological responses to deviance and the subsequent behavior of punishment (Darley & Pittman, 2003; Gollwitzer & Keller, 2010), it is possible that what the participants felt about the deviant behavior and the punishment they assigned in terms of fine and suspension may differ. Responses from the participants in both studies showed higher mean levels of the affective reactions of Anger, Societal Concern, and Felt Punishment, and lower mean levels of the actual assigned punishment, indicating that this was indeed the case. However, also of extreme interest is the difference in response patterns between the Asian-Americans in Study 1 and the Hispanic-Americans in Study 2 towards the Caucasian targets. The effect sizes were larger in Study 1 amongst the affective reactions (please see Figure 3), while the effect sizes were larger in Study 2 amongst the actual assigned punishment (please see Figure 10). Given the cross-cultural differences found in terms of affective responses towards a deviant in-group member (Stipek, 1998), and also in terms of how different cultures tolerate and respond to deviant behavior (Gelfand et al., 2011, 2006), it is possible cultural differences between the two bicultural samples may have been the cause. However further research would be required in order to determine if this is indeed the case.

Additionally, it is possible that the reactions towards different deviant behaviors may be different, not only for different types of deviant behaviors, but also cross-cultural differences in how different cultures view various types of deviance as being more or less serious. The experimental design for both studies attempted to avoid such differences in bridging a wide range of different workplace deviant behaviors. Future research should examine in further detail whether there are differences across different types of deviance, and also between different cultures.

Limitations and Strengths

The primary limitation for the studies would be that of sample size, specifically for Study 1. Although the effect sizes obtained showed meaningful differences, the lack of statistical significance in the Study 1 results (mostly due to low power, as effects were in the expected direction), make it difficult to make any further meaningful comparison between the two studies using conventional methods.

The second limitation of the studies is that the two sample groups were not entirely equivalent in terms of their immigration characteristics. Specifically, Study 1 was composed mostly of first generation immigrants born overseas, while Study 2 was composed of second generation immigrants born in the US. Equivalent sample characteristics across the two studies would have allowed for a more meaningful comparison between the studies and thus determine the root causes for the different results between the two studies.

It is possible that the exclusion criteria may present a limitation. Specifically, the exclusion of biracial participants from the two studies may have excluded a portion of potential biculturals, or a portion of individuals who have self-identify as being various different ethnicities despite possessing the cultural backgrounds sought for the current study, such as

Hispanic-Americans who may self identify as belonging to different ethnicities (cf. Vega, 2014). It should be noted that the goal of the recruitment and screening criteria of the current studies was to be as inclusive as possible in the recruitment of biculturals. Biracials, while being bicultural by virtue of having parents of different ethnicities, are potentially distinct from biculturals who are bicultural by virtue of immigration (cf. Cheng & Lee, 2009; Cuyjet, 2008; Marks, Patton, & Coll, 2011). The specific exclusion criteria in regards to biracial in the current studies included not only assessing the participant's own self-identification, but also the cultural background of the parents. Only participants whose parents originated from two different cultures and ethnicities were excluded as being biracial. This exclusion criteria therefore avoids the issue of biculturals self-identifying as being multi-racial (cf. Vega, 2014).

Despite the limitations due to sample size and characteristics, the strength of the findings also drew from the sample characteristics. By not limiting the recruitment to specific a-priori criteria, and instead recording and reporting detailed demographic and immigration variables, the results obtained from these two studies in spite of the added variance are all the more generalizable. The results also add to the bicultural literature in terms of what we understand about different biculturals and how they evaluate other cultural groups.

Further bicultural research

Future research into biculturalism should also further examine several possible gaps in current bicultural research. For example, most of the current bicultural framework was formulated with insight gained from biculturals from a combination of Eastern (typically Chinese) and Western (typically US or British) culture. Although some researchers have expanded bicultural research to other cultural combinations, such as Verkuyten and colleagues' series of studies on Greek-Dutch biculturals (Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002, 2006), and sporadic studies on

Mexican- and Latino-Americans (Miramontez et al., 2008) or Hong Kong-Chinese or Filipino-Hong Kong populations (Chen et al., 2008; Ng & Lai, 2009, 2011), the majority of bicultural research results is based on Asian-American bicultural populations. Indeed, the predominant method by which cultural frame switching (CFS) has been demonstrated has been by comparing collectivistic and individualistic evaluations of a given scene (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002; Y.-Y. Hong et al., 2000; Morris & Peng, 1994), where the way by which participants describe a scene is analyzed in order to determine which cultural frame has been activated. Of course, it is debatable the degrees to which such interculturally based comparisons can be generalized to other cultural pairings. This research stream is still in its infancy, and systematic cross-cultural comparisons as those discussed by Ones et al. (2012) cannot be conducted yet due to the lack of systematic studies that could be cumulated to investigate generalizability. Even so, that CFS has been replicated in Greek-Dutch bicultural samples, and dual identities demonstrated in Hong Kong-Chinese, shows that the development of dual cultural knowledge frames exists outside of an East-West cultural combination. However, it is debatable to what degree CFS can be demonstrated in such biculturals as Hong Kong-Chinese or Taiwanese-Japanese, as the cultural differences may not be as drastic as an East-West comparison. Other cultural pairings such as aboriginal-colonial cultures, which are commonly found even in the post-colonial modern world, will also need to be further explored in order to fully understand the bicultural phenomenon. Indeed, LaFromboise et al.'s (1993) seminal discussion on biculturalism, one of the building blocks of current bicultural research, is entirely based on observations and research conducted on Native Americans. In comparison, further examination of the organization of bicultural identities (e.g., BII), should be easier to conduct across various different bicultural groups, since

the question how individuals organize multiple self and social identities does not rely upon the operationalization of two diametrically opposed identities.

More research is also required in order to understand how biculturals react to cultural stimulus around them. While the field has a relatively sound understanding of how Asian-American biculturals respond to cultural primes, as discussed earlier it has yet to come up with a sound reasoning as to why Hispanic-Americans exhibit contrast effects given a cultural prime and how BII operates as a moderator in non-Asian-American bicultural groups. As such, much of the current knowledge regarding cultural frame switching and BII moderation is not yet generalizable.

The question of biculturalism versus bilingualism is another research gap that requires further exploration. As can be seen from Table 2, the criteria for what constitutes a bicultural in empirical studies vary widely from one to another, with some testing for linguistic proficiency, others making assumptions on the bilingual and bicultural competence of the participants. However, does biculturalism necessarily equate to bilingualism? Soffietti (1955) argued that often the two concepts are conflated, resulting in confounds in bilingual research outcomes. A bilingual individual may very well be monocultural, and a bicultural individual may very well be monolingual. Agar (1991) similarly pointed out that there is often a period of time in foreign language acquisition where an individual is bilingual but not yet bicultural. Indeed, most discussions that have discussed both biculturalism and bilingualism in detail seem to concur with each other in that true bilingualism must be understood with a larger socio-cultural context, and that bilingualism is one of the components of biculturalism (Agar, 1991; LaFromboise et al., 1993; Soffietti, 1955). Despite all this, little empirical research has been conducted to

investigate the often theoretical discussions on the differences between biculturalism and bilingualism.

Practical Implications and Conclusion

Although bicultural research has progressed at a rapid pace in the past decade, much still needs to be done (Brannen & Thomas, 2010). In this study I showed that who biculturals view as their cultural in-groups may be manipulated depending on the context — in this case, the cultural stimulus they receive. This is important not only for our understanding of biculturals and their interactions with those around them, but also for the organizational implications it brings. Most importantly, pushing bicultural research into the more social realm will serve a more practical purpose in understanding biculturals as parts of a larger whole. Additionally, given that biculturals have been used as examples of individuals with dual social identities (Roccas & Brewer, 2002), understanding how biculturals can be primed into identifying more or less with a given ethnic cultural group will aid us not only in understanding how individuals organize multiple identities, but also how each identity may be evoked, and the consequences this may hold for individuals.

Implications

The effects of cultural priming and bicultural frame switching also have broader relevance in daily life. While most cultural priming research conducted in laboratories may at first glance seem artificial and removed from daily life, most anything that carries a cultural meaning may become a cultural prime. Chiu and Cheng (2007) noted that many prominent brands, such as Starbucks or McDonald's, carry significant cultural meaning behind them, essentially making them cultural primes. The brands a given bicultural may be exposed to, or even choose to use, can therefore have a priming effect. A Japanese-American who sees a package of Pocky biscuits in the supermarket may be primed to be more Japanese by the

presence of Japanese biscuits. Language has also been shown to be a cultural prime in and of itself, activating not only identity (Luna, Ringberg, & Peracchio, 2008) but also personality (Chen & Bond, 2010). Therefore, the language a bicultural uses to converse with others not only primes self-identity, but also influences the personality type that is exhibited and observed by others (Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Ng, 2014). It is quite possible for a bicultural to appear to be an entirely different person depending on the cultural environment that is present.

However, in addition to the malleability of bicultural identity and personality, that the two studies in this dissertation show that bicultural social identity is malleable is important for understanding how a bicultural interacts with coworkers. For example, Asian-American biculturals who view of the two cultural identities as incompatible and conflicting, that is low BII, would respond contrastively to the language that is being spoken around them. This could result in the biculturals viewing their co-workers as out-groups, bringing about positive outcomes such as galvanizing individual employee work effort due to competition from a perceived out-group (Lount Jr. & Phillips, 2007) and resisting groupthink (Mok & Morris, 2010a). However, it is also possible that negative outcomes may result, such as potentially creating faultlines within a given work environment and impeding overall group performance (Lau & Murnighan, 1998, 2005). Ultimately, if the intergroup bias perceptions persist and deepen, turnover may also be a distinct possibility (O'Reilly, Caldwell, & Barnett, 1989). Given the possible outcomes, it is therefore of practical importance for businesses and organizations to know how to leverage the positive outcomes of bicultural social identity switching, while implementing strategies to avoid the negative outcomes.

That the participants in both studies exhibited the black sheep effect when evaluating workplace deviance shows that not only do biculturals shift between situational versus

dispositional explanations of employee performance (Mok et al., 2010), they also shift between how they evaluate employee behavior. If, as the results from the two studies in the current dissertation discovered, how biculturals evaluate employee deviance can be influenced by cultural priming and identity integration, then how biculturals assess the rewarding of employee performance could also be influenced. Keeping in mind that in-extremism is the basis behind the black sheep effect, biculturals could also exhibit in-group favoritism and reward high-performing in-group members more than high-performing out-group members. This may not only be limited to the usual performance reward, but could also include promotion opportunities and budgeting and resource allocation. While companies may establish performance metrics in order to provide more objective criteria for performance evaluation and deviance punishment, it is still important to recognize that, with all else being equal, intergroup bias phenomenon does occur. Organizations may then educate employees accordingly or enact policies in order to ward against intergroup bias, such as having panels of heterogeneous employees rather than having one employee conduct evaluations.

The ramifications of bicultural social identities are not only limited to subordinate employees. Managers may also leverage a better understanding of biculturalism to better manage employees from different cultural backgrounds. News reports on US national soccer team head coach Jurgen Klinsmann have made observations that Klinsmann, a German-American bicultural by virtue of being German born and raised and spending half of his lifetime in the US, has been able to bring a European touch to the US national soccer team while relating to players and motivating them accordingly as an American or German depending on the cultural background of the player (Borden, 2014). Similarly, for globalized business entities spanning

multiple countries and cultures, having managers that are capable of code switching and relating to different employees as members of a shared culture can be quite valuable.

A better understanding of how biculturals organize their dual cultural identities can also aid in our understanding of how individuals organize multiple identities in general. In particular, research on how employees balance multiple identities has noted that employees faced with multiple competing identities face divided or ambiguous loyalties (Alvesson, 2000; Pate et al., 2009). The concerns voiced are very similar to early views on biculturals as individuals with ambivalent loyalties (cf. LaFromboise et al., 1993). It is reasonable to envision employees in a business that has undergone a merger or acquisition, thereby potentially possessing dual identities which may lead to competing loyalties to the pre-M&A and post-M&A business entities, much as portrayed in the film *Gung Ho* (Howard, 1986). Likewise, an organization that has undergone cultural change and reinvented itself can also find its employees caught between pre-change and post-change loyalties. However, by utilizing what we know of bicultural identities, we can make predictions on the basis behind employees with multiple competing organizational identities and the possible outcomes. The most important element would be to understand the interaction between cultural stimulus and identity integration. By identifying which employees view their dual organizational identities as being conflicting and distant from each other, organizations will be able to facilitate employee integration into the new organization by educating employees on the relationship between the pre- and post-merger organizations and emphasizing on the commonalities between two different organizational cultures.

Expatriates also go through similar acculturation issues that immigrants to the US go through. Although for expatriates the intention may not be a longer term or permanent stay in their country of assignment, the question of how expatriates relate to their home and host

cultures is still quite relevant. In particular, given that expatriates who can interact with host culture employees as in-groups undergo an easier adjustment process (cf. Toh & DeNisi, 2007), the question of how and when expatriates do so is of critical importance. While bicultural identity integration has not yet been used to examine expatriate adjustment, it is possible that as acculturation occurs, how an expatriate views the relationship between the home and host cultures can influence the congruent or contrastive responses to the cultural environment, and as a consequence the identification of members of home and host cultures as in-group or out-groups.

Finally, the differences in how Asian-Americans and Hispanic-Americans responded to the cultural primes in the current dissertation lends additional support to the possibility that Hispanic-Americans respond contrastively to cultural primes (cf. Schwartz et al., 2014). This is an important issue that must be considered, especially the underlying basis behind the phenomenon. Given the nationwide sampling used to recruit Hispanic-Americans for Study 2, it is highly likely this is not restricted to a particular state. Given that the contrastive response has been linked to how biculturals view of the relationship between themselves and their cultural environment, it is therefore likely that different bicultural groups view this relationship differently, which carry critical policy implications. Asian immigrants to the US, and eventually Asian-Americans, have a reputation for being "model minorities" who work hard to advance their own social-economic status while gradually assimilating into US society (Sakamoto, Goyette, & Kim, 2009). While this overly generalized view is debatable, the important comparison is that Hispanic immigrants and Hispanic-Americans have not yet achieved similar success (McKeever & Klineberg, 1999). It is possible that Asian-Americans face lesser degrees of competition between their heritage culture and US culture, while Hispanics face higher

degrees of pressure, resulting in different acculturation views (Schwartz et al., 2014). At this point an important distinction must be drawn between the pressure of competing cultures, and experiences of discrimination and views on affirmative action, of which Asian-Americans are still more aligned with other minorities than mainstream white culture (Bell, Harrison, & McLaughlin, 1997). However, given more in-depth knowledge on how different bicultural groups possess views on competing cultures, it would be possible to either leverage these differences to foster a multicultural work environment with diverse views, or enact policies to ensure that cultural stimulus is not unwittingly provided. Additionally, the different methods can also be used to counter in-group extremism for Asian-Americans, whose responses are moderated by their level of bicultural identity integration, and for Hispanic-Americans, whose responses may be driven by an overall higher degree of cultural hypervigilance.

Conclusion

Ultimately, with the increase in globalization and the flow of people and cultural ideas between societies, the number of individuals who may be described as “bicultural” will increase, and with it an increase in social interactions between biculturals and other individuals. An understanding of how biculturals perceive and interact with others will not only deepen our basic knowledge of biculturals, but also establish a venue for further research into bicultural social psychology and its business and organizational implications. While the field of bicultural research is still in its nascent stages, the opportunities to come to a better understanding of biculturals in the workplace are vast and await further exploration.

Tables

Table 1
Summary of Biculturalism Construct Definitions

Source	Definition
LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton (1993)	“[lives] at the juncture between two cultures and can lay claim to belonging to both cultures [...handles the] multilevel continuum of social skill and personality development”(1993, pp. 395–396)
Cognition	
Y.-Y. Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez (2000)	Individuals who have “internalized two cultures” (p. 709), while focusing upon the bicultural ability to “shift between interpretive frames rooted in different cultures in response to cues in the social environment” (p. 709).
Tadmor & Tetlock (2006)	Individuals who “cope with social and cultural conflict situations by internalizing the values of both groups” (p. 174)
Zou et al. (2008)	“Individuals who have internalized two cultures” (p.1151)
David, Okazaki, & Saw (2009)	“...extensively exposed to two different cultures and may have internalized, or developed, two cultural knowledge systems”(2009, p. 211)
H.-J. Hong (2010)	“...individuals who have internalized two cultural schemas” (p. 94)
Identity	
Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris (2002)	Individuals who have “experienced and internalized more than one culture”(Benet-Martínez et al., 2002, p. 493); organization of dual identities.
Mok, Morris, Benet-Martínez, & Karakitapoglu-Aygun (2007)	“individuals who identify strongly with both their primary ethnic culture and their secondary host culture”(Mok et al., 2007, p. 629)
Brannen & Thomas (2010)	Individuals who “identify with two (or more) distinct cultures because of having internalized more than one set of cultural schemas”(Brannen & Thomas, 2010, p. 6)
Fitzsimmons (2011)	Development of culture-based dual identities as a result of incorporating dual cultural schemas.
Behavioral	
Suarez, Garwood, & Szapocznik (1997)	Individual feeling comfortable in two diverse cultural environments in terms of language and behavior.
Lopez and Contreras (2005)	“the maintenance of one’s ethnic culture while participating in the host culture” (Lopez & Contreras, 2005, p. 194)
Ramirez-Esparza, Gosling, Benet-Martínez, Potter, & Pennebaker (2006)	Individuals who have “two internalized cultures that can guide their feelings, thoughts, and actions” (p. 100)
Schwartz, Zamboanga, Rodriguez, and Wang (2007)	“Adopting receiving-culture ideals and behaviors and retaining heritage-culture ideals and behaviors” (Schwartz et al., 2007, p. 160).
Mok & Morris (2009)	Individuals who have “internalized two cultures and these cultures take turns in guiding their perceptions and behavior” (p. 884)
Mok, Cheng, & Morris (2010)	Being “fluent in both host- and home-culture norms [...adjusting] like chameleons to match the cultural expectations of a setting”

Table 2
Summary of Biculturalism Operationalization in Past Studies

Study	Criteria/Scale Used
Researcher-identified	
Hong et al. (2000)	<p>"Westernized Chinese students in Hong Kong." (2000, p. 713)</p> <p>"China-born Californian college students who had lived at least five years in a Chinese society and at least five years in North America." (2000, p. 714)</p>
Benet-Martínez et al. (2002)	<p>"...campus flyers soliciting individuals that have lived at least 5 years in a Chinese country and at least five years in the United States..." (2002, p. 498)</p>
Cheng et al. (2006)	<p>"...first-generation and [...] second-generation Asian American biculturals." (2006, p. 747)</p>
Chen et al. (2008)	<p>"...immigrants [...] from Mainland China." (2008, p. 812)</p> <p>"...women from the Philippines working as domestic workers in Hong Kong." (2008, p. 819)</p> <p>"...Chinese college students from [Hong Kong and Mainland China]" (2008, p. 823).</p>
Ng and Lai (2009)	<p>"Participants were [...] ethnic Chinese undergraduates [...] from a local university in Hong Kong, where the medium of instruction was English. [...] bicultural individuals on account of their longer bilingual education and greater exposure to Westernization. [...] They were bilingual in English and Chinese..." (2009, p. 175)</p>
Ng and Lai (2011)	<p>"Bilingual ethnic Chinese undergrad students at a local [Hong Kong] university where English was the medium of instruction." (2011, p. 92)</p>
Tadmor et al. (2012)	<p>"...participants were required to have lived abroad in a country that was different from their country of origin." (2012, p. 524)</p>
Self-identified	
Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005)	<p>"(a) were born in a Chinese country (People's Republic of China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao, or Singapore), (b) had lived in a Chinese country for at least 5 years, (c) had lived in the United States for at least 5 years, and (d) considered themselves bicultural." (2005, p. 1024)</p>
Benet-Martínez et al. (2006)	<p>"...self-identified first-generation Chinese American biculturals." (2006, p. 390)</p> <p>"...Chinese-American biculturals drawn from a large public university in the midwestern United States." (2006, p. 396)</p>
David et al. (2009)	Not specified.
Mok and Morris (2009)	<p>"...fliers soliciting 'East Asian-American Biculturals'." (2009, p. 885)</p>
Mok et al. (2010)	<p>"Participants identified themselves as an 'Asian-American bicultural'" (2010, p. 22).</p>
Mok and Morris (2013)	<p>"Participants were [...] self-identified East Asian-Americans." (2013, p. 178)</p>
Measurement	
Benet-Martínez et al. (2002)	<p>"English and language proficiency and usage, and cultural identification." (2002, p. 498)</p>
Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005)	<p>Acculturation attitudes measure (Berry et al., 1989)</p>
Benet-Martínez et al. (2006)	<p>Language proficiency and use; Cultural identification; Bicultural competence; Acculturation attitudes.</p>
Benet-Martínez et al. (2006)	<p>Cultural Identification and Language Ability Scales; Acculturation attitudes measure (Berry et al., 1989)</p>
Cheng et al. (2006)	<p>Language proficiency and usage; Cultural identification; Acculturation attitudes measure (Berry et al., 1989)</p>
Chen et al. (2008)	<p>Language proficiency and usage; Cultural identification</p>
Zou et al. (2008)	<p>Cultural identification</p>
Mok et al. (2010)	<p>Language proficiency and usage; Cultural identification</p>

Study	Criteria/Scale Used
Tadmor et al. (2012)	Acculturation Index (AI; Ward & Kennedy, 1994)
Mok and Morris (2013)	Cultural identification

Table 3
Summary of Correlations With Bicultural Constructs

Construct	Outcome	Correlation	
Cultural Harmony	General well-being	.22	Huynh (2009)
	Mainstream orientation	.21	Huynh (2009)
	US identification	.17	Huynh (2009)
	Heritage orientation	.09	Huynh (2009)
	Hostility	-.12	Huynh (2009)
	Anxiety	-.18	Huynh (2009)
	Discrimination	-.24	Benet-Martínez & Haritatos (2005) ¹
	Depression	-.26	Huynh (2009)
	Cultural isolation	-.28	Benet-Martínez & Haritatos (2005) ¹
	Intercultural relations	-.31	Benet-Martínez & Haritatos (2005) ¹
Cultural Blendedness	Neuroticism	-.34	Benet-Martínez & Haritatos (2005) ¹
	English proficiency/use	.55	Benet-Martínez & Haritatos (2005) ²
	US identification	.52	Benet-Martínez & Haritatos (2005) ²
		.30	Huynh (2009)
	Mainstream orientation	.41	Huynh (2009)
	Bicultural competence	.39	Benet-Martínez & Haritatos (2005) ²
	Openness	.34	Benet-Martínez & Haritatos (2005) ²
	Ethnic identity	.22	Huynh (2009)
	Heritage orientation	.19	Huynh (2009)
	Agreeableness	.13	Huynh (2009)
	Extraversion	.11	Huynh (2009)
	Cultural isolation	-.29	Benet-Martínez & Haritatos (2005) ²
	Linguistic acculturative stress	-.30	Benet-Martínez & Haritatos (2005) ²
Chinese proficiency/use	-.32	Benet-Martínez & Haritatos (2005) ²	

¹ Originally reported vis-à-vis conflict, reversed here for easier interpretation.

² Originally reported vis-à-vis distance, reversed here for easier interpretation.

Table 4
Sampling of Bicultural Studies Utilizing Social Identity Approaches

Study	Outcome identification measure	Measurement type
Yasuda and Duan (2002)	Ethnic identity	Scalar (via MEIM & SL-ASIA)
Umana-Taylor (2004)	Ethnic identity	Scalar (via MEIM)
Verkuyten and Pouliasi (2006)	Self-identification; self-stereotyping	Scalar
Devos (2006)	Identification with stimulus material	Implicit Association Test
Miramontez, Benet-Martínez, and Nguyen (2008)	Cultural identification	Scalar
Ng and Lai (2011)	Endorsement of identity	Scalar

Table 5
Crossed-Categorization Categorizations From Different Pairings of Cultures

		Ethnic culture	
		Shared	Not shared
Host culture	Shared	Double in-group	Partial in-group
	Not shared	Partial in-group	Double out-group

Table 6
Correlations, Means and Standard Deviations of Study 1 Variables

Variable	Mean (SD)	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
Demographics												
1. Age	21.73 (2.95)											
2. Sex	1.54 (0.50)	-.05										
Manipulation												
3. Prime	0.51 (0.50)	.02	.00									
Acculturation and BII												
4. GEQ-AM	3.31 (0.51)	-.12	.03	.02								
5. GEQ-AS	3.72 (0.46)	.11	.01	.06	-.33							
6. BII-H	3.41 (0.60)	-.10	.06	.01	.37	-.08						
7. BII-B	3.53 (0.54)	-.17	.14	.04	.53	-.14	.52					
Outcomes												
8. Anger	3.73 (0.48)	-.10	-.06	-.09	.33	-.05	.21	.23				
9. Societal	3.77 (0.60)	-.09	-.09	-.17	.18	.05	.01	.10	.60			
10. Punishment	3.34 (0.52)	.02	-.03	-.08	.21	-.02	.05	.07	.67	.54		
11. Fine	2.87 (0.81)	.09	.11	.00	.05	-.01	-.05	-.01	.43	.31	.59	
12. Suspension	2.62 (0.85)	.20	.11	.05	.08	-.02	-.03	-.01	.32	.24	.51	.82

Notes: 2. Sex (1 = Male, 2 = Female). 3. Prime (0 = American Prime, 1 = Asian Prime). 4. GEQ - American. 5. GEQ - Asian. 6. BII-Harmony. 7. BII-Blendedness. 8. Deviance - Anger. 9. Deviance - Societal Concern. 10. Deviance - Felt Punishment. 11. Deviance - Assigned Fine. 12. Deviance - Assigned Suspension. Absolute values above .16 are significant at $p < .05$.

Table 7
*Sample Size, Means, and Standard Deviations of Dependent Variables for All Conditions, and Effect Sizes
 Comparing Between Priming Conditions for Study 1*

Dependent Variable	Target	American Prime			Asian Prime			Comparison
		<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Cohen's <i>d</i> (95% CI)
Anger	Asian	35	3.77	0.50	25	3.68	0.53	0.18 (-0.25, 0.61)
	Caucasian	27	3.83	0.50	30	3.60	0.42	0.50 (0.06, 0.94)
	Indian	28	3.73	0.54	39	3.76	0.41	-0.06 (-0.47, 0.34)
Societal Concern	Asian	35	3.84	0.55	25	3.62	0.84	0.32 (-0.11, 0.75)
	Caucasian	27	4.00	0.38	30	3.61	0.60	0.77 (0.32, 1.22)
	Indian	28	3.79	0.64	39	3.75	0.50	0.06 (-0.35, 0.47)
Punishment	Asian	35	3.38	0.56	25	3.35	0.46	0.07 (-0.36, 0.50)
	Caucasian	27	3.40	0.57	30	3.14	0.46	0.51 (0.06, 0.95)
	Indian	28	3.38	0.61	39	3.40	0.43	-0.04 (-0.45, 0.36)
Fine	Asian	35	3.00	0.96	25	3.02	0.75	-0.02 (-0.45, 0.41)
	Caucasian	27	2.78	0.76	30	2.66	0.72	0.17 (-0.26, 0.61)
	Indian	28	2.81	0.88	39	2.94	0.75	-0.17 (-0.57, 0.51)
Suspension	Asian	35	2.84	1.06	25	2.82	0.79	0.02 (-0.41, 0.45)
	Caucasian	27	2.46	0.78	30	2.43	0.84	0.03 (-0.41, 0.46)
	Indian	28	2.35	0.65	39	2.74	0.81	-0.52 (-0.93, -0.11)

Table 8
*Sample Size, Means, and Standard Deviations of Dependent Variables for Each Condition, and Effect Sizes
 Comparing Asian and Caucasian Targets to Indian Targets for Study 1*

Prime	Target	Dependent Variable	Comparison		Indian		Cohen's <i>d</i> (95% CI)
			<i>n</i>	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	
American	Asian	Anger	35	3.77 (0.50)	28	3.73 (0.54)	0.08 (-0.33, 0.50)
		Societal Concern	35	3.84 (0.55)	28	3.79 (0.64)	0.08 (-0.33, 0.50)
		Punishment	35	3.38 (0.56)	28	3.38 (0.61)	0.00 (-0.41, 0.42)
		Fine	35	3.00 (0.96)	28	2.81 (0.88)	0.21 (-0.21, 0.62)
		Suspension	35	2.84 (1.06)	28	2.35 (0.65)	0.54 (0.12, 0.96)
	Caucasian	Anger	27	3.83 (0.50)	28	3.73 (0.54)	0.18 (-0.26, 0.63)
		Societal Concern	27	4.00 (0.38)	28	3.79 (0.64)	0.40 (-0.05, 0.84)
		Punishment	27	3.40 (0.57)	28	3.38 (0.61)	0.03 (-0.42, 0.47)
		Fine	27	2.78 (0.76)	28	2.81 (0.88)	-0.03 (-0.47, 0.41)
		Suspension	27	2.46 (0.78)	28	2.35 (0.65)	0.16 (-0.29, 0.60)
Asian	Asian	Anger	25	3.68 (0.53)	39	3.76 (0.41)	-0.16 (-0.58, 0.26)
		Societal Concern	25	3.62 (0.84)	39	3.75 (0.50)	-0.21 (-0.63, 0.22)
		Punishment	25	3.35 (0.46)	39	3.40 (0.43)	-0.12 (-0.54, 0.30)
		Fine	25	3.02 (0.75)	39	2.94 (0.75)	0.10 (-0.32, 0.52)
		Suspension	25	2.82 (0.79)	39	2.74 (0.81)	0.10 (-0.32, 0.52)
	Caucasian	Anger	30	3.60 (0.42)	39	3.76 (0.41)	-0.39 (-0.80, 0.01)
		Societal Concern	30	3.61 (0.60)	39	3.75 (0.50)	-0.26 (-0.66, 0.14)
		Punishment	30	3.14 (0.46)	39	3.40 (0.43)	-0.58 (-0.99, -0.17)
		Fine	30	2.66 (0.72)	39	2.94 (0.75)	-0.39 (-0.79, 0.01)
		Suspension	30	2.43 (0.84)	39	2.74 (0.81)	-0.37 (-0.77, 0.04)

Table 9
Prime × BII-Blendedness Regression Results For Asian Targets For All Dependent Variables in Study 1

	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3		
	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β
Anger									
GEQ-AM	0.44	0.14	0.43*	0.43	0.16	0.42*	0.41	0.15	0.40*
GEQ-AS	0.07	0.16	0.06	0.08	0.16	0.07	0.06	0.16	0.05
Prime	-0.17	0.13	-0.16	-0.16	0.13	-0.16	-0.15	0.13	-0.15
BII-Blendedness				0.03	0.13	0.03	-0.13	0.15	-0.14
Prime × BII-Blendedness							0.40	0.22	0.29
R			0.41			0.41			0.47
R ²			0.17			0.17			0.22
ΔR^2			0.17			0.00			0.05
ΔF			3.85*			0.05			3.35
Societal concern									
GEQ-AM	0.63	0.62	-0.28*	0.74	0.20	0.53*	0.74	0.20	0.53*
GEQ-AS	0.62	0.20	0.39*	0.57	0.20	0.36*	0.57	0.20	0.36*
Prime	-0.28	0.17	-0.20	-0.30	0.17	-0.22	-0.30	0.17	-0.22
BII-Blendedness				-0.21	0.16	-0.17	-0.25	0.20	-0.21
Prime × BII-Blendedness							0.12	0.29	0.06
R			0.50			0.52			0.52
R ²			0.25			0.27			0.27
ΔR^2			0.25			0.02			0.00
ΔF			6.06*			1.61			0.17
Felt Punishment									
GEQ-AM	0.55	0.13	0.52*	0.65	0.15	0.62*	0.63	0.14	0.60*
GEQ-AS	0.25	0.15	0.21	0.21	0.15	0.17	0.19	0.15	0.16
Prime	-0.11	0.12	-0.10	-0.13	0.12	-0.13	-0.12	0.12	-0.12
BII-Blendedness				-0.18	0.12	-0.20	-0.36	0.14	-0.40*
Prime × BII-Blendedness							0.44	0.21	0.31*
R			0.48			0.51			0.56
R ²			0.23			0.26			0.32
ΔR^2			0.23			0.03			0.06
ΔF			5.60*			2.22			4.58*
Fine									
GEQ-AM	0.50	0.25	0.28	0.72	0.27	0.41*	0.73	0.27	0.41*
GEQ-AS	0.05	0.28	0.03	-0.04	0.28	-0.02	-0.03	0.28	-0.02
Prime	-0.07	0.23	-0.04	-0.12	0.23	-0.07	-0.12	0.23	-0.07
BII-Blendedness				-0.42	0.23	-0.28	-0.33	0.27	-0.22
Prime × BII-Blendedness							-0.23	0.39	-0.10
R			0.27			0.36			0.36
R ²			0.07			0.13			0.13
ΔR^2			0.07			0.06			0.01
ΔF			1.41			3.51			0.35
Suspension									
GEQ-AM	0.39	0.28	0.20	0.60	0.31	0.31	0.62	0.31	0.32*
GEQ-AS	0.08	0.31	0.04	-0.00	0.31	-0.00	0.01	0.31	0.01
Prime	-0.08	0.26	-0.04	-0.13	0.25	-0.07	-0.14	0.26	-0.07
BII-Blendedness				-0.38	0.25	-0.23	-0.22	0.31	-0.13
Prime × BII-Blendedness							-0.43	0.44	-0.16
R			0.19			0.27			0.30
R ²			0.04			0.08			0.09
ΔR^2			0.04			0.04			0.02
ΔF			0.70			2.29			0.95

Note. $n = 60$. * $p < 0.05$

Table 10
Prime × BII-Blendedness Regression Results For Caucasian Targets For All Dependent Variables in Study 1

	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3		
	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β
Anger									
GEQ-AM	0.38	0.13	0.36*	0.32	0.15	0.30*	0.30	0.15	0.29
GEQ-AS	-0.17	0.13	-0.17	-0.19	0.13	-0.19	-0.18	0.13	-0.18
Prime	-0.21	0.11	-0.23	-0.22	0.11	-0.23	-0.22	0.11	-0.23
BII-Blendedness				0.11	0.12	0.13	0.07	0.14	0.08
Prime × BII-Blendedness							0.11	0.23	0.08
R			0.51			0.52			0.52
R ²			0.26			0.27			0.27
ΔR^2			0.26			0.01			0.00
ΔF			6.07*			0.87			0.24
Societal concern									
GEQ-AM	0.19	0.16	0.16	0.11	0.18	0.09	0.11	0.18	0.10
GEQ-AS	0.10	0.15	0.08	0.08	0.16	0.07	0.08	0.16	0.07
Prime	-0.40	0.14	-0.38*	-0.41	0.14	-0.39*	-0.41	0.14	-0.39*
BII-Blendedness				0.14	0.15	0.14	0.15	0.18	0.15
Prime × BII-Blendedness							-0.03	0.28	-0.02
R			0.40			0.41			0.41
R ²			0.16			0.17			0.17
ΔR^2			0.16			0.02			0.00
ΔF			3.28*			0.92			0.01
Felt Punishment									
GEQ-AM	0.27	0.15	0.23	0.29	0.17	0.24	0.29	0.18	0.25
GEQ-AS	-0.22	0.15	-0.20	-0.22	0.15	-0.19	-0.22	0.16	-0.19
Prime	-0.24	0.13	-0.23	-0.23	0.13	-0.22	-0.23	0.14	-0.22
BII-Blendedness				-0.03	0.14	-0.03	-0.03	0.17	-0.03
Prime × BII-Blendedness							-0.02	0.28	-0.01
R			0.42			0.42			0.42
R ²			0.18			0.18			0.18
ΔR^2			0.18			0.00			0.00
ΔF			3.83*			0.05			0.00
Fine									
GEQ-AM	0.31	0.23	0.19	0.27	0.26	0.16	0.20	0.27	0.12
GEQ-AS	0.09	0.23	0.06	0.08	0.23	0.05	0.11	0.23	0.07
Prime	-0.14	0.20	-0.10	-0.15	0.20	-0.10	-0.14	0.20	-0.09
BII-Blendedness				0.08	0.22	0.05	-0.07	0.26	-0.05
Prime × BII-Blendedness							0.42	0.41	0.19
R			0.20			0.21			0.25
R ²			0.04			0.04			0.06
ΔR^2			0.04			0.00			0.02
ΔF			0.74			0.12			1.02
Suspension									
GEQ-AM	0.32	0.25	0.18	0.30	0.28	0.17	0.30	0.30	0.17
GEQ-AS	-0.06	0.25	-0.04	-0.06	0.25	-0.04	-0.07	0.25	-0.04
Prime	-0.02	0.22	-0.01	-0.02	0.22	-0.01	-0.02	0.22	-0.01
BII-Blendedness				0.04	0.24	0.02	0.04	0.28	0.03
Prime × BII-Blendedness							-0.01	0.45	-0.00
R			0.19			0.19			0.19
R ²			0.04			0.04			0.04
ΔR^2			0.04			0.00			0.00
ΔF			0.66			0.02			0.00

Note. $n = 57$. * $p < 0.05$

Table 11
Prime × BII-Blendedness Regression Results For Indian Targets For All Dependent Variables in Study 1

	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3		
	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β
Anger									
GEQ-AM	0.29	0.10	0.35*	0.24	0.13	0.29	0.27	0.13	0.33*
GEQ-AS	0.29	0.12	0.30*	0.28	0.13	0.29*	0.29	0.12	0.30*
Prime	0.03	0.11	0.04	0.03	0.11	0.03	0.05	0.11	0.05
BII-Blendedness				0.08	0.13	0.09	0.31	0.20	0.35
Prime × BII-Blendedness							-0.36	0.23	-0.34
R			0.37			0.38			0.42
R ²			0.14			0.14			0.18
ΔR^2			0.14			0.01			0.03
ΔF			3.37*			0.36			2.45
Societal concern									
GEQ-AM	0.13	0.13	0.13	-0.04	0.17	-0.04	0.00	0.17	0.00
GEQ-AS	-0.05	0.16	-0.04	-0.09	0.16	-0.08	-0.07	0.16	-0.06
Prime	-0.01	0.14	-0.01	-0.03	0.14	-0.03	0.00	0.14	0.00
BII-Blendedness				0.27	0.17	0.25	0.58	0.25	0.54*
Prime × BII-Blendedness							-0.49	0.29	-0.38
R			0.15			0.24			0.32
R ²			0.02			0.06			0.10
ΔR^2			0.02			0.04			0.04
ΔF			0.46			2.41			2.89
Felt Punishment									
GEQ-AM	0.05	0.12	0.06	-0.01	0.16	-0.01	0.03	0.16	0.03
GEQ-AS	0.18	0.14	0.17	0.17	0.15	0.15	0.18	0.15	0.17
Prime	0.01	0.13	0.01	-0.00	0.13	-0.00	0.03	0.13	0.03
BII-Blendedness				0.10	0.16	0.11	0.38	0.23	0.39
Prime × BII-Blendedness							-0.43	0.27	-0.37
R			0.16			0.18			0.27
R ²			0.03			0.03			0.07
ΔR^2			0.03			0.01			0.04
ΔF			0.53			0.42			2.64
Fine									
GEQ-AM	-0.27	0.19	-0.19	-0.37	0.24	-0.26	-0.31	0.24	-0.22
GEQ-AS	0.00	0.23	0.00	-0.02	0.23	-0.01	0.00	0.23	0.00
Prime	0.10	0.20	0.06	0.09	0.20	0.05	0.13	0.20	0.08
BII-Blendedness				0.15	0.25	0.10	0.56	0.36	0.36
Prime × BII-Blendedness							-0.62	0.41	-0.34
R			0.21			0.22			0.29
R ²			0.04			0.05			0.08
ΔR^2			0.04			0.01			0.03
ΔF			0.94			0.40			2.27
Suspension									
GEQ-AM	-0.02	0.18	-0.02	-0.02	0.23	-0.02	0.07	0.22	0.05
GEQ-AS	0.03	0.21	0.02	0.03	0.22	0.02	0.07	0.21	0.04
Prime	0.38	0.19	0.25*	0.38	0.19	0.25	0.45	0.19	0.29*
BII-Blendedness				-0.00	0.23	-0.00	0.63	0.33	0.43
Prime × BII-Blendedness							-0.99	0.38	-0.57*
R			0.25			0.25			0.40
R ²			0.06			0.06			0.16
ΔR^2			0.06			0.00			0.09
ΔF			1.44			0.00			6.77*

Note. $n = 67$. * $p < 0.05$

Table 12

Hypotheses and Results for Study 1

Hypothesis	Result
H1: Biculturals with one of their cultural identities primed will punish a deviant individual from the primed group more harshly than a deviant individual from the unprimed group.	Partially Supported
H2: The punishment meted out by biculturals towards both possible in-groups will be harsher than that given to a neutral out-group member.	Not supported
H3a: Given a prime, low BII-Blendedness biculturals will punish a culturally contrastive other more harshly, while punishing a culturally congruent less harshly.	Partially Supported
H3b: Given a prime, high BII-Blendedness biculturals will punish a culturally congruent other more harshly, while identifying a culturally contrastive other less harshly.	Partially Supported

Table 13
Correlations and Means and Standard Deviations of Study 2 Variables

Variable	Mean (SD)	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
Demographics												
1. Age	30.29 (8.38)											
2. Sex	1.52 (0.50)	-.05										
Manipulation												
3. Prime	0.52 (0.50)	-.02	-.08									
Acculturation and BII												
4. GEQ-Am	3.64 (0.41)	.20	-.05	-.16								
5. GEQ-Hs	3.78 (0.60)	-.03	.06	.07	-.03							
6. BII-H	3.84 (0.70)	.24	.05	-.06	.36	.04						
7. BII-B	3.85 (0.60)	.13	.09	.05	.33	.26	.68					
Outcomes												
8. Anger	3.87 (0.74)	.03	.03	.04	.18	.31	.20	.29				
9. Societal	3.85 (0.83)	-.04	-.02	.02	.19	.21	.10	.17	.74			
10. Punishment	3.56 (0.70)	.05	-.03	.01	.07	.29	.23	.28	.68	.57		
11. Fine	2.93 (0.81)	.08	-.03	.18	-.11	.27	.13	.14	.30	.30	.63	
12. Suspension	2.85 (0.86)	.01	-.01	.16	-.15	.28	.08	.10	.29	.29	.60	.89

Notes: 2. Sex (1 = Male, 2 = Female). 3. Prime (0 = American Prime, 1 = Hispanic Prime). 4. GEQ - American. 5. GEQ - Hispanic. 6. BII-Harmony. 7. BII-Blendedness. 8. Deviance - Anger. 9. Deviance - Societal Concern. 10. Deviance - Felt Punishment. 11. Deviance - Assigned Fine. 12. Deviance - Assigned Suspension. Absolute values above .16 are significant at $p < .05$.

Table 14
*Sample Size, Means, and Standard Deviations of Dependent Variables for All Conditions, and Effect Sizes
 Comparing Between Priming Conditions in Study 2*

Dependent Variable	Target	American Prime			Hispanic Prime			Comparison
		<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Cohen's <i>d</i> (95% CI)
Anger	Hispanic	21	3.79	0.62	30	3.85	0.63	-0.10 (-0.56, 0.37)
	Caucasian	24	3.71	0.69	28	4.04	0.65	-0.49 (-0.96, -0.03)
	Indian	24	4.00	0.53	17	3.97	0.96	0.04 (-0.48, 0.46)
Societal Concern	Hispanic	21	3.69	0.83	30	3.79	0.75	-0.13 (-0.59, 0.34)
	Caucasian	24	3.73	0.73	28	4.05	0.68	-0.45 (-0.92, 0.01)
	Indian	24	4.06	0.69	17	3.90	1.00	0.19 (-0.33, 0.71)
Punishment	Hispanic	21	3.47	0.67	30	3.53	0.63	-0.09 (-0.56, 0.37)
	Caucasian	24	3.60	0.56	28	3.64	0.55	-0.07 (-0.53, 0.38)
	Indian	24	3.56	0.77	17	3.70	0.79	-0.18 (-0.70, 0.34)
Fine	Hispanic	21	2.76	0.69	30	2.97	0.76	-0.29 (-0.76, 0.18)
	Caucasian	24	2.55	0.71	28	3.27	0.63	-1.08 (-1.57, -0.59)
	Indian	24	3.03	0.87	17	3.08	0.82	-0.06 (-0.58, 0.46)
Suspension	Hispanic	21	2.70	0.72	30	2.74	0.75	-0.05 (-0.52, 0.41)
	Caucasian	24	2.48	0.88	28	3.24	0.64	-1.00 (-1.48, -0.52)
	Indian	24	2.96	0.90	17	3.16	0.97	-0.22 (-0.74, 0.31)

Table 15
*Sample Size, Means, and Standard Deviations of Dependent Variables for Each Condition, and Effect Sizes
 Comparing Asian and Caucasian Targets to Indian Targets in Study 2*

Prime	Target	Dependent Variable	Comparison		Indian		Cohen's <i>d</i> (95% CI)
			<i>n</i>	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	
American	Hispanic	Anger	21	3.79 (0.62)	24	4.00 (0.53)	-0.37 (-0.86, 0.13)
		Societal Concern	21	3.69 (0.83)	24	4.06 (0.69)	-0.49 (-0.99, 0.01)
		Punishment	21	3.47 (0.67)	24	3.56 (0.77)	-0.12 (-0.61, 0.37)
		Fine	21	2.76 (0.69)	24	3.03 (0.87)	-0.34 (-0.83, 0.15)
		Suspension	21	2.70 (0.72)	24	2.96 (0.90)	-0.32 (-0.81, 0.18)
	Caucasian	Anger	24	3.71 (0.69)	24	4.00 (0.53)	-0.47 (-0.95, 0.01)
		Societal Concern	24	3.73 (0.73)	24	4.06 (0.69)	-0.46 (-0.94, 0.02)
		Punishment	24	3.60 (0.56)	24	3.56 (0.77)	0.06 (-0.41, 0.53)
		Fine	24	2.55 (0.71)	24	3.03 (0.87)	-0.60 (-1.09, -0.12)
		Suspension	24	2.48 (0.88)	24	2.96 (0.90)	-0.54 (-1.02, -0.06)
Hispanic	Hispanic	Anger	30	3.85 (0.63)	17	3.97 (0.96)	-0.16 (-0.66, 0.34)
		Societal Concern	30	3.79 (0.75)	17	3.90 (1.00)	-0.13 (-0.63, 0.37)
		Punishment	30	3.53 (0.63)	17	3.70 (0.79)	-0.25 (-0.75, 0.25)
		Fine	30	2.97 (0.76)	17	3.08 (0.82)	-0.14 (-0.64, 0.36)
		Suspension	30	2.74 (0.75)	17	3.16 (0.97)	-0.50 (-1.01, 0.00)
	Caucasian	Anger	28	4.04 (0.65)	17	3.97 (0.96)	0.09 (-0.41, 0.59)
		Societal Concern	28	4.05 (0.68)	17	3.90 (1.00)	0.18 (-0.32, 0.69)
		Punishment	28	3.64 (0.55)	17	3.70 (0.79)	-0.09 (-0.60, 0.41)
		Fine	28	3.27 (0.63)	17	3.08 (0.82)	0.27 (-0.24, 0.77)
		Suspension	28	3.24 (0.64)	17	3.16 (0.97)	0.10 (-0.40, 0.61)

Table 16
Prime × BII-Blendedness Regression Results For Hispanic Targets For All Dependent Variables in Study 2

	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3		
	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β
Anger									
GEQ-AM	0.28	0.18	0.20	0.08	0.19	0.05	0.10	0.19	0.07
GEQ-HS	0.58	0.14	0.51*	0.46	0.14	0.41*	0.47	0.14	0.41*
Prime	0.08	0.16	0.06	0.09	0.15	0.07	0.09	0.15	0.08
BII-Blendedness				0.34	0.14	0.33*	0.09	0.24	0.09
Prime × BII-Blendedness							0.34	0.27	0.28
R			0.53			0.60			0.62
R ²			0.28			0.36			0.38
ΔR^2			0.28			0.08			0.02
ΔF			6.00*			6.06*			1.66
Societal concern									
GEQ-AM	0.25	0.24	0.14	0.20	0.27	0.12	0.24	0.26	0.14
GEQ-HS	0.58	0.19	0.41*	0.55	0.20	0.39*	0.56	0.20	0.39*
Prime	0.11	0.21	0.07	0.12	0.21	0.08	0.13	0.20	0.08
BII-Blendedness				0.08	0.20	0.06	-0.39	0.33	-0.31
Prime × BII-Blendedness							0.64	0.37	0.43
R			0.42			0.42			0.48
R ²			0.18			0.18			0.23
ΔR^2			0.18			0.00			0.05
ΔF			3.37*			0.16			3.03
Felt Punishment									
GEQ-AM	0.10	0.19	0.07	-0.06	0.21	-0.04	-0.07	0.21	-0.05
GEQ-HS	0.51	0.16	0.44*	0.41	0.16	0.35*	0.41	0.16	0.35*
Prime	0.07	0.17	0.06	0.08	0.17	0.06	0.08	0.17	0.06
BII-Blendedness				0.28	0.16	0.26	0.36	0.27	0.35
Prime × BII-Blendedness							-0.12	0.30	-0.09
R			0.43			0.49			0.49
R ²			0.19			0.24			0.24
ΔR^2			0.19			0.05			0.00
ΔF			3.64*			3.19			0.15
Fine									
GEQ-AM	-0.21	0.23	-0.13	-0.19	0.25	-0.11	-0.21	0.25	-0.12
GEQ-HS	0.46	0.18	0.34*	0.48	0.19	0.35*	0.47	0.19	0.35*
Prime	0.23	0.20	0.16	0.23	0.20	0.16	0.22	0.20	0.15
BII-Blendedness				-0.04	0.19	-0.04	0.23	0.32	0.19
Prime × BII-Blendedness							-0.37	0.36	-0.26
R			0.40			0.41			0.43
R ²			0.16			0.16			0.18
ΔR^2			0.16			0.00			0.02
ΔF			3.06*			0.05			1.08
Suspension									
GEQ-AM	-0.29	0.23	-0.18	-0.26	0.26	-0.16	-0.31	0.25	-0.18
GEQ-HS	0.42	0.18	0.31*	0.43	0.19	0.32*	0.43	0.19	0.32*
Prime	0.07	0.20	0.05	0.07	0.20	0.04	0.05	0.20	0.04
BII-Blendedness				-0.05	0.19	-0.04	0.47	0.32	0.39
Prime × BII-Blendedness							-0.72	0.35	-0.51*
R			0.38			0.38			0.46
R ²			0.14			0.14			0.22
ΔR^2			0.14			0.00			0.07
ΔF			2.57			0.08			4.18*

Note. $n = 51$. * $p < 0.05$

Table 17
Prime × BII-Blendedness Regression Results For Caucasian Targets For All Dependent Variables in Study 2

	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3		
	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β
Anger									
GEQ-AM	0.45	0.28	0.22	0.52	0.28	0.26	0.46	0.28	0.23
GEQ-HS	0.27	0.15	0.24	0.34	0.15	0.31*	0.28	0.16	0.26
Prime	0.39	0.19	0.29*	0.43	0.18	0.32*	0.42	0.18	0.31*
BII-Blendedness				-0.29	0.18	-0.23	-0.54	0.27	-0.42
Prime × BII-Blendedness							0.43	0.37	0.27
R			0.41			0.46			0.49
R ²			0.17			0.21			0.24
ΔR^2			0.17			0.05			0.02
ΔF			3.22*			2.78			1.39
Societal concern									
GEQ-AM	0.35	0.30	0.17	0.47	0.29	0.22	0.39	0.29	0.18
GEQ-HS	0.14	0.16	0.12	0.25	0.16	0.22	0.18	0.16	0.15
Prime	0.37	0.20	0.26	0.44	0.19	0.31*	0.45	0.19	0.30*
BII-Blendedness				-0.45	0.19	-0.34*	-0.77	0.28	-0.59*
Prime × BII-Blendedness							0.57	0.38	0.34
R			0.31			0.44			0.48
R ²			0.09			0.19			0.23
ΔR^2			0.09			0.10			0.04
ΔF			1.64			5.82*			2.26
Felt Punishment									
GEQ-AM	0.11	0.24	0.07	0.12	0.25	0.07	0.12	0.25	0.07
GEQ-HS	0.14	0.13	0.16	0.15	0.13	0.16	0.15	0.14	0.17
Prime	0.05	0.16	0.05	0.06	0.16	0.05	0.06	0.16	0.05
BII-Blendedness				-0.02	0.16	-0.02	0.01	0.25	0.01
Prime × BII-Blendedness							-0.04	0.33	-0.03
R			0.18			0.18			0.18
R ²			0.03			0.03			0.03
ΔR^2			0.03			0.00			0.00
ΔF			0.54			0.01			0.01
Fine									
GEQ-AM	-0.22	0.29	-0.10	-0.28	0.29	-0.10	-0.23	0.30	-0.10
GEQ-HS	0.10	0.15	0.08	0.04	0.16	0.03	0.09	0.17	0.07
Prime	0.68	0.20	0.45*	0.64	0.20	0.43*	0.65	0.20	0.43*
BII-Blendedness				0.24	0.19	0.17	0.43	0.29	0.31
Prime × BII-Blendedness							-0.34	0.39	-0.19
R			0.49			0.52			0.53
R ²			0.24			0.27			0.28
ΔR^2			0.24			0.03			0.01
ΔF			5.17*			1.64			0.77
Suspension									
GEQ-AM	-0.35	0.33	-0.14	-0.38	0.33	-0.15	-0.34	0.34	-0.14
GEQ-HS	0.17	0.17	0.13	0.15	0.18	0.11	0.18	0.19	0.13
Prime	0.70	0.22	0.42*	0.69	0.22	0.41*	0.69	0.22	0.41*
BII-Blendedness				0.11	0.21	0.07	0.26	0.33	0.16
Prime × BII-Blendedness							-0.26	0.45	-0.13
R			0.49			0.49			0.50
R ²			0.24			0.24			0.25
ΔR^2			0.24			0.00			0.01
ΔF			5.06*			0.26			0.34

Note. $n = 52$. * $p < 0.05$

Table 18
Prime × BII-Blendedness Regression Results For Indian Targets For All Dependent Variables in Study 2

	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3		
	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β
Anger									
GEQ-AM	0.32	0.26	0.21	-0.02	0.27	-0.01	-0.13	0.26	-0.08
GEQ-HS	0.23	0.19	0.20	0.13	0.18	0.11	0.24	0.18	0.21
Prime	-0.04	0.25	-0.02	-0.14	0.23	-0.10	-0.22	0.23	-0.15
BII-Blendedness				0.51	0.18	0.47	0.15	0.26	0.14
Prime × BII-Blendedness							0.63	0.34	0.44
R			0.29			0.49			0.56
R ²			0.08			0.24			0.31
ΔR^2			0.08			0.16			0.07
ΔF			1.09			7.75*			3.46
Societal concern									
GEQ-AM	0.57	0.28	0.32	0.23	0.30	0.04	0.17	0.31	0.10
GEQ-HS	0.16	0.21	0.12	0.06	0.20	0.04	0.11	0.21	0.09
Prime	-0.07	0.28	-0.04	-0.18	0.26	-0.11	-0.22	0.27	-0.14
BII-Blendedness				0.50	0.21	0.41*	0.31	0.30	0.26
Prime × BII-Blendedness							0.34	0.40	0.21
R			0.35			0.50			0.51
R ²			0.12			0.25			0.26
ΔR^2			0.12			0.13			0.02
ΔF			1.71			5.97*			0.72
Felt Punishment									
GEQ-AM	0.20	0.27	0.12	-0.10	0.29	-0.06	-0.19	0.29	-0.12
GEQ-HS	0.34	0.20	0.28	0.25	0.19	0.21	0.35	0.20	0.29
Prime	0.07	0.26	0.04	-0.03	0.25	-0.02	-0.10	0.26	-0.06
BII-Blendedness				0.44	0.20	0.38*	0.13	0.29	0.11
Prime × BII-Blendedness							0.55	0.38	0.36
R			0.31			0.45			0.50
R ²			0.10			0.20			0.25
ΔR^2			0.10			0.11			0.05
ΔF			1.30			4.82*			2.13
Fine									
GEQ-AM	-0.05	0.29	-0.03	-0.21	0.32	-0.11	-0.34	0.32	-0.19
GEQ-HS	0.52	0.21	0.39*	0.47	0.22	0.36*	0.61	0.22	0.46*
Prime	-0.15	0.28	-0.09	-0.20	0.28	-0.12	-0.29	0.28	-0.18
BII-Blendedness				0.22	0.22	0.18	-0.21	0.31	-0.17
Prime × BII-Blendedness							0.77	0.41	0.47
R			0.38			0.41			0.49
R ²			0.14			0.17			0.24
ΔR^2			0.14			0.02			0.08
ΔF			2.04			1.02			3.60
Suspension									
GEQ-AM	-0.13	0.31	-0.07	-0.27	0.35	-0.14	-0.41	0.35	-0.21
GEQ-HS	0.57	0.23	0.39*	0.53	0.24	0.36*	0.67	0.24	0.46*
Prime	-0.04	0.30	-0.02	-0.08	0.31	-0.05	-0.19	0.30	-0.10
BII-Blendedness				0.20	0.24	0.14	-0.26	0.34	-0.19
Prime × BII-Blendedness							0.82	0.45	0.46
R			0.39			0.41			0.49
R ²			0.15			0.17			0.24
ΔR^2			0.15			0.02			0.07
ΔF			2.24			0.67			3.34

Note. $n = 41$. * $p < 0.05$

Table 19

Hypotheses and Results for Study 2

Hypothesis	Result
H1: Biculturals with one of their cultural identities primed will punish a deviant individual from the primed group more harshly than a deviant individual from the unprimed group.	Partially Supported
H2: The punishment meted out by biculturals towards both possible in-groups will be harsher than that given to a neutral out-group member.	Not supported
H3a: Given a prime, low BII-Blendedness biculturals will punish a culturally contrastive other more harshly, while punishing a culturally congruent less harshly.	Partially supported
H3b: Given a prime, high BII-Blendedness biculturals will punish a culturally congruent other more harshly, while identifying a culturally contrastive other less harshly.	Partially supported

Table 20
Skewness and Kurtosis of Outcome Variables

Variable	Study 1			Study 2		
	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Skewness	Kurtosis	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Skewness	Kurtosis
Anger	3.73 (0.48)	-0.08	0.00	3.87 (0.74)	-1.74	6.02
Societal	3.77 (0.60)	-0.79	1.91	3.85 (0.83)	-1.31	3.12
Punishment	3.34 (0.52)	0.02	0.33	3.56 (0.70)	-0.78	2.04
Fine	2.87 (0.81)	0.09	-0.22	2.93 (0.81)	-0.24	0.73
Suspension	2.62 (0.85)	0.38	-0.48	2.85 (0.86)	-0.10	0.15

Figures

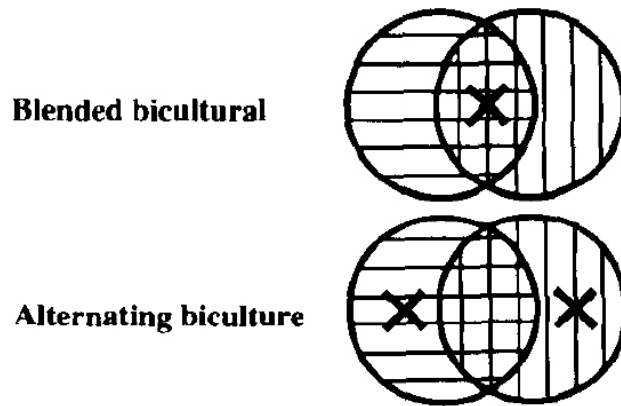


Figure 1. Graphical representation of overlapping bicultural identities (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997)

American Primes



Chinese Primes



Figure 2. Cultural priming material from Mok and Morris (2012b, 2013)

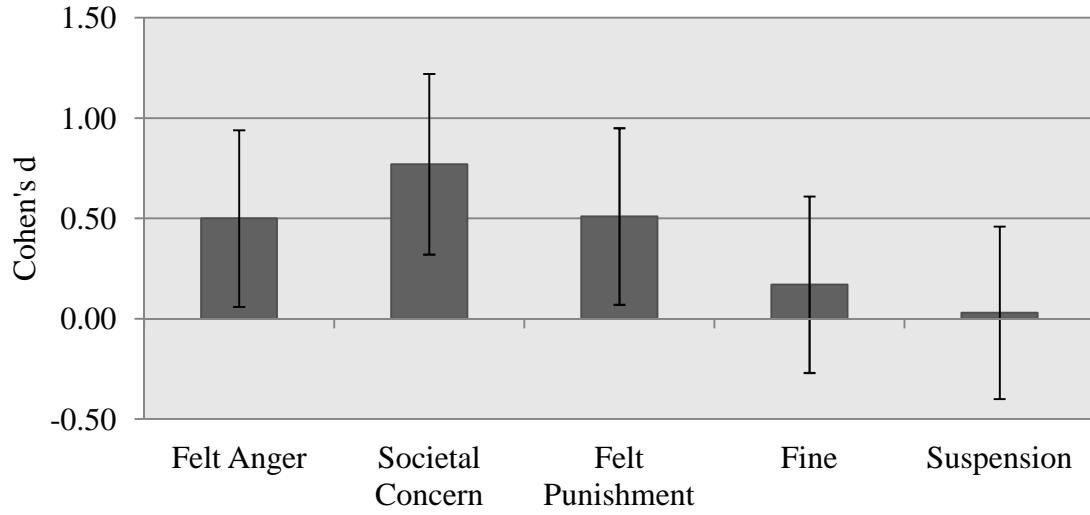


Figure 3. Cohen's *d* and 95% CI for all dependent variables for Caucasian targets comparing American prime to Asian prime in Study 1.

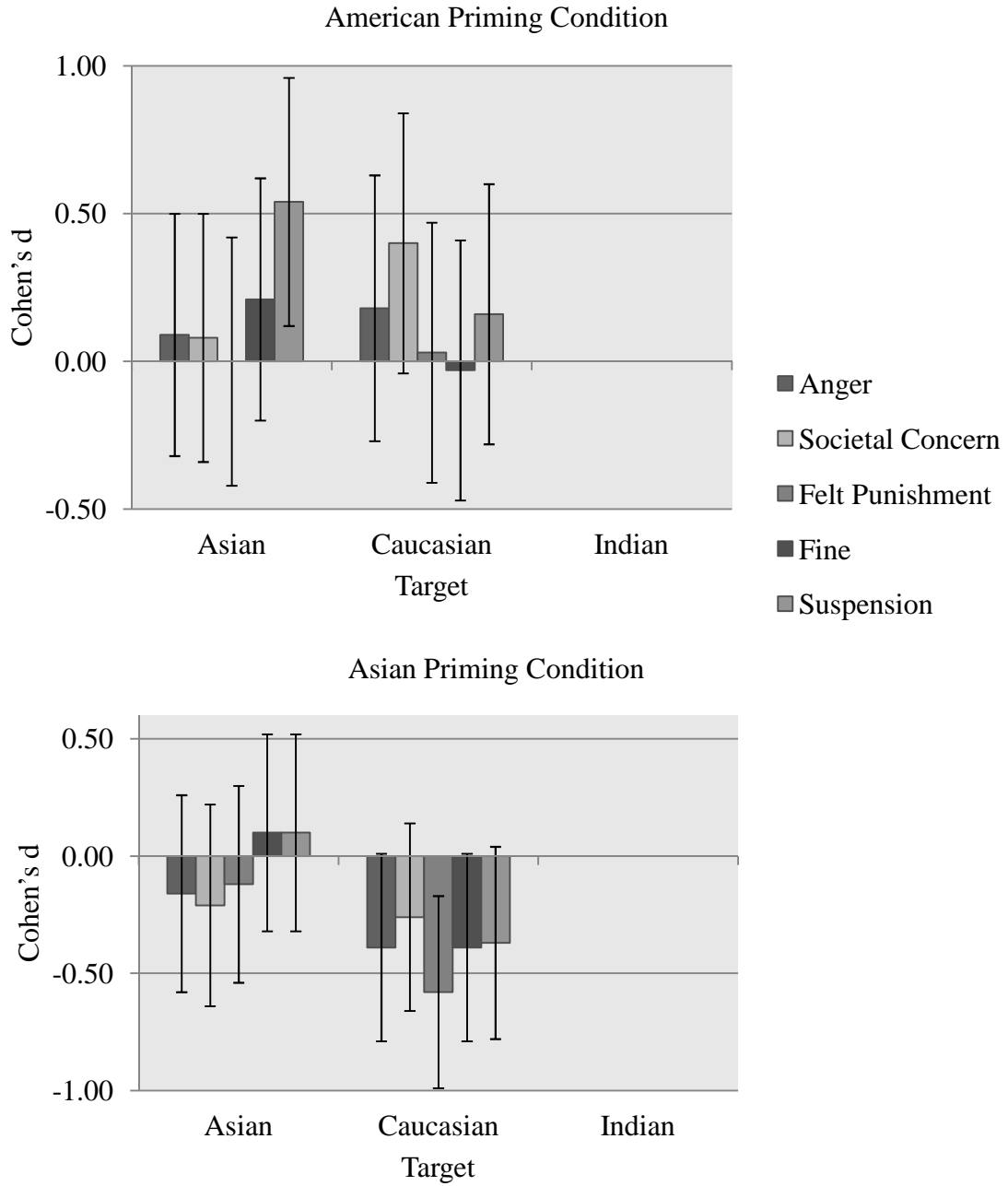


Figure 4. Cohen's *d* and 95% CI for all dependent variables for all targets compared to the Indian targets in both priming conditions in Study 1.

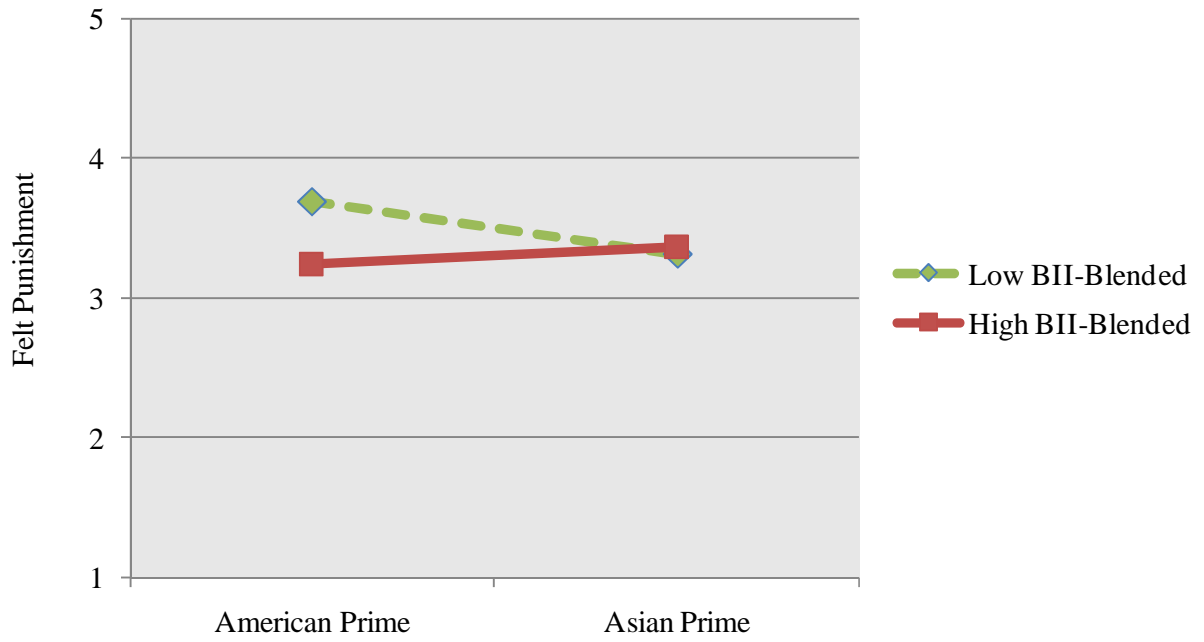


Figure 5. Prime \times BII-Blendedness interaction for Felt Punishment towards Asian targets in Study 1.

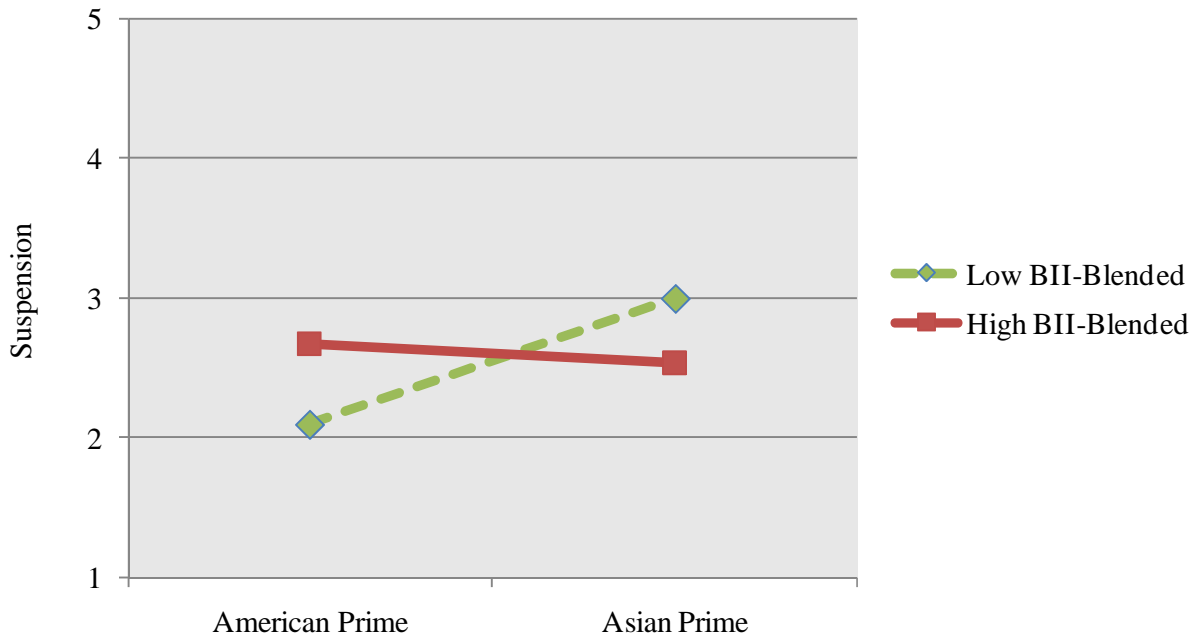


Figure 6. Prime \times BII-Blendedness interaction for Suspension towards Indian targets in Study 1.

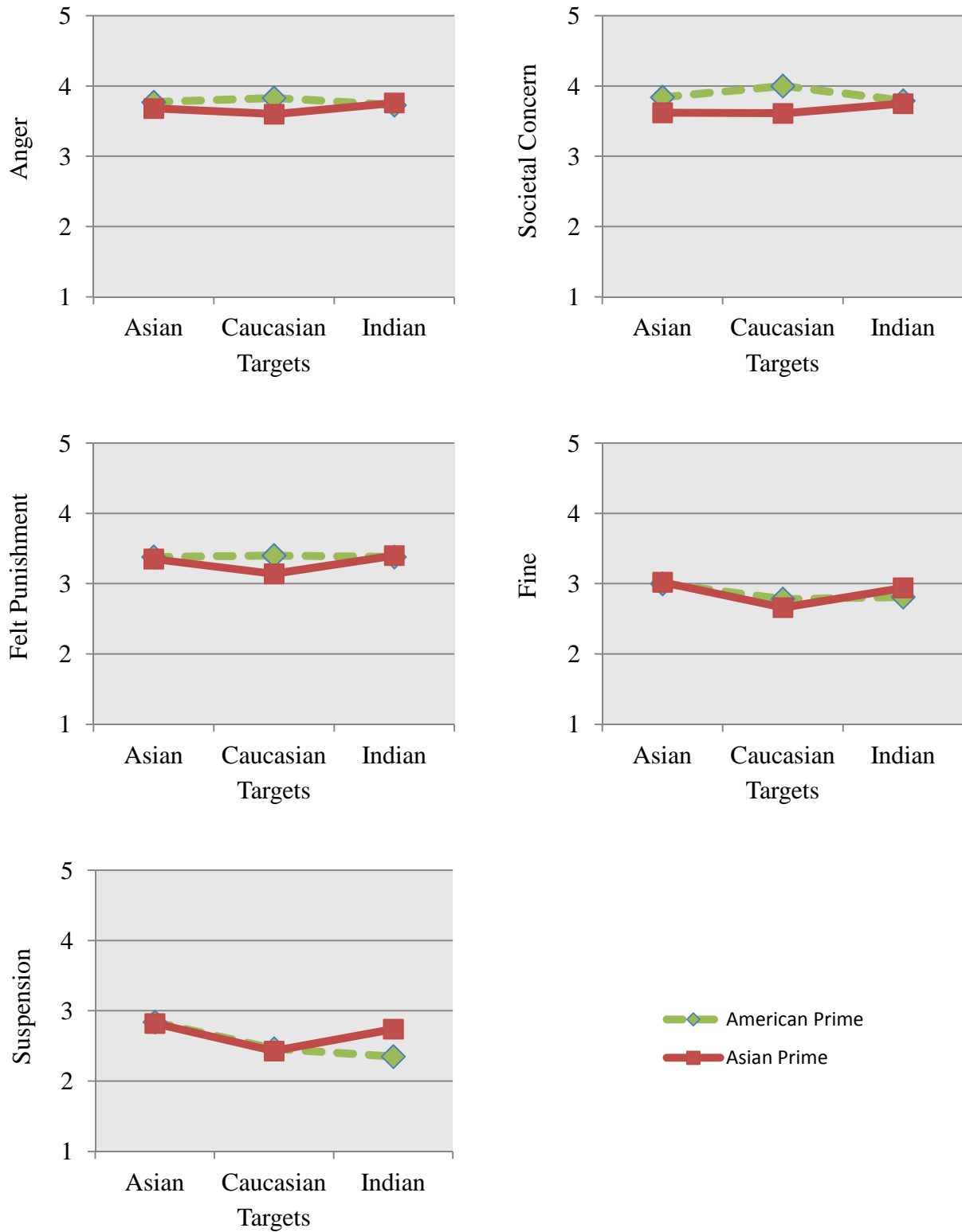


Figure 7. Outcomes for each Prime × Target condition in Study 1.



Figure 8. Hispanic cultural priming material adapted for Study 2.

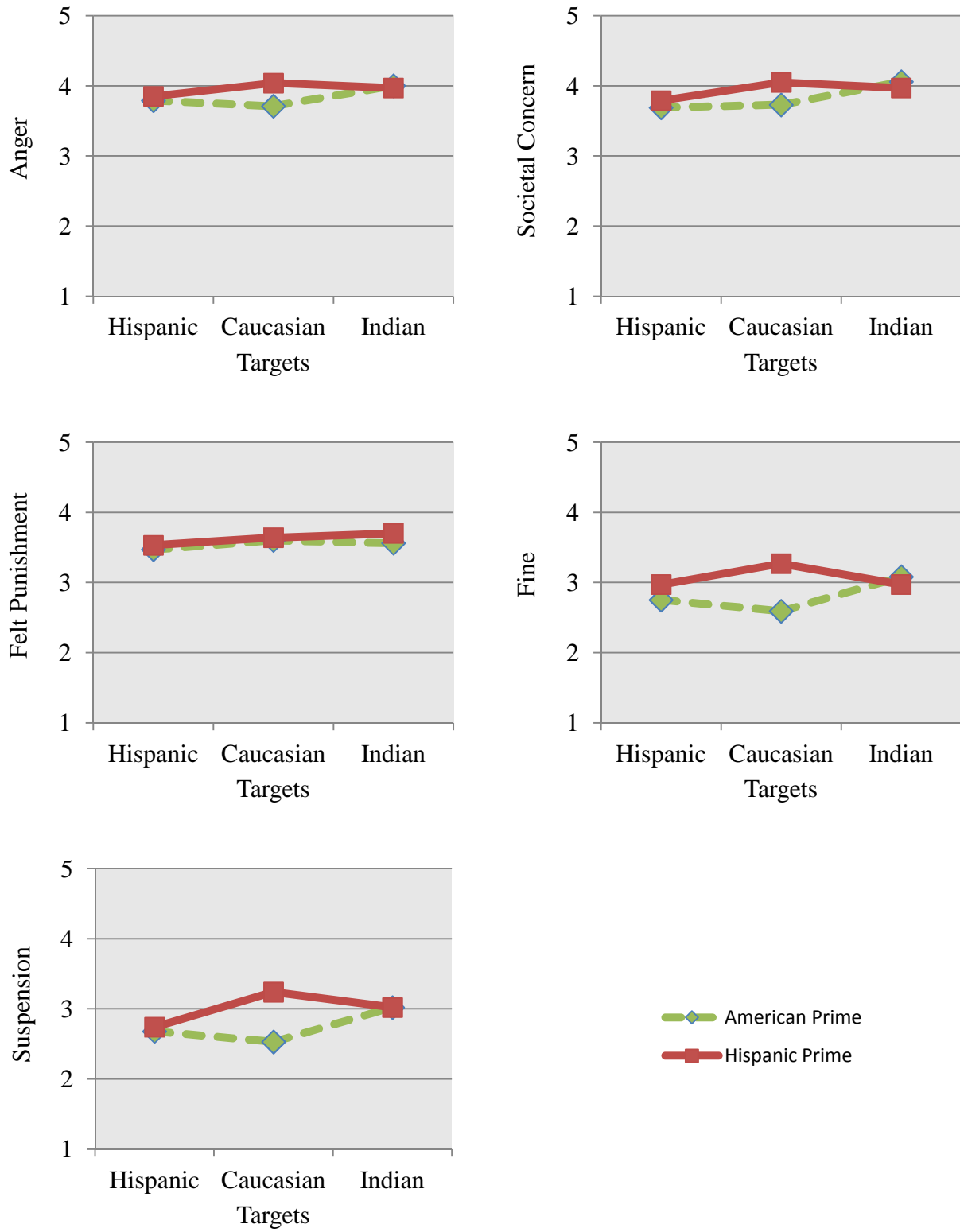


Figure 9. Outcomes for each Prime × Target condition in Study 2.

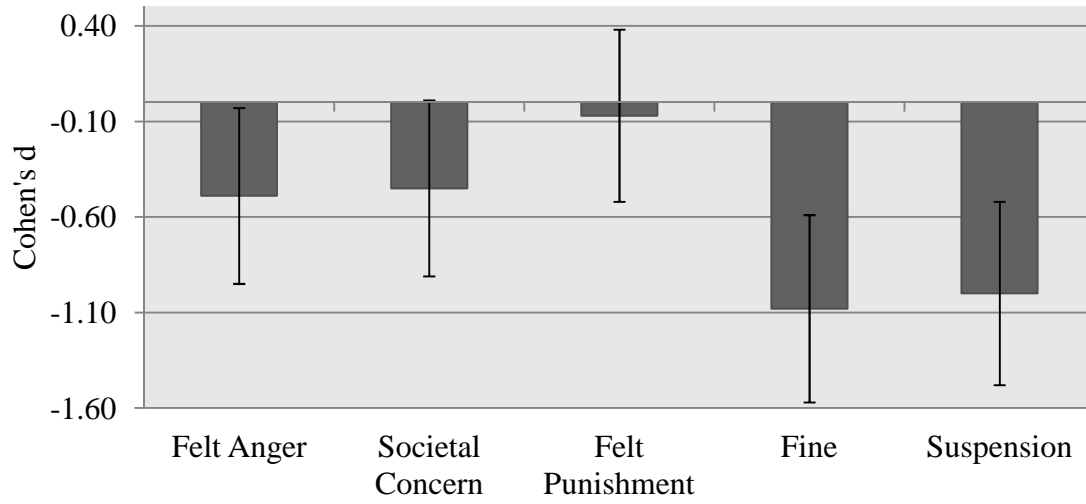


Figure 10. Cohen's *d* and 95% CI for all dependent variables for Caucasian targets comparing American prime to Hispanic prime in Study 2.

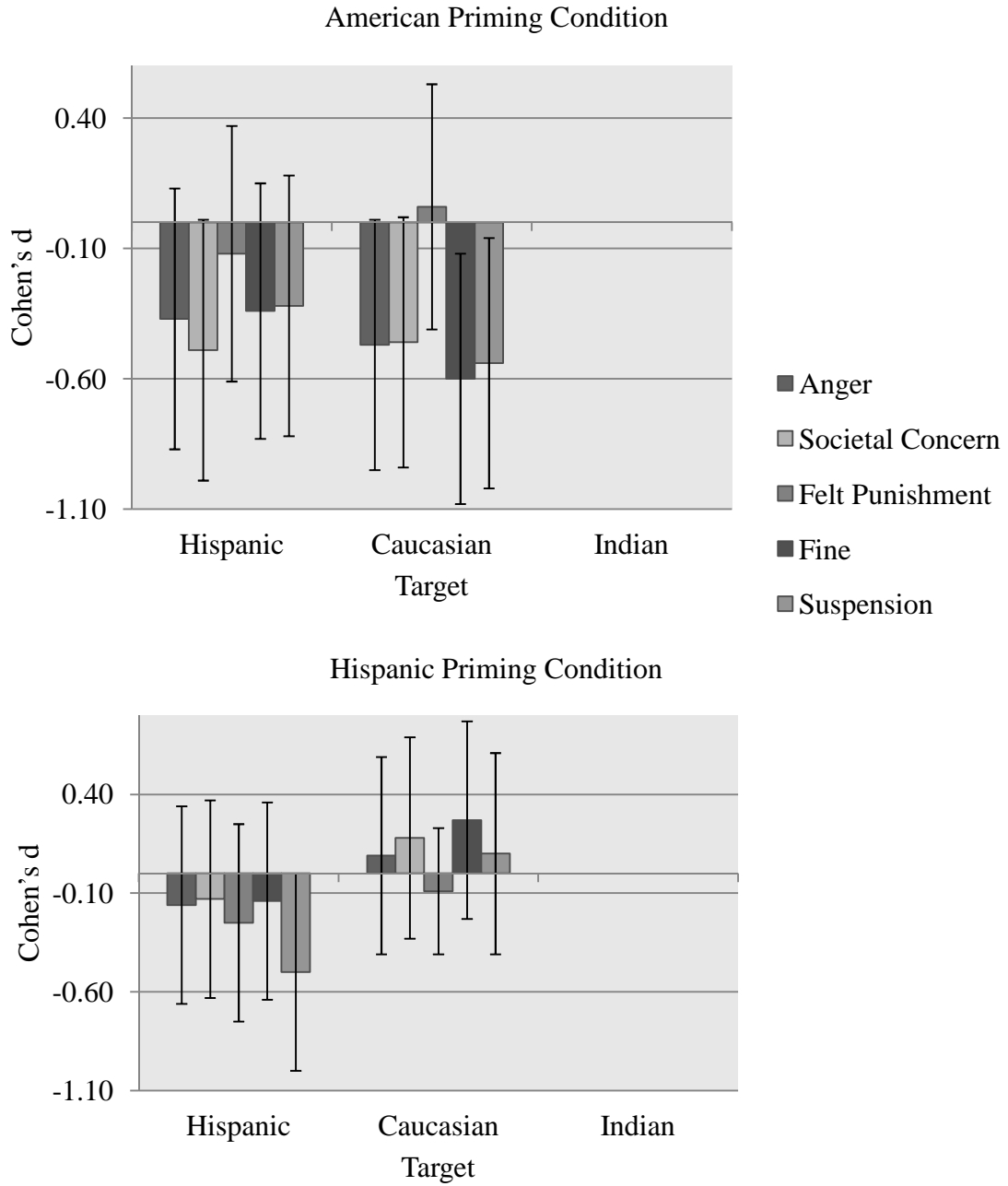


Figure 11. Cohen's *d* and 95% CI for all dependent variables for all targets compared to the Indian targets in both priming conditions in Study 2.

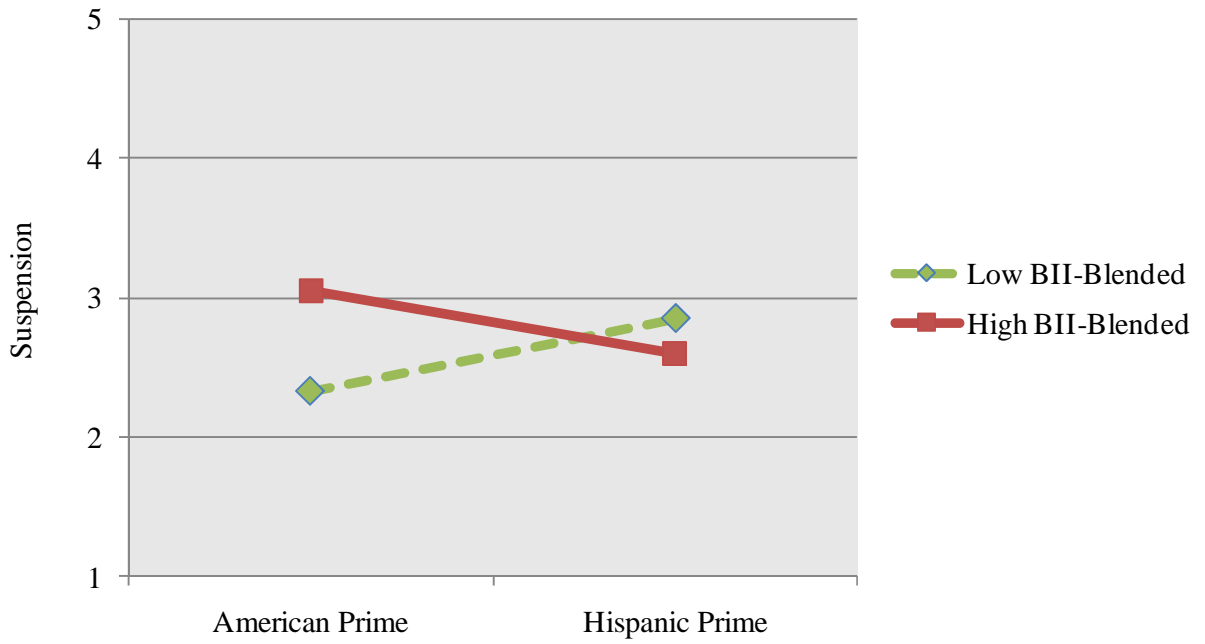


Figure 12. Prime \times BII-Blendedness interaction for Suspension towards Hispanic targets in Study 2.



Figure 13. Location of Hispanic-American biculturals from Study 2 as determined by Geo-IP mapping.

Appendix A: Deviance Vignettes

Incident A: Stealing – From Group (Financial)

The audit team has discovered a \$2,500 “miscellaneous expense” receipt for a dinner for two at a nice restaurant in the city that has not been properly accounted for. After further investigation, it was discovered that the expense report and receipt was filed by A. Lacey [A. Li/A. Lachwani], a mid-level manager in the company. While employees are allowed to expense dinners under certain conditions, in this case there is evidence to show that the dinner was not related to company business. A. Lacey [A. Li/A. Lachwani] has essentially stolen \$2,500 from the company for personal use.

Incident B: Misuse of company time and resources

The audit team has discovered that S. Carson's [S. Chen's/S. Chatterjee's] recent overseas trip for a convention was improperly reported. Specifically, S. Carson [S. Chen/S. Chatterjee], a mid-level manager in the company, stayed an extra week after the convention. While the company does allow employees to take days off after a long convention in foreign locations to rest and recover, employees are required to treat these as unpaid vacation days. In S. Carson's [S. Chen's/S. Chatterjee 's] case, the extra week was not reported as a vacation. S. Carson [S. Chen/S. Chatterjee] has essentially misused company time and resources.

Incident C: Destruction of property – Company property

The audit team has discovered that one of the company's cars has been involved in a traffic collision. Records indicate the car was assigned to one of the company's mid-level managers, A. Kale [A. Kim/A. Kapur]. The car's destruction was total, and the police report

combined with insurance company's independent assessment show that A. Kale [A. Kim/A. Kapur] was speeding (100 mph in a 50 zone). A. Kale [A. Kim/A. Kapur] has essentially destroyed company property.

Incident D: Interpersonal - Inappropriate verbal actions

An anonymous employee has filed a complaint against E. Limmer [E. Lin/E. Lakshman], a mid-level manager in the company, stating that E. Limmer [E. Lin/E. Lakshman] had repeatedly made inappropriate comments on the workplace, creating a hostile work environment. The anonymous employee has indicated the possibility of a lawsuit if this matter is not resolved in an appropriate manner.

Incident E: Stealing - From the individual

An employee has filed a complaint against D. Boyd [D. Bao/D. Bhatager], stating that D. Boyd [D. Bao/D. Bhatager], a mid-level manager, has stolen \$200 from the individual, and has presented proof to support these allegations. The audit team has reviewed relevant evidence and has come to agreement that the \$200 was in-fact stolen from the individual. Although company funds and property were not affected, the audit team needs to determine what actions to take.

Incident F: Destruction of property - Individual

An employee has filed a complaint that F. Walker [F. Wu/F. Walia], a mid-level manager, had caused an indent on the employee's personal car in the company parking lot. It is not known if this was caused accidentally or intentionally, however video surveillance records from the parking lot show that F. Walker [F. Wu/F. Walia] is indeed responsible, was aware of

the situation, but left the scene without taking responsibility. In addition to arranging for F. Walker [F. Wu/F. Walia] and the employee to agree on a method of compensation, the audit team must also determine how F. Walker [F. Wu/F. Walia] is to be punished for knowingly leaving the scene after causing damage to another employee's personal property.

Appendix B: Deviance Response Measures

Based on the case scenario you just read, please indicate below how much you agree with each statement:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I would be outraged about the employee. I would be angry about this offense. I would be angry about the employee. I think the employee's behavior threatens the values that employees from my culture should have. I think the employee's behavior violates the expectations of employees from my culture. The employee should be severely punished.	Very Little	Little	Some	Much	Very Much
To what extent should the employee's behavior be punished?	Very Lenient	Lenient	Neither Harsh nor Lenient	Harsh	Very Harsh
How severe should the punishment be?	1 Day's Wage	1 Week's Wage	2 Week's Wage	3 Week's Wage	1 Month's Wage
Let's say part of the employee's punishment is be penalized a portion of the year-end bonus. What amount of penalty best fits this act?"	1 Day	1 Week	2 Week	3 Week	1 Month
Let's say the employee's punishment includes being suspended from work for a given amount of time. How much suspension time would be appropriate for this act?					

Appendix C: Bicultural Identity Integration Scale-2 (BIIS-2)

1. I find it easy to harmonize Asian and American cultures.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

2. I rarely feel conflicted about being bicultural.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

3. I find it easy to balance both Asian and American cultures.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

4. I do not feel trapped between Asian and American cultures.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

5. I feel that my Asian and American cultures are complementary.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

6. I feel torn between Asian and American cultures.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

7. I feel that my Asian and American cultures are incompatible.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

8. I feel conflicted between the American and Asian ways of doing things.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

9. I feel like someone moving between two cultures.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

10. I feel caught between Asian and American cultures.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

11. I cannot ignore the Asian or American side of me.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

12. I feel Asian and American at the same time.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

13. I relate better to a combined Asian-American cultures than to Asian or American culture alone.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

14. I feel Asian-American.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

15. I feel part of a combined culture.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

16. I find it difficult to combine Asian and American cultures.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

17. I do not blend my Asian and American cultures.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

18. I am simply a Asian who lives in North America.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

19. I keep Asian and American cultures separate.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree

Appendix D: General Ethnicity Questionnaire-Asian Version (GEQ-As)

1. I was raised in a way that was Asian.	1 2 3 4 5
2. When I was growing up, I was exposed to Asian culture.	1 2 3 4 5
3. Now, I am exposed to Asian culture.	1 2 3 4 5
4. Compared to how much I negatively criticize other cultures, I criticize Asian culture less.	1 2 3 4 5
5. I am embarrassed/ashamed of Asian culture.	1 2 3 4 5
6. I am proud of Asian culture.	1 2 3 4 5
7. Asian culture has had a positive impact on my life.	1 2 3 4 5
8. I believe that my children should read, write, and speak Asian.	1 2 3 4 5
9. I have a strong belief that my children should have Asian names only.	1 2 3 4 5
10. I go to places where people are Asian/Asian-American.	1 2 3 4 5
11. I am familiar with Asian cultural practices and customs.	1 2 3 4 5
12. I relate to my partner or spouse in a way that is Asian.	1 2 3 4 5
13. I admire people who are Asian/Asian-American.	1 2 3 4 5
14. I would prefer to live in a Asian/Asian-American community.	1 2 3 4 5
15. I listen to Asian music.	1 2 3 4 5
16. I perform Asian dance.	1 2 3 4 5
17. I engage in Asian forms of recreation.	1 2 3 4 5
18. I celebrate Asian holidays.	1 2 3 4 5
19. At home, I eat Asian food.	1 2 3 4 5
20. At restaurants, I eat Asian food.	1 2 3 4 5
21. When I was a child, my friends were Asian/Asian-American.	1 2 3 4 5
22. Now, my friends are Asian/Asian-American.	1 2 3 4 5
23. I wish to be accepted by Asian/Asian-Americans.	1 2 3 4 5
24. The people I date are Asian/Asian-American.	1 2 3 4 5
25. Overall, I am Asian.	1 2 3 4 5
26. How much do you speak an Asian language <i>at home</i> ?	1 2 3 4 5
27. How much do you speak an Asian language <i>at school</i> ?	1 2 3 4 5
28. How much do you speak an Asian language <i>at work</i> ?	1 2 3 4 5
29. How much do you speak an Asian language <i>at prayer</i> ?	1 2 3 4 5
30. How much do you speak an Asian language <i>with friends</i> ?	1 2 3 4 5
31. How much do you view, read, or listen to an Asian language <i>on TV</i> ?	1 2 3 4 5
32. How much do you view, read, or listen to an Asian language <i>in film</i> ?	1 2 3 4 5
33. How much do you view, read, or listen to an Asian language <i>on the radio</i> ?	1 2 3 4 5
34. How much do you view, read, or listen to an Asian language <i>in literature</i> ?	1 2 3 4 5
35. How fluently do you <i>speak</i> an Asian language?	1 2 3 4 5
36. How fluently do you <i>read</i> an Asian language?	1 2 3 4 5
37. How fluently do you <i>write</i> an Asian language?	1 2 3 4 5
38. How fluently do you <i>understand</i> an Asian language?	1 2 3 4 5
39. Are you bilingual? (please circle)	Yes No
a. If yes, what languages?	
i.	
ii.	

Appendix D: General Ethnicity Questionnaire-American Version (GEQ-A)

1. I was raised in a way that was American.	1 2 3 4 5
2. When I was growing up, I was exposed to American culture.	1 2 3 4 5
3. Now, I am exposed to American culture.	1 2 3 4 5
4. Compared to how much I negatively criticize other cultures, I criticize American culture less.	1 2 3 4 5
5. I am embarrassed/ashamed of American culture.	1 2 3 4 5
6. I am proud of American culture.	1 2 3 4 5
7. American culture has had a positive impact on my life.	1 2 3 4 5
8. I believe that my children should read, write, and speak English.	1 2 3 4 5
9. I have a strong belief that my children should have American names only.	1 2 3 4 5
10. I go to places where people are American.	1 2 3 4 5
11. I am familiar with American cultural practices and customs.	1 2 3 4 5
12. I relate to my partner or spouse in a way that is American.	1 2 3 4 5
13. I admire people who are American.	1 2 3 4 5
14. I would prefer to live in an American community.	1 2 3 4 5
15. I listen to American music.	1 2 3 4 5
16. I perform American dance.	1 2 3 4 5
17. I engage in American forms of recreation.	1 2 3 4 5
18. I celebrate American holidays.	1 2 3 4 5
19. At home, I eat American food.	1 2 3 4 5
20. At restaurants, I eat American food.	1 2 3 4 5
21. When I was a child, my friends were American.	1 2 3 4 5
22. Now, my friends are American.	1 2 3 4 5
23. I wish to be accepted by Americans.	1 2 3 4 5
24. The people I date are American.	1 2 3 4 5
25. Overall, I am American.	1 2 3 4 5
26. How much do you speak English <i>at home</i> ?	1 2 3 4 5
27. How much do you speak English <i>at school</i> ?	1 2 3 4 5
28. How much do you speak English <i>at work</i> ?	1 2 3 4 5
29. How much do you speak English <i>at prayer</i> ?	1 2 3 4 5
30. How much do you speak English <i>with friends</i> ?	1 2 3 4 5
31. How much do you view, read, or listen to English <i>on TV</i> ?	1 2 3 4 5
32. How much do you view, read, or listen to English <i>in film</i> ?	1 2 3 4 5
33. How much do you view, read, or listen to English <i>on the radio</i> ?	1 2 3 4 5
34. How much do you view, read, or listen to English <i>in literature</i> ?	1 2 3 4 5
35. How fluently do you <i>speak</i> English?	1 2 3 4 5
36. How fluently do you <i>read</i> English?	1 2 3 4 5
37. How fluently do you <i>write</i> English?	1 2 3 4 5
38. How fluently do you <i>understand</i> English?	1 2 3 4 5
39. Are you bilingual? (please circle)	Yes No
a. If yes, what languages?	
i.	
ii.	

Appendix E – Demographics (English)

1. Age:
2. Gender:
3. Primary language spoken at home:
4. Do you speak any other languages?
 - a. Please name: _____
 - b. Rate your ability to speak this language: 1 (very little ability) – 5 (very high ability)
5. Rate your ability to speak English: 1 (very little ability) – 5 (very high ability)
6. Country of origin:
7. Ethnicity:
8. Country of citizenship:
9. Number of years living in the US (if you were born in the US please use your age):
10. Year moved to US if not born in US:
11. Do you belong to any clubs or networks associated with your country of origin or ethnicity?
Yes/No
 - a. Please specify what the clubs or networks are:
12. What is your mothers' country of origin?
13. How many years has your mother lived in the US?
14. What is your mothers' country of citizenship?
15. What is your fathers' country of origin?
16. How many years has your father lived in the US?
17. What is your fathers' country of citizenship?

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