University of Texas at El Paso
DigitalCommons@UTEP

2010-01-01

Two Sides Of The Same Coin: Biculturalism, Cultural Ideologies, And Perceptions Of Cultural Change

Stephanie Ann Quezada
University of Texas at El Paso, stquezada@gmail.com

TWO SIDES OF THE SAME COIN: BICULTURALISM, CULTURAL IDEOLOGIES, AND

PERCEPTIONS OF

CULTURAL CHANGE

STEPHANIE ANN QUEZADA

Department of Psychology

APPROVED:

Michael A. Zárate, Ph.D., Chair

Harmon M. Hosch, Ph.D.

Stephen L. Crites, Ph.D.

Penelope Espinoza, Ph.D.

Patricia D. Witherspoon, Ph.D.
Dean of the Graduate School

TWO SIDES OF THE SAME COIN: BICULTURALISM, CULTURAL

IDEOLOGIES, AND PERCEPTIONS OF

CULTURAL CHANGE

by

STEPHANIE ANN QUEZADA, B.A.

THESIS

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at El Paso

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Psychology

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT EL PASO

December 2010

Abstract

Ethnic minorities are adopting a bicultural identity to simultaneously identify with their heritage culture and mainstream American culture. While much research has investigated the extent to which ethnic majority and minority groups differentially respond to cultural ideologies, bicultural reactions to cultural ideologies remain uninvestigated. Bicultural individuals' differential endorsement of cultural ideologies has critical implications for implementation of assimilation and multiculturalism in multicultural societies. Therefore, the aim of the present study was to test the extent to which the salience of cultural identity predicts bicultural individuals' endorsement of assimilation and multicultural ideologies. Identity saliency was manipulated for bicultural Latino Americans and endorsement of assimilation and multiculturalism was measured. It was predicted that Latino Americans would show greater support for multicultural ideologies after their Latino identity was made salient and greater support for assimilation ideologies after their mainstream American identity was made salient. Bicultural identity integration was included as an exploratory variable to determine the extent to which cultural conflict and cultural distance predict endorsement of cultural ideologies. The prediction that multicultural ideologies would be endorsed when a Latino identity was made salient was supported. The prediction that assimilation ideologies would be endorsed when a mainstream American identity was made salient, however, was not supported. The implications of cultural identity saliency for endorsement of cultural ideologies are discussed.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Introduction

The Latino population in the United States is increasing at a rapid rate. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, Latinos comprise the largest and fastest-growing minority group in the United States (2008). Between 2006 and 2007, the Latino population increased by 3.3%, increasing the Latino population to approximately 45.5 million (15% of the total U.S. population). As a result of the increasing Latino population, the people in the U.S. are confronted with the alternatives of maintaining the norms of mainstream culture, and maintaining cultural distinctiveness and diversity (Berry, 1984). Assimilation and multiculturalism are two cultural ideologies that address these issues of cultural integration. Assimilation requires ethnic minorities to relinquish their heritage identity to adapt to the norms and values of mainstream culture. Multiculturalism, on the other hand, encourages ethnic diversity and the maintenance of cultural distinctiveness between ethnic groups (Berry, 1984). Assimilation and multiculturalism are two extreme alternatives for addressing the influx of a minority population. The identification with two cultures can serve as the intermediate between both extremes.

Rather than selecting between assimilation and multicultural perspectives, ethnic minorities also have the option of simultaneously identifying with their heritage culture and mainstream American culture. This simultaneous identification with two distinct cultures is defined as biculturalism (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000). While bicultural people retain identification with their heritage culture, they also adopt identification with the mainstream culture. The extent to which both cultural identities are maintained in equilibrium can have critical implications for reactions toward assimilation and multicultural ideologies.

Although there is an increasing body of research describing the extent to which ethnic majority and ethnic minority groups differentially endorse cultural ideologies, research has not yet investigated differential endorsement of cultural ideologies across individuals who simultaneously identify with multiple cultures. To address bicultural individuals' reactions to cultural ideologies, the present study

manipulated the salience of cultural identity and measured bicultural individuals' endorsement of assimilation and multiculturalism. By making one culture more salient, it becomes possible to examine how stronger identification with a particular culture predicts bicultural individuals' attitudes toward multiculturalism and assimilation.

Bicultural Identity

The complexity of a bicultural identity influences how bicultural people will respond to cultural ideologies. According to Social Identity Theory (SIT), social identity "consists . . . of those aspects of an individual's self-image that derive from the social categories to which he [*sic*] perceives himself [*sic*] as belonging" (p. 40, Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The self-concept is defined as a "collection of self-representations, and the working self-concept is that subset of representations which is accessible at a given moment" (Markus & Wurf, 1987). Because the self-concept is dynamic and multifaceted, individuals can simultaneously identify with multiple social identities. One form of social identity is cultural identification, and thus, individuals can simultaneously identify with multiple cultures.

Research conducted by Devos (2006) suggests that bicultural people can identify equally with their dual identities. Using the Implicit Association Test (IAT; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998), Devos (2006) found that Mexican Americans identify equally with Mexican and American cultures. Analyses of the IAT indicated that Mexican Americans implicitly identified with both cultures, and thus, could fluidly transition between Mexican or American cultural associations. In addition to these findings, results indicated that relative to associations with "Other cultures", participants were faster at associating the word 'me' with Mexican or American symbols. Furthermore, response times were slower when participants had to make associations that contrasted Mexican and American culture. The difference in response times indicates that Mexican Americans identify with both cultures.

Despite evidence for equal identification with two cultures, ethnic identity is one component of the self, and ethnicity is made more salient according to our social experiences, the people we interact

with, and the situations we encounter. Because of the variability of our social interactions, Markus and

Wurf (1987) further argue that not all parts of the self-concept are activated at the same time. The social

environment influences the continuous changes experienced by the self. More importantly, different

parts of the self-concept such as ethnic identity will be more salient when social stimuli are relevant to

the self (Markus & Wurf, 1987).

The argument that different parts of the self-concept can be activated at different times has

critical implications for research on bicultural people. When a bicultural individual encounters a social

cue that is representative of one culture, the self representation and association with that culture will be

activated. Even though the individual identifies with both cultures, only one culture needs to be salient

in that particular social environment. As Markus and Wurf (1987) point out, not all parts of the self

concept need to be activated at once, and thus, it is possible to isolate different aspects of the self by

manipulating the social environment. For bicultural people, the activation of one culture may lead to

different responses than the activation of another culture, and to potentially different reactions to

multiculturalism and assimilation.

Cultural Frame Switching

The differential endorsement of multiculturalism and assimilation may vary as a function of the

type of biculturalism experienced by individuals. Due to the multiple dimensions of a bicultural identity,

researchers have proposed different categories of biculturalism. Blended biculturalism, for example, is

found in individuals who simultaneously identify with their heritage culture and mainstream American

culture (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). Interviews conducted with African American and Mexican

American adolescents revealed that adolescents who experienced blended biculturalism responded to

questions regarding cultural identification with statements such as: "Both cultures, I am both" (Phinney

& Devich-Navarro, 1997, p. 15). Blended biculturalism gives individuals the opportunity to combine a

heritage identity with a mainstream American identity to form a cohesive new identity. In contrast to

3

blended biculturalism, alternating biculturalism is found in individuals who generally express greater identification with their heritage culture (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). An African American adolescent was classified as an alternating bicultural individual after making the following statement: "[I am] mostly Black. I am both, but I am more Black (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997, p. 15). Unlike blended bicultural individuals, alternating bicultural individuals separate their heritage culture and mainstream culture. The ability to disentangle both cultures gives alternating bicultural individuals the opportunity to express heightened identification with one culture as a function of the social environment (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997).

The ability for bicultural people to express greater identification with one culture as a function of the immediate social environment is referred to as *cultural frame switching* (Hong, et al., 2000). The process of cultural frame switching occurs when bicultural people shift between identification with either culture. This shift is contingent upon the extent to which the individual identifies with each culture. Cultural frame switching has been demonstrated by manipulating bicultural individuals' cultural identity with cultural primes, or icons (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002; Cheng, Lee, & Benet-Martínez, 2006; Hong, Chiu, & Kung, 1997; Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000; Zou, Morris, & Benet-Martínez, 2008). Cultural icons (e.g., food, entertainment, music, and politics) uniquely represent different elements that define a culture. Exposure to the icons of a particular culture makes the associated cultural identity relatively more salient. Bicultural people can recognize icons for the two cultures that they have internalized, and thus, via cultural frame switching, identify more strongly with the culture that is contextually salient.

Hong, Chiu, and Kung (1997) tested this prediction across two different studies that primed Chinese or American culture for Chinese Americans. In each study, participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: Chinese culture was primed with Chinese icons (e.g. flag for China), American culture was primed with American icons (e.g. photo of Abraham Lincoln), or a control

4

condition (e.g. geometric figures). Participants in the first study were asked to rate behavioral attributions for a scene that depicted fish swimming, and participants in the second study were asked to give open-ended explanations for fish behavior in an image. Results from both studies indicated that relative to the American prime and control conditions, participants in the Chinese prime condition made more situational attributions about fish behavior. Following the same manipulation in a third study, participants were asked to make a behavioral attribution for an overweight male who deviated from a weight loss diet. Relative to the American prime and control conditions, participants in the Chinese prime condition made more situational attributions for the boy's behavior. Rather than attributing behavior to dispositional traits, participants in the Chinese prime condition attributed his behavior to social pressures and other situational circumstances. Across the three studies, participants behaved according to the norms of the primed culture (Hong et al., 2000).

The ability to temporarily activate identification with one culture influences the way bicultural people navigate their daily experiences. These findings indicate that it is possible for bicultural individuals to identify with one culture, and then fluidly transition to identify with the second culture according to their interaction with the social environment. Furthermore, cultural frame switching suggests that the social environment and the salience of cultural identity play a critical role in determining whether bicultural individuals will endorse assimilation or multiculturalism.

Bicultural Identity Integration

Additional dimensions of a bicultural identity are important to explain bicultural individuals' endorsement of assimilation and multiculturalism. The argument that the self-concept is multifaceted provides the opportunity to disentangle the multiple dimensions of cultural identity for bicultural people. By distinguishing between blended and alternating biculturalism, it is possible to understand how alternating bicultural individuals have the ability to fluidly transition between identification with their two cultures. Thus far, cultural frame switching explains this process. Bicultural individuals make

5

differential behavioral attributions according to the norms of a salient cultural identity. In addition to identifying occurrences of cultural frame switching, however, the underlying identification processes involved with cultural frame switching must also be considered.

The extent to which bicultural people identify with two cultures is captured by the concept of bicultural identity integration (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002). Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) define *bicultural identity integration* (BII) as the extent to which bicultural individuals perceive their minority and majority ethnic identities as highly integrated and compatible (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002). To develop the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale – Version 1 *(BIIS-1)*, Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) identified two components of BII: *cultural distance* and *cultural conflict*. Cultural distance is defined as the separation between two cultural identities (e.g. keeping Latino and American cultures separate). Cultural conflict is defined as the opposition between two cultural identities (e.g. feeling caught between Latino and American culture) (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002).

Individuals who are high on BII view their cultures as compatible and integrated. For example, a Latino American who is high on BII identifies with both Latino and American identities equally, and describes the bicultural experience in positive terms. Research conducted by Miramontez, Benet-Martínez and Nguyen (2008) showed that Latino Americans who have blended their Latino and American identities rate their personality traits as equally similar to prototypical Latino and White American traits. Conversely, individuals who are low on BII view their cultures as oppositional and conflicted. For example, a Latino American who is low on BII views their Latino identity in conflict with their White American identity, and describes the bicultural experience in negative terms as a result of not being able to compromise the two cultures. A conflicted bicultural identity is exemplified by the following experience: "I was always trying to push aside who I really was and where I came from, because it was just not recognized. People didn't understand. There was always just this negativity

around your heritage, and for such a long time, I tried to resist it and fit into [American] culture" (MRM American-Hispanic Advisory Panel Roundtable discussion, 2007).

Research indicates that bicultural individuals' perceptions of their cultural identities as integrated or conflicted plays a critical role in the extent to which bicultural people respond to cultural cues (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002). If a bicultural individual perceives both cultures as compatible, the ability to undergo cultural frame switching should be fluid and equally automatic for both cultures. Conversely, if a bicultural individual perceives both cultures as oppositional, the ability to undergo cultural frame switching becomes difficult; the process is no longer as fluid and will occur more quickly for the cultural identity that the individual identifies with most. Benet-Martínez et al. (2002) adopted the methodology used by Hong, et al. (2000), and found that perceived cultural conflict and cultural distance predicted whether cultural primes were effective. Chinese Americans who were high on BII and exposed to American icons made *more* internal attributions to explain behavior than participants who were exposed to Chinese icons. Making internal attributions is characteristic of American culture. Chinese Americans who were low on BII and exposed to American icons made *less* internal attributions to explain behavior than participants who were exposed to Chinese icons. In this case, participants experienced a reverse-priming effect – participants who were low on BII behaved in ways that were not characteristic of the culture that was being primed. The findings presented by Benet-Martínez et al. (2002) indicate that bicultural individuals who are high on BII view their cultures as integrated and can identify with both cultures to the extent that they will behave according to the norms of either culture. Relative to bicultural individuals who are high on BII, bicultural individuals who are low on BII view their cultures as oppositional and conflicted. Their motivation to disidentify with one culture, or in some cases both cultures, causes them to behave in ways that oppose cultural norms. These findings suggest that BII may predict the extent to which bicultural people endorse the cultural ideology that supports the salient cultural identity.

Multicultural Ideologies

Due to cultural frame switching and BII, multiculturalism will have different implications for bicultural people. The "Mutual Intergroup Differentiation Model" (Hewstone & Brown, 1986) suggests that multicultural ideologies are effective at implementing peaceful intergroup relations. According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), the groups that people belong to constitute an important part of their sense of self. Therefore, people are motivated to maintain a sense of positive distinctiveness from other groups. Social Identity Theory (SIT) predicts that individuals will have more positive attitudes toward outgroups when the distinctions between ingroups and outgroups are highly salient. Another dimension of SIT argues that ingroup cohesiveness becomes stronger when different groups maintain their distinctiveness. The Mutual Intergroup Differentiation Model supports SIT by predicting that groups aim to maintain distinctiveness, and therefore, intergroup conflict is reduced because outgroups become less of a threat (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). In a test of this model, Hornsey and Hogg (2000) randomly assigned students to one of four conditions: individual, subordinate, superordinate, and simultaneous. All participants were asked to develop a plan for objects and services that would be included in the development of a recreational park. Students in the individual condition were simply told to complete the task. Participants in the subordinate condition emphasized their membership as either humanities or math-science students (subordinate membership), and participants in the superordinate condition emphasized their membership as university students (superordinate membership). The simultaneous condition was first primed with their superordinate membership, followed by their subordinate membership. Results indicated that relative to the other three conditions, participants expressed less intergroup bias when their subordinate identity was salient, as predicted by the Mutual Intergroup Differentiation Model (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). Thus, intergroup bias is reduced when a subordinate identity is made salient. Collectively, these results indicate that multiculturalism alleviates intergroup tensions.

Research conducted by Zárate and Garza (2002), provides additional support for multicultural ideologies by arguing for the "need for distinctiveness". Across two studies, Zárate and Garza (2002) showed that manipulating self-affirmation and whether an outgroup is similar or different to one's group identity can lead to different prejudice outcomes. For participants who self-affirmed, a focus on between-group similarities produced greater prejudice than a focus on between-group differences. Zárate and Garza (2002) concluded that prejudice is reduced when distinctiveness is most salient. These findings indicate that individuals express less prejudice because cultural distinctiveness affirms one's social identity.

The direct application of multicultural ideologies provides evidence for the reduction of intergroup tensions when cultural differences are retained. For example, a multiculturalism policy in Canada was enforced to reduce prejudice among the different ethnic groups in the country. The policy was based on the *multiculturalism assumption* (Berry, Kalin, & Taylor, 1977) that if people are proud enough to retain cultural distinctiveness, they will view other cultural groups positively. Studies in Canada supported the hypothesis that multiculturalism can reduce prejudice by increasing contact between different ethnic groups (Berry & Kalin, 1979). Such findings have led Berry (1984) to conclude that increased contact can lead to a greater tolerance for diversity and appreciation for multiculturalism.

Assimilation Ideologies

Cultural frame switching and BII will also influence how bicultural people perceive the implications of assimilation. An investigation of the "Common Ingroup Identity Model" (Gaertner, Dovidio, & Bachman, 1996) suggests that assimilation ideologies also promote peaceful intergroup relations. According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), intergroup tension is caused by the mere categorization of different groups. Social competition and intergroup comparisons create hierarchies between groups, and the differentiation between statuses causes intergroup conflict (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Gaertner et al. (1996) argue that intergroup conflict between ethnic groups is reduced when group distinctiveness is

replaced with one aggregate cultural group. According to the Common Ingroup Identity Model, intergroup conflict is reduced when minority cultures assimilate to the dominant culture to form a "we" identity instead of differentiating between "us" and "them" (Gaertner, et al., 1996).

Numerous studies show that identifying a common ingroup identity is an effective way to reduce prejudice between groups. For instance, Gaertner, et al. (1996) tested the Common Ingroup Identity Model across four different studies. In the first experiment, variables were manipulated (e.g. seating arrangements) to alter whether six participants perceived one aggregate group or two separate groups. Researchers also manipulated whether intergroup interactions were cooperative or competitive. Results indicated that participants perceived greater cooperation when they were members of one aggregate group. Additional analyses indicated that relative to the distinctive groups condition, intergroup biases were reduced in the aggregate group condition where participants expressed greater trust towards group members. Research conducted with high school students and bank executives also provides support for the Common Ingroup Identity Model. When students at a multi-ethnic high school were led to perceive the student population as one aggregate group (e.g. high school students), rather than a composition of different ethnic groups, students expressed less negative bias. Similarly, a corporate merger reduced intergroup tension when bank executives perceived the former competition as the ingroup (Gaertner, et al., 1996). Gaertner, et al. explained these findings by arguing that the Common Ingroup Identity Model prevents individuals from expressing negative attitudes toward former outgroup members. Once an aggregate group is formed, the former outgroup becomes the ingroup, thus promoting positive attitudes and enhancement for the group as a whole (Gaertner, et al., 1996). Based on these conclusions, assimilation is successful at reducing intergroup conflict.

Cultural Differences in Endorsement of Cultural Ideologies

Although, endorsement of cultural ideology has been shown to differ across ethnic majority and minority groups, differences across bicultural individuals remain uninvestigated. Across four studies,

Verkuyten (2005) investigated how the Turkish (minority group) and Dutch (majority group) differ in their endorsement of assimilation and multicultural ideologies. In the first study, Turkish and Dutch adolescents completed a series of items that measured endorsement of multiculturalism, ethnic identification, and attitudes toward members of the ingroup and outgroup. The second study administered the same dependent measures from the first study to university students living in Amsterdam. Results from both studies indicated that ethnic minorities expressed higher endorsement for multiculturalism than the ethnic majority group. Furthermore, ethnic minorities' endorsement of multiculturalism was strongly correlated with higher ingroup identification. Verkuyten (2005) explained these findings by arguing that ethnic minorities experience cultural affirmation in a multicultural society.

Two additional studies conducted by Verkuyten (2005) manipulated cultural ideology to measure differences between ethnic majority and minority groups. In both studies, participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: assimilation, multiculturalism, or control. Following the manipulation, participants completed a series of items that measured endorsement of cultural ideology, ethnic identification, and attitudes toward members of the ingroup and outgroup. Similar to the findings from the previous two studies, ethnic minorities endorsed multicultural ideology to a greater extent than the ethnic majority group. Results also indicated that relative to ethnic minorities, the ethnic majority group expressed higher endorsement for assimilation. Furthermore, higher ingroup identification varied as a function of the ideology condition – the Turkish identified more with their ingroup in the multicultural condition, whereas, the Dutch identified more with their ingroup in the assimilation condition (Verkuyten, 2005). The results from these four studies indicate that members of ethnic majority groups are more likely to endorse assimilation ideologies. Similarly, members of ethnic minority groups are more likely to endorse multicultural ideologies. According to Verkuyten (2005), these differences are based on which ideology is most culturally beneficial for ethnic majority and minority groups.

Wolsko, Park, and Judd (2006) also found that members of majority and minority ethnic groups respond differently to assimilation and multicultural ideologies. Their findings showed that minorities endorse multicultural ideologies to a greater extent than White Americans. Relative to White Americans, ethnic minorities were more likely to differentiate between ethnic groups and were also more likely to support public policy (e.g. affirmative action) aimed at enhancing minority positions in society. Ethnic minorities' endorsement of multiculturalism correlated with higher levels of Collective Self-Esteem (CSE; Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990) and an increase in evaluative bias. Ethnic minorities who expressed greater endorsement of multiculturalism evaluated their ingroup more positively. White Americans, on the other hand, demonstrated a different pattern of results. Greater endorsement of multiculturalism for White Americans correlated with lower levels of CSE and less positive evaluations of their ingroup. Furthermore, White Americans' endorsement of assimilation correlated with higher levels of CSE and an increase in evaluative bias. White Americans who expressed greater endorsement of assimilation evaluated their ingroup more positively. Collectively, these findings support the prediction that ethnic minority and majority groups respond differently to cultural ideologies.

If ethnic minority and majority groups respond differently to cultural ideologies, it is critical to examine how bicultural people respond to assimilation and multiculturalism. Because bicultural individuals have the ability to fluidly switch between identification with two distinct cultures, it is predicted that bicultural people will respond to cultural ideologies differently as a function of the identity that is made salient. This suggests that the salience of cultural identity will predict whether bicultural individuals select assimilation or multicultural ideologies as the most effective for enhancing intergroup relations and reducing intergroup tensions.

Biculturals' Reactions to Cultural Ideologies

Bicultural people are in a unique position because they simultaneously belong to two different cultures. Research by LaFromboise, Coleman, and Gerton (1993) constructed a theoretical framework to

predict how bicultural individuals will respond to multicultural and assimilation ideologies. LaFromboise, et al. (1993) argue that bicultural people do not necessarily have to identify with both cultures equally, but rather, they are motivated to view both cultures positively. Furthermore, bicultural individuals have to find a balance between their identification with a minority group and mainstream culture. According to LaFromboise, et al. (1993), bicultural individuals will assimilate when they feel accepted and motivated to interact with mainstream culture. In contrast, multiculturalism is based on the premise that bicultural individuals will maintain cultural distinctiveness when they remain loyal and continue interacting with their minority culture. Because of the increasing bicultural populations and the implications of endorsing cultural ideologies for intergroup conflict and cooperation, it becomes important to determine the extent to which bicultural individuals differentially endorse assimilation and multiculturalism as a function of whether their majority or minority cultural identity is salient.

Present Study

The present study investigated the extent to which bicultural Latino Americans responded to assimilation and multicultural ideologies as a function of whether Latino or American culture was made salient. It was hypothesized that Latino American participants would endorse multicultural ideologies when their Latino identity was made salient. Similarly, it was hypothesized that bicultural Latino Americans would endorse assimilation ideologies when their mainstream American identity was made salient.

Method

Power Analysis

An a priori power analysis was conducted with G*Power, computer software used for the power analyses of any statistical test (Erdfelder, Faul, & Buchner, 1996). The analysis was conducted for a repeated measures, within factors, Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) with two groups and two repetitions. The analysis was based on a negative correlation between the assimilation and multicultural subscales of the Interethnic Ideology Items scale, $r = -0.16$ (Wolsko, et al., 2006). The analysis included a medium effect size $f = 0.25$, where $\alpha = 0.05$ and $\beta = 0.80$. Based on this power analysis, a minimum of seventy-six ($N = 76$) participants were needed for the present study.

Participants

Ninety-one ($N = 91$) bicultural Latino Americans who self-identified as U.S. citizens participated in the present study. Students were recruited from Introductory Psychology courses at the University of Texas at El Paso and were compensated with course credit. Latino Americans self-identified as Mexican-American (71.43%), Hispanic/Latino (20.88%), Hispanic & Caucasian (4.40%), and Mexican (3.30%). The final sample included 67 females (73.63%) and 24 males (26.37%) with an average age of 20 years ($M = 19.81$, $SD = 2.67$).

Design

The present study was a single factor, two-level (Prime Type: American Prime vs. Latino Prime) design with two dependent variables (Ideology Endorsement: Multiculturalism and Assimilation). The independent variable, American prime versus Latino prime, was a between-subjects variable. The dependent variables, endorsement of multiculturalism and assimilation, were within-subjects variables. Bicultural identity integration and gender were included as exploratory variables in the design.

Materials and Procedure

Upon arriving at the laboratory, participants read and signed a consent form that described the study as an experiment investigating cultural identity. After consent was obtained, participants completed the experiment on a computer through SurveyMonkey, online survey software (SurveyMonkey.com, LLC, 1999).

Ethnic identity primes. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two experimental conditions: American prime or Latino prime. All participants were asked to list three things they enjoy most about being American or Latino. Participants assigned to the American prime condition read the following instructions: "List three reasons why your American identity is important to you (e.g., what you enjoy most about being American)". Participants assigned to the Latino prime condition read the following instructions: "List three reasons why your Latino identity is important to you (e.g., what you enjoy most about being Latino)".

Cultural ideologies. To measure the extent to which Latino Americans endorse assimilation and multiculturalism as a function of a primed cultural identity, participants completed the Interethnic Ideology Items scale developed by Wolsko, et al. (2006). Six items, such as, "We should have a single unified language in this country-Standard English." measured endorsement of assimilation ($\alpha = 0.83$). Six additional items, such as, "We must appreciate the unique characteristics of different ethnic groups in order to have a cooperative society," measured endorsement of multiculturalism ($\alpha = 0.66$). Participants rated each item along a seven-point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 7 = *Strongly Agree*).

Bicultural identity integration. Following the Interethnic Ideology Items scale (Wolsko, et al., 2006), participants completed an adapted version of the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale – Version 1 (*BIIS-1*) developed by Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005). The BIIS-1 measured the extent to which Latino Americans feel their Latino and American identity are conflicted or distant. Five items, such as, "I don't feel trapped between Latino and American cultures," measured the extent to which Latino

15

Americans perceive their Latino and American identities as conflicted (α = 0.69). Four items, such as, "I feel Latino-American.", measured the extent to which Latino Americans perceive their Latino and American identities as distant. Participants rated each item along a five-point scale (1 = *Strongly Disagree*, 5 = *Strongly Agree*). The Cronbach's alpha for the distance subscale (α = 0.47) was inadequate and an item was removed to improve internal consistency. The conflict and distance subscales were positively correlated ($r = 0.32$, $p < .01$), and the Cronbach's alpha for the entire measure was (α = 0.68) in this sample.

Demographics. At the end of the study, participants completed a demographic form that included their age, sex, whether they were U.S. citizens, their place of birth, ethnicity, academic class rank, and political party affiliation. Afterwards, participants were debriefed and dismissed.

Data Analyses

Interethnic Ideology Scale. The assimilation and multicultural subscales of the Interethnic Ideology scale (Wolsko, et al., 2006) were analyzed to determine if each subscale could be analyzed separately. The assimilation and multiculturalism subscales were uncorrelated ($r = - 0.085$, $p = 0.42$), indicating that each subscale could be analyzed separately as two dependent variables.

Bicultural Identity Integration. The low internal consistency of the distance subscale was slightly improved by removing one of the four distance items from the BII measure. The removed item stated: "I am simply a Latino who lives in North America." The Cronbach's alpha for the remaining three items was (α = 0.51) in this sample. Despite removing one item from the distance subscale, reliability remained inadequate. The conflict and revised distance subscale were still positively correlated ($r = 0.31$, $p = .003$) and the Cronbach's alpha for the entire BII measure remained unchanged (α = 0.69).

Results

The goal of the present study was to examine the extent to which bicultural Latino Americans endorse assimilation and multicultural ideologies as a function of a salient cultural identity. It was predicted that participants assigned to the American prime condition would express more favorable attitudes toward assimilation ideologies relative to participants in the Latino prime condition. Conversely, relative to the American prime condition, it was expected that participants assigned to the Latino prime condition would express more favorable attitudes toward multicultural ideologies.

To test these hypotheses, a Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) testing the extent to which the salience of mainstream American culture or Latino culture predicts endorsement of assimilation and multiculturalism was statistically significant (Pillai's Trace = 0.075, $F(2, 88) = 3.58$, $p = 0.03$). As predicted, participants in the Latino prime condition expressed greater endorsement of multiculturalism, $F(1,89) = 6.25$, $p = 0.01$ (Latino prime condition: $M = 5.95$, $SD = 0.70$, $SE = 0.10$; American prime condition: $M = 5.55$, $SD = 0.81$, $SE = 0.12$) (Figure 1). However, contrary to prediction, participants in the American prime condition did not express greater endorsement of assimilation, $F(1, 89) = 0.52$, $p = 0.47$ (American prime condition: $M = 4.04$, $SD = 1.10$, $SE = 0.16$; Latino prime condition: $M = 4.23$, $SD = 1.40$, $SE = 0.21$).
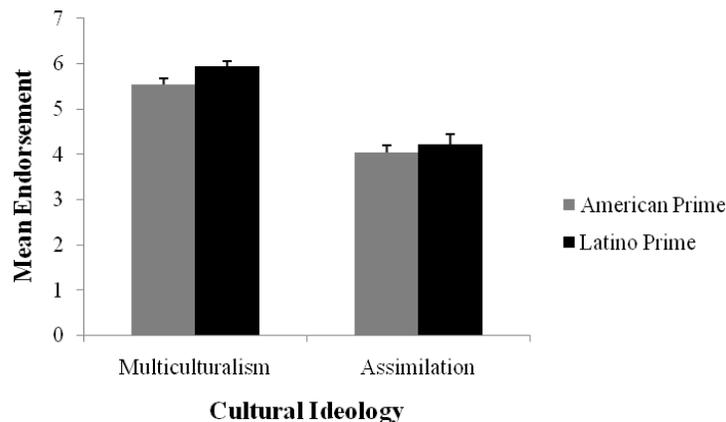

Figure 1: Endorsement of assimilation and multiculturalism across prime conditions. Error bars represent *SE*.

17

Post-hoc analyses with BII

The extent to which bicultural Latino Americans perceive Latino and American cultures as conflicted or distant may explain why the salience of mainstream American culture does not predict greater endorsement of assimilation. Thus, to further explore and disentangle BII, two additional analyses were conducted. The first analysis was a MANOVA, with cultural prime as the independent variable, endorsement of assimilation and multiculturalism as the dependent variables, and cultural conflict as a moderator variable to test for interactions. The second analysis was a MANOVA, with cultural prime as the independent variable, endorsement of assimilation and multiculturalism as the dependent variables, and cultural distance as a moderator variable to test for interactions.

Cultural Conflict. The extent to which bicultural Latino Americans perceive Latino and mainstream American culture as conflicted is not associated with multiculturalism $F(1, 87) = 0.13$, $p = 0.72$. However, perceiving greater conflict between Latino culture and mainstream American culture is associated with endorsement of assimilation, $F(1, 87) = 5.48$, $p = 0.02$. As shown in Figure 2, participants who perceived their Latino and American identities as highly conflicted expressed greater endorsement of assimilation ($r = 0.25$, $p = 0.017$). Endorsement of assimilation as a function of perceived cultural conflict did not statistically differ across the Latino and American prime conditions, $F(1, 87) = 0.01$, $p = 0.91$.
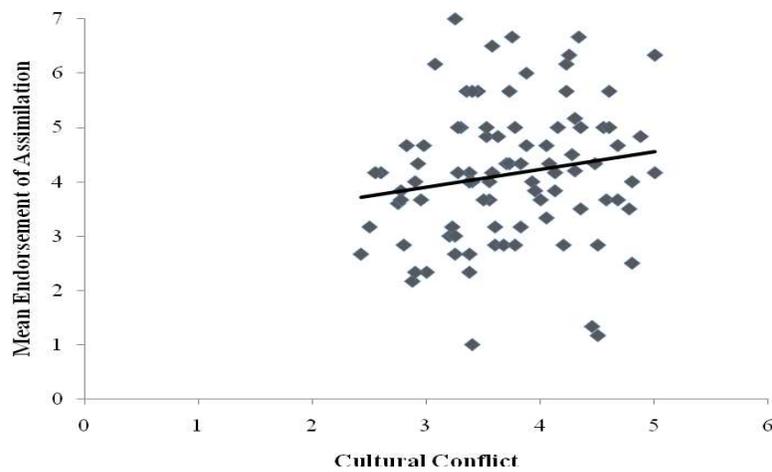

Figure 2: Association between cultural conflict and endorsement of assimilation.

Cultural distance. The extent to which bicultural Latino Americans perceive Latino and mainstream American culture as distant is not associated with endorsement of assimilation, $F(1, 87) = 0.02$, $p = 0.88$. However, the extent to which participants perceived Latino and mainstream American culture as distant is associated with endorsement of multiculturalism, $F(1, 87) = 4.38$, $p = 0.04$. As shown in Figure 3, participants who perceived their Latino and American identities as highly distant expressed greater endorsement of multiculturalism ($r = 0.23$, $p = 0.03$). Endorsement of multiculturalism as a function of perceived cultural distance did not statistically differ across the Latino and American prime conditions, $F(1, 87) = 0.18$, $p = 0.68$.
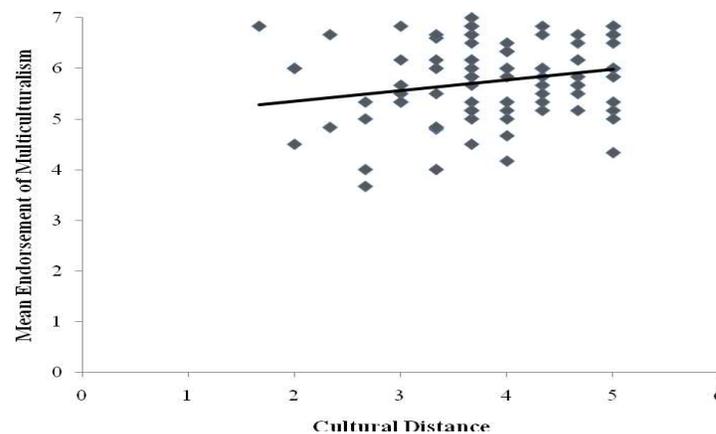
Figure 3: Association between cultural distance and endorsement of multiculturalism.

Post-hoc analyses with gender

Additional post-hoc analyses were conducted to investigate gender effects. Thus, sex was included as a predictor variable in the General Linear Model. Males and females differentially endorse assimilation, $F(1, 87) = 8.08$, $p = 0.006$. Relative to males, females expressed less endorsement of assimilation (Males: $M = 4.72$, $SD = 1.34$; Females: $M = 3.93$, $SD = 1.16$). Differential endorsement of assimilation between females and males did not statistically differ across the Latino and American prime conditions, $F(1, 87) = 1.12$, $p = 0.29$. While gender predicted endorsement of assimilation, gender is not associated with endorsement of multiculturalism, $F(1, 87) = 1.34$, $p = 0.25$.

Discussion

The main findings from the present study provide partial support for the prediction that bicultural individuals differentially endorse assimilation and multiculturalism as a function of a salient cultural identity. A salient minority identity produces greater endorsement of multiculturalism among Latino Americans. However, a salient majority identity does not produce greater endorsement of assimilation among Latino Americans. Furthermore, bicultural individuals' perception of conflict and distance between their two identities predicts distinct endorsement of multiculturalism and assimilation. Bicultural individuals' perception of conflict between their Latino and mainstream American identities is positively associated with endorsement of assimilation, whereas their perception of distance between their Latino and mainstream American identities is positively associated with endorsement of multiculturalism.

Endorsement of multiculturalism

It was expected that endorsement of assimilation would be associated with a primed majority identity. It was also expected that endorsement of multiculturalism would be associated with a primed minority identity. One major finding supports these predictions. Latino Americans expressed *greater* endorsement for multiculturalism when their Latino identity was made salient.

Cultural frame switching was supported by the association between a salient minority identity and endorsement of multiculturalism. Previous research conducted by Hong, et al. (1997) and Hong, et al. (2000) suggests that bicultural Chinese Americans commit the behavioral attribution that is consistent with the norms of the salient culture. The differential endorsement of multiculturalism across the Latino and American prime conditions in the present study suggests that bicultural Latino Americans experience cultural frame switching when their Latino identity is salient, and thus, endorsed the cultural ideology that is expected with the salient minority culture.

Greater endorsement of multiculturalism found in the present study is consistent with previous research. Verkuyten (2005) and Wolsko et al. (2006) suggest that relative to ethnic majority groups, ethnic minorities express greater endorsement of multiculturalism. Bicultural Latino Americans reproduce this effect when their Latino identity is made salient. A salient minority identity predicts endorsement of multiculturalism, the ideology that recognizes the ethnic diversity of the minority culture.

Endorsement of assimilation

Inconsistent with previous research, greater endorsement of assimilation was not associated with the salience of a majority identity in the present study. The hypothesis that Latino Americans would endorse assimilation when their mainstream American identity was made salient was not supported. These findings suggest that endorsement of assimilation may not be a function of a salient cultural identity for bicultural individuals. The unique setting of the present study may explain this finding.

The bicultural Latino American sample in the present study resides in a community on the U.S./Mexico border in El Paso, Texas. Whereas White American individuals comprise the majority culture in most parts of the country, Latino individuals comprise the majority culture in El Paso, Texas. The predominantly Latino population is unique to El Paso, and similar border cities, and consequently, the Latino Americans in the present study may be more likely to define American culture through a lens of Latino culture. Thus, living on the U.S./Mexico border may give Latino Americans the unique advantage of incorporating Latino culture and American culture to form a blended bicultural identity. This may explain why the salience of a mainstream American identity did not predict endorsement of assimilation.

Bicultural Identity Integration

The reliability of the BII measure suggests that the items do not readily apply to a Latino American sample. In the present study, the reliability of the distance scale was inadequate and only

slightly improved after an uncorrelated item was omitted from analysis ($\alpha = 0.51$). When compared to the reliabilities reported for the distance subscales in studies using a Chinese American sample, it is apparent that the reliability of the BII measure is inconsistent. For example, Benet-Martínez and Haritatos (2005) reported $\alpha = 0.69$ as the reliability for the distance subscale, and Cheng, Lee, and Benet-Martínez (2006) reported $\alpha = 0.72$ as the reliability for the distance subscale. The measure was originally developed for Chinese American samples, and research must continue to investigate whether the concept of bicultural identity integration generalizes well to other bicultural samples.

Despite these reservations, the conflict and distance subscales were included in the analyses of the present study. Results indicated that cultural conflict predicted greater endorsement of assimilation. Latino Americans who perceive Latino and mainstream American culture as highly conflicted expressed greater endorsement of assimilation. This finding suggests that Latino Americans who perceive their dual identities as highly conflicted may prefer their mainstream identity, and thus, endorse the ideology that maintains mainstream culture.

Results also indicated that cultural distance predicted greater endorsement of multiculturalism. This finding suggests that Latino Americans who perceive their dual identities as highly distant may identify as individuals from their minority culture who simply reside in mainstream culture without the intention of assimilating. There may be a tendency for these bicultural individuals to identify most with their minority culture, and thus endorse the ideology that recognizes the ethnic diversity of the minority culture.

Taken together, these findings contradict previous research investigating bicultural people and BII (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002). Bicultural individuals who are high on BII perceive their dual identities as compatible and integrated. High BII bicultural individuals report *less* cultural conflict and *less* cultural distance. Conversely, bicultural individuals who are low on BII perceive their dual identities as oppositional and conflicted. Low BII bicultural individuals report *greater* cultural conflict

and *greater* cultural distance. The findings from the present study disentangle BII and present the possibility for bicultural individuals to perceive cultural conflict and cultural distance as two distinct concepts, rather than a combination of both to form BII. The present results indicate that high cultural conflict and high cultural distance do not equate to low BII because significant effects were found only when the conflict and distance subscales were analyzed separately. Furthermore, whereas high conflict was associated with greater endorsement of assimilation, high distance was associated with greater endorsement of multiculturalism. Thus, it is possible for bicultural individuals to respond differently to cultural ideologies as a function of whether they perceive their dual identities as conflicted or integrated, rather than whether they can be classified as high or low BII.

Gender Differences

Post-hoc analyses of gender differences indicated differential endorsement of assimilation where males expressed greater endorsement of assimilation. This finding supports a report by Blau and Kahn (2007) that investigated the assimilation of Mexican immigrants in the United States. Their results suggest that the heightened assimilation of male immigrants is associated with their rapid incorporation in the American workforce. Relative to females, males have higher wages and work longer hours (Blau & Kahn, 2007). Consistent with the report, the findings from the present study suggest that Latino American males may associate assimilation with the traditional values of assimilating for work.

Future Directions

Based on the findings from the present study, future studies will aim to further understand how bicultural people respond to cultural ideologies. The results from the present study indicate that the salience of a minority identity leads bicultural individuals to endorse multicultural ideologies. Aside from identity saliency, other variables, such as generational status may predict differential endorsement of cultural ideologies. For example, bicultural individuals who have resided in a mainstream culture for a longer period of time will express greater endorsement of assimilation. Thus, additional individual

difference variables will be used in future studies to isolate the influence of bicultural identity on endorsement of cultural ideologies.

In addition to exploring differential endorsement of cultural ideologies, future studies will directly test perceptions of cultural change. Manipulating the extent to which bicultural individuals perceive: (1) the United States is changing to accommodate the influx of Latinos or (2) Latinos are changing to accommodate the United States, may also predict differential endorsement of cultural ideologies. The extent to which an identity is salient, coupled with a perception of cultural change, can make bicultural people more aware of the consequences of cultural change toward the salient identity. By manipulating a perception of cultural change, it is predicted that the salience of the majority culture will lead to endorsement of assimilation when bicultural individuals perceive that Latinos are changing to accommodate mainstream American culture. It is also predicted that the salience of the minority culture will lead to endorsement of multiculturalism when bicultural individuals perceive that mainstream American culture is changing to accommodate ethnic minorities.

Conclusion

Previous research suggests that ethnic majority groups prefer assimilation, and ethnic minority groups prefer multiculturalism. The present study provides an additional dimension to this line of research. Rather than distinguishing between different ethnic groups, it is important to distinguish between the dual identities within individuals. Overall the results from the present study indicate that bicultural individuals endorse multicultural ideologies when their minority identity is made salient. Thus, it becomes possible for the endorsement of cultural ideology to vary as a function of bicultural individuals' immediate social cues. This fluid transition suggests that bicultural individuals' reactions to cultural change will vary dramatically and will be predictable only to the extent that a cultural identity is salient. These findings have critical implications for bicultural people because if their endorsement of cultural ideologies is a function of the immediate environment, bicultural individuals will disregard the

24

consequences of implementing assimilation or multicultural societies when making decisions about the most effective policies for reducing intergroup tensions. These findings, together with future research, will further illuminate the psychological experience of bicultural people and the most effective approaches to encouraging intergroup cooperation among culturally diverse societies.

References

Benet-Martínez, V., & Haritatos, J. (2005). Bicultural identity integration (BII): Components and psychosocial antecedents. *Journal of Personality*, *73*, 1015-1050. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-6494.2005.00337.x

Benet-Martínez, V., Leu, J., Lee, F., & Morris, M. W. (2002). Negotiating biculturalism: Cultural frame switching in biculturals with oppositional versus compatible cultural identities. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *33*, 492-516. doi: 10.1177/0022022102033005005

Berry, J. W. (1984). Cultural relations in plural societies: Alternatives to segregation and their sociopsychological implications. In N. Miller & M. B. Brewer (Eds.), *Groups in contact: The psychology of desegregation*, (pp. 11-27). New York: Academic Press.

Berry, J. W., & Kalin, R. (1979). Reciprocity of inter-ethnic attitudes in a multicultural society. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *3*, 99-112. doi: 10.1016/0147-1767(79)90048-8

Berry, J. W., Kalin, R., & Taylor, D. M. (1977). *Multiculturalism and ethnic attitudes in Canada.* Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services.

Blau, F. D., & Kahn, L. M. (2007). Gender and assimilation among Mexican Americans. In G. J. Borjas (Ed.), *Mexican immigration to the United States* (pp. 57-106). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Cheng, C., Lee, F., & Benet-Martínez, V. (2006). Assimilation and contrast effects in cultural frame switching: Bicultural identity integration and valence of cultural cues. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *37*, 742-760. doi: 10.1177/0022022106292081

Crocker, J., & Luhtanen, R. (1990). Collective Self Esteem and ingroup bias. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *58*, 60-67. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.58.1.60

Devos, T. (2006). Implicit bicultural identity among Mexican American and Asian American college

    students. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *12*, 381-402. doi: 10.1037/1099-

    9809.12.3.381

Erdfelder, E., Faul, F., & Buchner, A. (1996). GPOWER: A general power analysis program.

    Behavior Research Methods, Instruments, & Computers, *28*(1), 1-11.

Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., & Bachman, B. A. (1996). Revisiting the contact hypothesis: The

    induction of a common ingroup identity. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *20*,

    271-290. doi: 10.1016/0147-1767(96)00019-3

Greenwald, A. G., McGhee, D. E., & Schwartz, J. L. K. (1998). Measuring individual differences in

    implicit cognition: The implicit association test. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*,

    74, 1464-1480. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.74.6.1464

Hewstone, M., & Brown, R. (1986). Contact is not enough: An intergroup perspective. In M. Hewstone

    & R. Brown (Eds.), *Contact and conflict in intergroup encounters* (pp. 1-44). Oxford, UK:

    Blackwell.

Hong, Y. Y., Chiu, C. Y., & Kung, T. M. (1997). Bringing culture out in front: Effects of cultural

    meaning system activation on social cognition. In K. Leung, Y. Kashima, U. Kim, & S.

    Yamaguchi (Eds.), *Progress in Asian social psychology* (Vol. 1, pp. 135-146). Singapore: Wiley.

Hong, Y. Y., Morris, M., Chiu, C. Y., & Benet-Martínez, V. (2000). Multicultural minds: A dynamic

    constructivist approach to culture and cognition. *American Psychologist*, *55*, 709-720.

    doi: 10.1037//0003-066X.55.7.709

Hornsey, M. J., & Hogg, M. A. (2000). Subgroup relations: A comparison of mutual intergroup

    differentiation and common ingroup identity models of prejudice reduction. *Personality and

    Social Psychology Bulletin*, *26*, 242-256. doi: 10.1177/0146167200264010

LaFromboise, T., Coleman, H. L. K., & Gerton, J. (1993). Psychological impact of biculturalism: Evidence and Theory. *Psychological Bulletin, 114*, 395-412. doi: 10.1037/0033-2909.114.3.395

Markus, H., & Wurf, E. (1987). The dynamic self-concept: A social psychological perspective. *Annual Review of Psychology, 38*, 299-337. doi: 10.1146/annurev.ps.38.020187.001503

Miramontez, D. R., Benet-Martínez, V., & Ngyun, A. M. D. (2008). Bicultural identity and self/group personality perceptions. *Self and Identity, 7*, 430-445. doi: 10.1080/15298860701833119

Phinney, J. S., & Devich-Navarro, M. (1997). Variations in bicultural identification among African American and Mexican American adolescents. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 7*, 3-32. doi: 10.1207/s15327795jra0701_2

SurveyMonkey.com, LLC. (1999). [Computer software]. Palo Alto, CA.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-48). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

U.S. Census Bureau. (2008, May). *U.S. Hispanic population surpasses 45 million: Now 15 percent of total*. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/population/cb08-67.html

Verkuyten, M. (2005). Ethnic group identification and group evaluation among minority and majority groups: Testing the multiculturalism hypothesis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 88*, 121-138. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.88.1.121

Wolsko, C., Park, B., & Judd, C. M. (2006). Considering the tower of Babel: Correlates of assimilation and multiculturalism among ethnic minority and majority groups in the United States. *Social Justice Research, 19*, 277-306. doi: 10.1007/s11211-006-0014-8

Zárate, M. A., & Garza, A. A. (2002). In-group distinctiveness and self-affirmation as dual components of prejudice reduction. *Self and Identity, 1*, 235-249. doi: 10.1080/152988602760124865

Zou, X., Morris, M. W., Benet-Martínez, V. (2008). Identity motives and cultural priming: Cultural (dis)identification in assimilative and contrastive responses. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *44*, 1151-1159. doi: 10.1016/j.jesp.2008.02.001

1. Members of ethnic minority groups should try harder to learn about western capitalism to help them succeed in corporate America. (Assimilation)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

2. Learning about the ways that different ethnic groups resolve conflict will help us develop a more harmonious society. (Multiculturalism)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

3. People from all ethnic backgrounds should embrace the American dream of hard work and success. (Assimilation)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

4. If we want to help create a harmonious society, we must recognize that each ethnic group has the right to maintain its own unique traditions. (Multiculturalism)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

5. In order to have a smoothly functioning society, members of ethnic minorities must better adapt to the ways of mainstream American culture. (Assimilation)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

6. When interacting with a member of an ethnic group that is different from your own, it is very important to take into account the history and cultural traditions of that person's ethnic group. (Multiculturalism)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

7. We should have a single unified language in this country – Standard English. (Assimilation)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

8. In order to live in a cooperative society, everyone must learn the unique histories and cultural experiences of different ethnic groups. (Multiculturalism)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

9. Children from all ethnic groups should be taught to adopt mainstream American values from an early age. (Assimilation)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

10. I would like my children to be exposed to the language and cultural traditions of different ethnic groups. (Multiculturalism)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

11. The established system of government in this country can serve all the people well, so long as minority group members are willing to work within its structure. (Assimilation)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

12. We must appreciate the unique characteristics of different ethnic groups in order to have a cooperative society. (Multiculturalism)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree

Appendix B

1. I feel like someone moving between two cultures. (Conflict)

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree

2. I keep Latino and American cultures separate. (Distance)

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree

3. I don't feel trapped between Latino and American cultures. (Conflict)

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree

4. I feel Latino-American. (Distance)

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree

5. I feel caught between Latino and American cultures. (Conflict)

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree

6. I feel part of a combined culture. (Distance)

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree

7. I feel that my Latino and American identities are quite compatible. (Conflict)

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree

8. I am simply a Latino who lives in North America. (Distance)

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree

9. I am conflicted between the American and Latino ways of doing things. (Conflict)

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree

Vita

Stephanie Ann Quezada was born on May 5, 1986 in El Paso, Texas. She received her Bachelor's of Arts degree with honors in Psychology from Vassar College in 2008. During that time she was the recipient of multiple scholarships, including the Gates Millennium Scholarship. Her interest in psychological research stemmed from her involvement in three laboratories that focused on different topics of social psychology. She initiated a collaborative project between two institutions, which later gave her the opportunity to present her research at the annual meeting for the Society of Personality and Social Psychology. She entered the Psychology Doctoral program at the University of Texas at El Paso in the Fall of 2008. Since then, she has been awarded a graduate fellowship from the Department of Homeland Security and an Honorable Mention from the National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship Program. She has conducted research in applied settings, including an internship with Sandia National Laboratories where she was given the opportunity to contribute to a published report for the Department of Homeland Security. For the Fall 2010 Commencement, she was selected as the UTEP Graduate School Banner Bearer and was awarded the Outstanding Graduate Student in Psychology award.

Permanent address: 122 Finita Apt. 94

                                El Paso, Texas 79907

This thesis was typed by the author.