

(embodied in such policies as No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top) advanced since Darder's analysis has only regenerated the assault on bicultural youth.

Although language is a major marker of biculturalism, it is certainly not the only one. In the 1920s the Brazilian government pursued racial whitening policies that were effective not only in limiting non-whites into the country but also in policing biculturalism writ large in social and institutional spaces. The policy was particularly harsh toward the Japanese and reached its most oppressive articulation following the Brazilian government's declaration of war on Japan in 1942. The mere identification with the nation-state of Japan and/or the exhibiting of desires to maintain subcultural spaces in the country was seen as taboo. Likewise, Christian missionaries and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) founded boarding schools in the United States whose immediate purpose was cultural erasure and assimilation. These efforts were not only linguistic in nature but also involved corporeal terrorism. The effort to socialize indigenous and bicultural identities out of existence was instantiated by a wider project of cultural and material imperialism.

The power dynamics at play, given the presence of biculturalism, need not always take a negative form. For example, Swiss cultural policy follows efforts to foster cultural diversity. In the realm of linguistic policy, Switzerland recognizes four official languages. Nation-states may also reverse policies that advance monoculturalism. There is some evidence that Māori resistance in New Zealand has led to renewed emphasis on biculturalism and the undermining of government policies favoring Pākehā culture (although some would claim minimal). Furthermore, in no power dynamic is any group totally powerless. Native American students in boarding schools, for example, were never passive recipients of Anglo- and Euro-centric culture (Adams, 1995).

Through much of the twentieth century, researchers and policymakers viewed biculturalism and bilingualism as a hindrance to intellectual development. Considerable current research exists on the cognitive benefits of biculturalism and bilingualism. In a 2004 study, psychologists Ellen Bialystok and Michelle Martin-Rhee found that bilingualism forced young children to resolve internal cognitive conflicts in the solving of puzzles much more

efficiently than monolingual children. Some studies have also concluded that the higher the degree of bilingualism, the later the age of onset of conditions such as dementia and Alzheimer's disease.

Interesting areas of current research on biculturalism include examinations of the forces that both promote and serve as obstacles to its development. Current tensions in the use of the term exist as debates have surfaced regarding the use of biculturalism or multiculturalism. The former seeks formal recognition of two cultures, whereas the latter seeks the political and institutional legitimacy of more than one.

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## BICULTURALISM

### *Bicultural Individuals*

The U.S. Census Bureau (2013) reported that 21 percent of all married-couple households in America had at least one foreign-born spouse in 2011. Biculturalism is when individuals highly identify with two cultures, both home and host cultures, whether by being born in a country (i.e., home culture) and moving to another (i.e., host culture), or by being born into a setting (i.e., home culture) in which the primary caregivers do not identify with the mainstream culture (i.e., host culture). There are also many U.S.

(i.e., host culture)-born individuals who are born into ethnic and minority families (i.e., home culture), making them bicultural from their upbringing (Phinney, 1996). These individuals will likely have to balance the two identities within their surroundings, many times choosing which identity to display in different contexts. For example, Peter is Korean American. He was born in the United States, but his parents are Korean speaking and immigrated to the United States only a few years before he was born. Therefore, his home life is much different than his American peers whose parents speak English at home and know American culture. Peter has to decide how much he will identify with his Korean culture and how much he will try to fit into American culture. These choices are influenced by factors such as: mostly speaking English versus Korean, the general culture of his chosen peer group, his way of thinking, and his relationship with his parents.

### *Balancing Both Cultures*

Bicultural individuals' constant need to switch between cultures may make them more aware to culture norms and understand the multidimensionality of multiple cultures (Gutierrez & Sameroff, 1990). Hong et al. (2000) described the notion of cultural frame switching, in which a bicultural individual needs to access and execute different parts of his or her culture at any given time, based on social cues. Social cues could include obvious symbols such as clothes, language, and food, or less obvious signs such as roles, tone, expectations, and facial expressions. Depending on the context, the bicultural individual quickly needs to decide and apply a socially acceptable behavior for that culture. For example, Peter's Korean culture requires him to speak and act extremely respectfully to adults, to use formal language specifically for addressing older people, and to engage in respectful behavior such as bowing. He is expected to show respect to his elders at his Korean church, with his parents' friends, and even with strangers at the Korean supermarket. However, although he is still expected to show respect at school, he can speak less formally with his older teachers and administrators. He is expected to address them with prefixes such as Mr. and Mrs. However, he is not expected to use a different language for adults, and he does not need to bow to

them when he greets them. Peter's inaccurate application to each culture could result in significant repercussions: Korean culture would classify him as extremely rude and disrespectful, and American culture may classify him as extremely strange.

### *Individuals' Biculturation Process*

Acculturation is the process of cultural socialization or adapting to the norms of the dominant or mainstream culture. In contrast, enculturation is the retention of one's own culture or cultural socialization to one's culture of origin. Individuals will likely identify with one culture, and they will have a difficult time living in the dominant culture or will lose a large portion of their native culture.

### *Difficulties in the Biculturation Process*

Bicultural individuals experience difficulties and challenging situations that are unique to their situation. Bicultural individuals do not adjust into either ethnicity, making it difficult for them to identify with either side. For example, Peter might naturally acculturate more with American culture because he spends most of his time interacting with Americans rather than Koreans, but his Asian appearance will automatically enforce stereotypes from others about his cultural identity. Even if Peter is fluent in English and was born and raised in the United States, strangers may assume that he cannot speak English or that he is new to the country. On the contrary, Peter may successfully preserve his Korean heritage because his parents are intentional about enforcing Korean traditions in the home. However, he will likely not be able to relate to native Korean people when he visits Korea because he was born and raised in America and grew up with a different lifestyle. Although Peter may have a new identity as a Korean American, he will never be able fully to identify as an American or a Korean.

Bicultural individuals also experience difficulty mastering both cultures in socially appropriate manners. Many times, their native ethnicity is compromised more than the culture in which they live. However, their native culture is what others assume they align with because of their appearance. Further, individuals in their native culture may also assume and expect them to identify fully with their culture just by looking at them. For example, Sarah is a Korean American female who grew up with

English-speaking parents. Therefore, she did not grow up learning Korean even in her home and does not understand Korean values. Her lack of exposure to Korean social norms is most problematic when she visits her relatives in Korea and does not show the proper respect they expect from her. She is expected to speak Korean in a formal language, bow, and not be completely comfortable around adults. However, her Americanized parents never expected these behaviors in her home, so she does not know how to interact with her Korean relatives. Because of Sarah's Korean ethnicity, she is held to the same standard as a Korean individual from Korea, even though she was raised in the United States with different expectations.

### *Recent Research Findings Related to Bicultural Individuals*

**BICULTURAL INDIVIDUALS' PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIOCULTURAL ADJUSTMENT** Although individuals experience many challenges in their biculturation processes, a high level of biculturalism is strongly and positively associated with both psychological and sociocultural adjustment. An extensive quantitative review (i.e., meta-analysis) study found this biculturalism-adjustment relationship is stronger than the relationship between monoculturalism (i.e., having only a single culture) and adjustment (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). This study indicates that bicultural individuals acquire competencies and cognitive and social flexibility in the process of learning and accessing two cultures, which may lead them to be more adept at adjusting to various types of people and situations in their cultures and other cultures (Benet-Martínez, Lee, & Leu, 2006; Leung, Maddox, Galinsky, & Chiu, 2008; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). Further, their social support networks in both cultures and their cognitive and social flexibility may protect them from the psychological maladjustment such as anxiety and loneliness, or sociocultural maladjustment such as interpersonal conflicts and intercultural miscommunication. They might have suffered from these kinds of maladjustment due to their challenging acculturation experiences if they were not bicultural (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). The findings indicate that bicultural individuals' cognitive and social flexibility and competencies might increase

their intercultural sensitivity and ethnorelativism, which may help them become excellent cultural mediators for intercultural conflicts or business negotiations (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013).

**BICULTURAL INDIVIDUALS' COGNITIVE FLEXIBILITY AND COMPLEXITY** Bicultural individuals are more creative and more professionally successful than monocultural individuals (Leung & Chiu, 2010; Leung, Maddux, Galinsky, & Chiu, 2008; Maddux, Adam, & Galinsky, 2010; Maddux & Galinsky, 2009; Tadmor, Galinsky, & Maddux, 2012). Tadmor, Galinsky, and Maddux (2012) found that bicultural individuals show (a) higher levels of creativity such as higher fluency, flexibility, and novelty; (b) higher innovation at work; (c) higher promotions; and (d) more positive professional reputations than monocultural individuals. More importantly, Tadmor et al. (2012) found that the relationship between biculturalism and creativity is due to bicultural individuals' high cognitive flexibility and complexity, which are the skills to process information through considering and combining multiple perspectives. Individuals' cognitive flexibility and complexity can explain why some bicultural individuals are more successful than others while living abroad (Tadmor et al., 2012). Therefore, just being exposed to new cultures and cultural knowledge(s) is insufficient to bring about creativity and other cognitive benefits associated with biculturalism. In fact, the number of years abroad is not a significant predictor of creativity (Tadmor et al., 2012). Bicultural individuals who experience the inconsistencies between the two cultures in a powerful way, resolve the inconsistencies between the two cultures in a complex way, and synthesize two cultural perspectives and achieve cognitive transformation are more creative and more professionally successful. This conclusion highlights the importance of a multicultural climate that allows acculturating individuals the freedom to adopt a bicultural strategy and thus develop the cognitive flexibility and complexity required to become more creative and successful (Tadmor et al., 2010).

### *Implications*

As the United States is becoming more diverse and interracial marriages are becoming more prevalent, biculturalism is a growing phenomenon

(Coronado, Guevarra, Moniz, & Szanto, 2003). Biculturalism is an important social phenomenon, especially in a multicultural society and in today's increasingly interconnected and globalized world. If a society's climate insists on an assimilation mindset, which believes that minority members should be absorbed into mainstream culture, then the minority members cannot develop bicultural identities with cognitive flexibility and complexity. This chain of events could lead the society to reap fewer benefits from diversity and creativity (Tadmor et al., 2010). The relationship between biculturalism and adjustment indicates that if host countries adopt multicultural policies, they might achieve greater national success and well-being (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). Further research specific to bicultural individuals may be helpful in making conclusions about cultural norms, societal expectations, and new norms related to the growing trend of diverse individuals. Bicultural individuals experience a unique set of advantages and disadvantages pertaining to education, career, and social interactions; more data on how to best cater to bicultural individuals may be beneficial. Even though there are more bicultural individuals now than ever before, issues such as racism, discrimination, and prejudice against bicultural individuals are existent and need to be eliminated.

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## BISEXUALITY

### *Bisexuality and Social Justice*

Bisexuality has been defined in many ways. Although a common assumption is that bisexuality denotes