

Forecasting good or bad behaviour: A non-transparent test of contrastive responses to cultural cues

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Bicultural individuals vary in the degree to which their two cultural identities are integrated – Bicultural Identity Integration (BII). Among Asian-Americans, for example, some experience their Asian and American sides as integrated (high BII) whereas others experience the two as divided (low BII). Past research on social judgement found that individual differences in BII affect the way biculturals respond to cultural cues or norms in their situation. Asian-Americans with low BII tend to contrast to the cultural norm (e.g. they exhibit typically American judgements when in Asian cultural situations) rather than assimilate to them, a response observed more among high BII individuals (e.g., they exhibit typically Asian judgements when in Asian cultural situations). Research has interpreted the contrastive response as reflecting implicit identity motives, yet past studies used measures that make cultural differences salient. Conscious awareness of the experimental hypothesis could elicit contrastive responses. The present research assessed forecasts of others' behaviour in which cultural group differences are less obvious: Asians, compared to Westerners, forecast more positive behaviours from others. In three experiments with Asian-Americans, we found the contrastive response by low BII individuals persisted. They made more positive forecasts after exposure to American versus Asian cultural cues. This suggests that the moderating role of BII on responses to cultural cues is not a matter of demand characteristics or limited to stereotypical cultural differences. Implications for bicultural identity, implicit processes, and organizational behaviour are discussed.

Key words: attribution, bicultural, cultural priming, identity integration, social judgement.

With globalization, an increasing number of individuals identify with more than one culture. A growing interest among researchers is how bicultural individuals think and act in culturally-laden situations, given they have two legacies of cultural knowledge to draw on. For instance, Asian immigrants in Western countries (e.g. Canada, United Kingdom, Australia) have been exposed to two different styles of social judgment – Western culture emphasizing a focus on individuals and Asian culture emphasizing a focus on context and relationships. Do bicultural individuals switch between different cultural patterns of judgement depending on their situation? If so, what affects whether they respond in a culturally normative way?

Bicultural individuals identify strongly with two cultures (e.g. the ethnic heritage and host country culture among immigrants) (Berry, 1990). Psychology research suggests that bicultural individuals can flexibly switch between the response biases of either of their cultures, depending on situational cues such as culturally associated languages or icons (Fu, Chiu, Morris, & Young, 2007; Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000; Ng, Han, Mao, & Lai, 2010;

Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002). Numerous studies have shown that cultural cues elicit culturally normative or assimilative responses in biculturals. For example, Westernized Hong Kong Chinese became more extraverted when conversing in English versus Chinese (Chen & Bond, 2010). Immigrant Asian-Americans attributed causality more to the individual than the group after exposure to images of American versus Asian culture (Hong *et al.*, 2000). However, cultural primes do not always evoke assimilative responses; sometimes they evoke the opposite, contrastive responses. Increasing research suggests that some kinds of biculturals respond contrastively, acting counter to norms of the cued culture. Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, and Morris (2002) found that individual differences in biculturals' identity structure, or bicultural identity integration (BII) influences divergent responses to cultural cues. BII refers to the degree to which an individual's two cultural identities (e.g. Asian and American) are experienced as harmonious or blended (e.g. 'I am Asian-American') as opposed to conflicting or separated (e.g. 'I feel caught between two cultures') (Benet-Martínez *et al.*, 2002). Whereas neo-Piagetian models of multiple identity integration (e.g. Amiot, Sablonnière, Terry, & Smith, 2007) suggest that individuals with unintegrated, 'compartmentalized' identities would shift assimilatively across contexts, whereas those with integrated identities would shift little, the empirical evidence from

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biculturals consistently shows a different pattern. Individuals with unintegrated cultural identities (low BIIs) respond contrastively to cultural cues e.g. they exhibit an attributional focus on groups after American priming and on individuals after Asian priming; Individuals with integrated cultural identities (high BIIs) respond assimilatively (e.g. they exhibit an attributional focus on individuals after American priming and on groups after Asian priming) (Benet-Martinez *et al.*, 2002). Researchers (Hong *et al.*, 2000) proposed that assimilative responses occur because cultural cues heighten the accessibility of the associated norms, increasing the likelihood that they guide judgements and behaviour. However, contrastive responses to cultural cues are less well understood.

Recent work (Mok & Morris, 2010; Zou, Morris, & Benet-Martinez, 2008) has described the contrastive response as an implicit process stemming from identity-related motives. One proposal is that low BII individuals (with divided cultural identities) are more likely to associate situations that cue one cultural identity with excluding their other cultural identity. To avoid this, low BIIs would develop resistance strategies for cultural cues. This is akin to how dieters develop strategies for resisting tempting food that operate automatically (e.g. Fishbach & Shah, 2006). For individuals with low BII, repeated efforts to resist cultural expectations may crystallize into over-compensatory or contrastive responses that operate automatically and implicitly.

An alternative mechanism is plausible. Past demonstrations of the moderating role of BII have relied on measures that seemingly make cultural differences salient. Conscious awareness of the experimental hypothesis could evoke contrastive responses (e.g. Lombardi, Higgins, & Bargh, 1987). For example, in tapping inferential biases, Benet-Martinez *et al.* (2002) primed Asian-Americans with Asian or American culture, then asked them to attribute an actor's behaviour to pressure from the group versus personal initiative. Participants are likely to be aware of the greater emphasis on group harmony and conformity in East Asian culture and on independence in American culture, even if their respective biases in attribution are not known. Likewise, in measuring self-perceived personality, Mok and Morris (2009) primed Asian-Americans with Asian or American culture, then asked about their extraversion. This personality dimension could bring to mind popular stereotypes of East Asians as introverted, compared to Westerners (Lin, Kwan, Cheung, & Fiske, 2005; Liu, 1998). Hence, it is possible that the contrast effects in past studies reflect acting against perceived demand characteristics of the experiment. Low BIIs, who tend to have personalities higher in neuroticism and vigilance (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005), may be particularly resistant to a perceived invitation to display culturally typical behaviour for the experimenter. This casts doubt on the proposal that implicit identity motives account for the contrast priming effects, such as a

need to shift away from norms of a cued culture to prevent excluding the non-cued cultural identity.

A central goal of this research was to test the implicit identity-based mechanism against an alternative account of demand characteristics, or efforts to disconfirm experimental hypotheses. To do this, we investigated the BII moderation effect on a cultural difference that is less popularized, the greater tendency of East Asians than Westerners to forecast positive behaviour from others (Ybarra & Stephan, 1999).

Cultural differences in the valence of behaviour forecasts have been linked to implicit theories of behaviour. Situation-centered conceptions of behaviour are highly pervasive in East Asian culture, whereas individual-centered conceptions of behaviour are more pervasive in Western cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Morris & Peng, 1994). Ybarra and Stephan (1999) proposed that situationalist perceivers, who assume that behaviour is primarily shaped by social norms and situations, are more likely to predict pro-social, positive behaviour from others. Conversely, dispositionalist perceivers, who assume that behaviour primarily expresses the target's internal needs and traits, are more likely to predict selfish, negative behaviour from others. Ybarra and Stephan (1999) found evidence for this through comparing East Asian versus Western groups, finding that the former group made more positive forecasts of a target's behaviour. Further experimental evidence showed that participants primed with situationist (*vs* dispositionalist) theories of behaviour made more positive behaviour forecasts.

While Ybarra and Stephan (1999) did not directly test the link between culture and implicit theories of behaviour, it is supported by several studies. Western perceivers tend to attribute causality to the individual actor, whereas East Asian perceivers tend to attribute causality to the situation (Morris & Peng, 1994). Similarly, cultural priming studies showed that Asian-Americans make more dispositional attributions after exposure to images of American versus Asian culture (i.e. the US Capitol *vs* the Great Wall) (Hong *et al.*, 2000). Benet-Martinez *et al.* (2002) found that BII moderates the direction of this shift. As described earlier, Asian-Americans with high BII switched their attribution pattern in a direction that is normative in the cued culture (assimilative response), yet those with low BII shifted in the opposite direction (contrastive response).

The current research tested for low BIIs' contrastive responses to cultural cues in the valence of behaviours forecasted from others. We argue this provides a non-transparent test of the contrast dynamic in that participants (regardless of BII) are extremely unlikely to be aware of the hypothesis. First, the valence of behaviour forecasts is derived from implicit theories of behaviour, and second, the judgement task does not have an obvious cultural association. Our hypothesis is that Asian-Americans with low BII

(compared to those with high BII) would be more likely to show contrast effects, that is, make more positive forecasts after American versus Asian priming.

Moreover, we explored whether a specific dimension of BII gives rise to the contrast effects. Recent research (Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005) has conceptualized BII as comprising two distinct dimensions: the feeling of harmony (*vs* conflict) between the two cultural identities, and the perceived overlap (*vs* distance) between the two identities. Evidence from cultural priming studies are mixed on the issue of whether the contrast effects arise specifically from the experience of identity harmony (Mok & Morris, 2009) or identity blendedness (see Cheng, Lee, & Benet-Martinez, 2006). Given that both dimensions have been found to affect contrast effects similarly, this suggests that the dimension on which BII is based may not matter for understanding its effects to cultural primes. We investigated this notion by assessing BII as a general experience of identity integration in Experiment 1; as the harmony (*vs* conflict) between cultural identities in Experiment 2; and as the blendedness (*vs* distance) between cultural identities in Experiment 3.

In addition, we sought to show that the contrast effects are influenced by differences in cultural identity structure rather than in cultural identification strength. To clarify, we are not suggesting that low BII individuals identify less with their two cultures than high BII individuals, which prompts their culturally non-conforming response. Instead, we suggest that contrastive responses arise from apprehension about leaving out any one cultural identity, which is particularly relevant to low BII individuals. We expected our hypothesis would be supported even when controlling for the strength of cultural identifications.

Experiment 1

Method

Participants. We recruited 52 self-identified Asian-Americans (13 men; mean age = 21.87, $SD = 3.38$; ethnicity: Chinese, $n = 42$, Korean, $n = 7$, Japanese, $n = 3$; number of years in US $M = 15.80$, $SD = 8.44$) at Columbia University in New York City. Participants were solicited through email advertisements to Asian-American student associations and campus fliers. Twenty three participants were first-generation biculturals (born in an East Asian country) and 29 were second-generation (born in the US). The level of identification with American and East Asian culture, rated on a scale of 1 (*very weak*) to 7 (*very strong*) was 5.42 ($SD = 1.18$) and 5.08 ($SD = 1.48$), respectively. No ethnicity or immigrant-generation differences were found on BII or the main dependent measure so these categorical variables were dropped from the analysis.

Materials and procedure. Participants received a weblink with instructions to complete the study in one sitting and in a private and quiet location. The priming manipulation was embedded in a book cover evaluation task, drawn from Mok and Morris (2009). Participants were randomly assigned to view four book covers from either East Asian ($n = 28$) or American culture ($n = 24$) and they listed two thoughts evoked by each.

Participants then engaged in an allegedly unrelated task. They were asked to think about an average student at Columbia University. The target was moderately ambiguous, following the approach of Ybarra and Stephan (1999) to allow assessment of participants' implicit theories of behaviour (see also Morris & Mok, 2011). Participants rated the likelihood that this individual would engage in ten types of behaviours (Ybarra & Stephan, 1999). There were five positive descriptors (*good behaviours, intelligent behaviours, friendly behaviours, agreeable behaviours, competent behaviours*) and five negative descriptors (*bad behaviours, dumb behaviours, hostile behaviours, offensive behaviours, incompetent behaviours*), which appeared in a random order. The task was to rate each on a scale of 1 (*extremely unlikely*) to 7 (*extremely likely*). An overall index of forecast was formed by averaging the ratings for positive behaviours and reversed ratings for negative behaviours ($\alpha = 0.82$). Higher scores denote more positive forecasts.

Next, we assessed BII by relying on two early measures developed by Benet-Martinez *et al.* (2002) which tap cultural identity integration in general. Participants rated each description on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*):

I am a bicultural who combines both American and Asian cultures and does not feel caught between these two cultures. I feel like an Asian-American (i.e. hyphenated), and do not feel like someone moving between the two cultures.

I am a bicultural who keeps American and Asian cultures separate and feels conflicted about these two cultures. I am mostly just an Asian who lives in America (*vs* an Asian-American), and I feel as someone who is caught between two cultures.

Ratings on the two measures were reasonably correlated, $r(52) = -0.33$, $p < 0.05$. We formed a BII score by reversing ratings on the latter vignette and averaging them with ratings on the former vignette. Higher scores reflect more integrated cultural identities ($M = 4.78$, $SD = 1.11$). Lastly, participants completed a demographic survey.

Results and discussion

Behaviour forecast was uncorrelated with BII or with Asian or American identification (this also applied to the subsequent experiments). Female participants made more

positive forecasts than male participants ($M = 4.71$, $SD = 0.63$ vs $M = 4.13$, $SD = 1.12$, respectively), $t(50) = -2.35$, $p < 0.05$, so our analysis controlled for sex. We conducted a regression analysis on the forecast score with the following predictors: sex (male vs female), cultural prime (Asian vs American), BII (mean-centred), and the interaction between cultural prime and BII. There was a main effect of sex ($\beta = 0.54$), $t(47) = 2.22$, $p < 0.05$. Moreover, an interaction effect between cultural prime and BII emerged ($\beta = -0.19$), $t(47) = -1.99$, $p = 0.05$. We decomposed the interaction at one standard deviation below (above) the mean to observe the simple effect of cultural priming for low (high) BII participants (Aiken & West, 1991). Supporting the hypothesis, low BIIs exhibited contrast effects by forecasting more positive behaviour after American versus Asian priming ($\beta = 0.33$, $SE = 0.15$), $t(47) = 2.21$, $p < 0.05$; contrast effects were not observed in high BIIs ($\beta = -0.09$, $SE = 0.15$), $t(47) = -0.61$, *ns*.

Additional analysis showed that cultural identity strength did not similarly moderate the effects of primes. There was no interaction between cultural prime and Asian or American identification on forecasts (this also applied to the subsequent experiments). Consistent with our proposal, cultural identity structure and not strength was key in predicting the contrastive response to cultural primes.

The results provide preliminary evidence that biculturals' identity integration moderates the effects of cultural cues on forecast judgements. In an opaque measure of cultural bias, low BII engendered contrastive responses to cultural primes. This weighs in favour of the account based on implicit identity motives, rather than the alternative account based on efforts to disconfirm the experimental hypothesis. The findings extend past evidence for the interaction effect of cultural cues and BII on retrospective (Benet-Martinez *et al.*, 2002) to prospective *social judgements*.

Experiment 2

We examined whether the observed pattern of forecasts extend to work settings. Participants judged the behaviours of a job applicant.

Method

Participants. We surveyed 50 Asian-Americans (22 men; mean age = 25.35, $SD = 6.42$; ethnicity: Chinese, $n = 42$, Korean, $n = 8$; 22 first-generation, 28 second-generation; number of years in US $M = 18.32$, $SD = 10.45$), who were university students ($n = 23$) and working professionals ($n = 27$) in New York City. Level of identification with American and East Asian culture was 5.04 ($SD = 1.34$) and 5.28 ($SD = 1.03$), respectively, rated along the same scale as used in Experiment 1. No sex, ethnicity, generation, or

sample differences were found on BII or the main dependent measure so we dropped these categorical variables from the analyses.

Materials and procedure. The procedure was similar to Experiment 1. In a web survey, participants first engaged in a book evaluation task in which American or Asian primes were embedded (Mok & Morris, 2010). Assignment to the priming conditions was randomized (American: $n = 25$; Asian: $n = 25$). Participants gave two thoughts about each book cover.

Participants then received the forecasting task. They were asked to imagine themselves as an HR manager and were told that their company had received many job applications from students of Ivy League universities. They were asked to think about an average student of an Ivy League university. Participants rated the likelihood that this individual would engage in the ten types of behaviours described in the prior experiment using the same 7-point scale. We computed a behaviour forecast score ($\alpha = 0.74$) following the prior experiment. Higher scores denote more positive forecasts.

Next, participants rated their BII (level of harmony versus conflict in their cultural identities; Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005) along four items (e.g. 'I don't feel caught between the two cultures') on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). A BII composite was formed with higher scores reflecting higher identity integration ($\alpha = 0.80$, $M = 4.31$, $SD = 1.39$). Last, they completed a demographic survey.

Results and discussion

A regression predicting behavior forecast from cultural prime (Asian vs American), BII (mean-centred), and the interaction term showed a main effect of BII ($\beta = 0.45$, $SE = 0.22$), $t(46) = 2.04$, $p < 0.05$. Furthermore, the interaction of cultural prime and BII was significant ($\beta = -0.30$, $SE = 0.14$), $t(46) = -2.11$, $p < 0.05$. We decomposed the interaction following the procedures in Aiken and West (1991). As predicted, low BIIs exhibited contrast effects by forecasting more positive behaviour after American versus Asian priming ($\beta = 0.34$, $SE = 0.14$), $t(46) = 2.38$, $p < 0.05$; contrast effects were not observed in high BIIs ($\beta = -0.11$, $SE = 0.14$), $t(46) = -0.75$, *ns*. This conceptually replicates the findings in the prior experiment. We provide convergent evidence that the contrastive response reflects something deeper than demand characteristics (i.e. goals to disconfirm experimental hypotheses).

Our next experiment addresses several alternative explanations. First, we sought more direct evidence for an implicit process by measuring explicit attitude towards the target in addition to behavioural forecasts. If BII moderates the effects of cultural primes on behaviour forecasts (which

rely on implicit causal theories) yet not on attitude (a measure of explicit bias), this would weigh against conscious processes underlying the contrastive responses.

Second, we measured mood after priming to ensure that the valence of forecasts is not merely a matter of mood (Forgas, 2002). Third, we tested that cultural priming effects on behaviour forecasts emerge regardless of the target's cultural background. This would corroborate recent evidence that Asian (American) cultural schemas can operate even when judging European-American (Asian) targets (Morris & Mok, 2011).

Finally, we examined the consequences of forecasts for workplace decision-making.

Experiment 3

Method

Participants. Fifty-five Asian-Americans (19 men; mean age: 21.46 years, $SD = 4.19$; ethnicity: Chinese, $n = 38$, Korean, $n = 12$, Japanese, $n = 5$; 29 first-generation, 26 second-generation; number of years in US $M = 13.68$, $SD = 9.00$) at Columbia University participated. Participants identified with both American ($M = 5.18$, $SD = 1.16$) and East Asian ($M = 5.18$, $SD = 1.07$) culture, rated on the same scale as in the prior experiments. Statistical analysis found no effects of sex, ethnicity, or immigrant-generation on the independent or dependent variables so these factors are not discussed further.

Materials and procedure. In a web survey, participants received the priming task as in the previous experiment (Asian priming, $n = 26$, American priming, $n = 29$). Then, participants rated their current mood on the 20-item Positive Affect Negative Affect Scale (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988) on a scale of 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*extremely*). Next, participants were asked to write their impressions of an average student of an elite university and to rate their attitude towards this person on a scale of -3 (*very negative*) to 3 (*very positive*). Afterwards, they received the forecasting task used in the previous experiment but they rated an average student of an elite university. A behaviour forecast score ($\alpha = 0.82$) was computed in the same manner as the previous experiments. Then, to assess decision-making, participants indicated how they would treat the job application from this person on a scale of 1 (*definitely will not interview*) to 7 (*definitely will interview*).

To explore whether the effects of cultural priming on forecast vary as a function of the target's cultural background, we asked participants to record the ethnicity (if any) of the target that they evaluated. We coded for the first ethnicity they listed (1: *Asian*; 2: *Caucasian*, 3: *Other/None*). Next, participants rated their BII (level of blended-

ness versus distance between their bicultural identities; Benet-Martinez & Haritatos, 2005) along four items (e.g. 'I feel part of a combined culture'), using the same 7-point scale as in the previous experiment. Last, they completed a demographic survey.

Preliminary analyses

We computed a BII composite ($\alpha = 0.66$, $M = 4.90$, $SD = 1.03$). There were no effects of cultural priming or BII on positive or negative mood. Thus, low BIIs did not have more positive (or less negative) mood following American versus Asian priming, so mood does not explain their more positive forecasts in the American prime condition. Because positive mood was correlated to forecast valence, $r(55) = 0.34$, $p < 0.05$, our analyses controlled for positive mood ($\alpha = 0.86$). Assumptions of the target's cultural background did not affect the results below (e.g. low BIIs' more positive forecasts in the American prime condition did not hinge on envisioning Euro-American targets), so this factor is not considered further.

Results and discussion

Behaviour forecast. We regressed the forecast score on mood (mean-centred), cultural prime (Asian vs American), BII (mean-centred), and the interaction between cultural prime and BII. There was a main effect of mood ($\beta = 0.34$, $SE = 0.12$), $t(50) = 2.79$, $p < 0.01$. The predicted interaction of cultural prime and BII was significant ($\beta = -0.21$, $SE = 0.09$), $t(50) = -2.43$, $p < 0.05$. Low BIIs forecasted more positive behaviour after American versus Asian priming ($\beta = 0.31$, $SE = 0.13$), $t(50) = 2.40$, $p < 0.05$, relative to high BIIs ($\beta = -0.13$, $SE = 0.12$), $t(50) = -1.03$, *ns*. We conceptually replicated the contrast effects of low BIIs in the above experiments.

Attitude towards target. Attitude was related to forecast valence, $r(55) = 0.32$, $p < 0.05$, and to positive mood, $r(55) = 0.39$, $p < 0.01$. If culturally contrastive forecasts involve conscious processes, BII should moderate cultural priming effects on attitude towards the target. We conducted a similar regression analysis as above, but predicting attitude. We found only a main effect of mood ($\beta = 0.77$, $SE = 0.25$), $t(50) = 3.08$, $p < 0.01$. Moreover, including attitude as a covariate in the analysis predicting forecasts did not modify the main findings. This implies that the BII moderation effect operates at an implicit level, as BII interacted with cultural primes in implicit rather than explicit judgement biases.

Decision-making. We conducted the same regression analysis as for forecasts, but predicting the decision to

interview the target. (Interviewing decision was correlated with forecasts, $r(55) = 0.42$, $p < 0.01$, but not with attitude, $r(55) = 0.05$, *ns*.) The analysis showed a significant interaction between cultural prime and BII ($\beta = -0.21$, $SE = 0.11$), $t(50) = -2.01$, $p < 0.05$. We examined whether the interviewing decision was mediated by behaviour forecast (Muller, Judd, & Yzerbyt, 2005). Adding the regression effect of forecast on interviewing decision ($\beta = 0.19$, $SE = 0.08$), $t(49) = 2.33$, $p < 0.05$, reduced the interaction effect between cultural prime and BII ($\beta = -0.13$, $SE = 0.11$), $t(49) = -1.23$, *ns*. A Sobel test revealed a marginally significant mediation by forecasts ($z = -1.49$, $p < 0.10$).

Results of the Experiment 3 study agree with the previous experiments, showing that low BIIs are more likely to contrast against cultural priming effects on behavioural forecasts. Forecasts moderately shape behavioural choice. Results are inconsistent with the interpretation that low BIIs' contrast effects run through demand characteristics. Also, the findings do not depend on the culture of the target.

General discussion

We clarify the account for why individuals with unintegrated cultural contrast against cultural cues. We study whether BII moderates cultural priming effects on the valence of behavioural forecast judgements. Past studies have used tasks involving cultural differences which are increasingly familiar (e.g., individual versus group focus). Participants may be able to infer the relation of culture to such tasks and may be motivated to defy the stereotype or the perceived experimental hypothesis. Our research studied priming effects with a task for which the cultural difference is not obvious. Nevertheless, we still documented the BII moderation effect. Low BII Asian-Americans (compared with high BIIs) were more likely to make positive behavioural forecasts after American versus Asian priming (contrast effects). Our findings disconfirm the account involving participants' awareness of the experimental hypotheses and efforts to defy it.

Theoretical implications

Our results weigh in favour of an implicit process underlying the contrastive responses. For example, Experiment 3 observed that explicit attitude toward the target did not shift in valence like forecasts did. Follow-up analysis in all the above experiments also showed no interaction of cultural priming and BII on cultural identifications, such as low BIIs reporting lower identification with American culture after American (*vs* Asian) priming, or reporting higher identification with Asian culture instead. The present study is an initial step toward elucidating implicit processes underlying cultural contrast (*vs* assimilation; Hong *et al.*, 2000) responses.

Research is underway to capture the specific implicit process, such as motives to inhibit one set of cultural scripts versus motives to enact the other set of cultural scripts. Biculturals with unintegrated identity structures (low BIIs) may be more likely to feel that acquiescing to the invitation of cultural cues leaves out their other cultural identity. Resisting cultural cues may result in overcompensating so that one contrasts away from them. Resistance responses to cultural cues could become automatic over time.

We demonstrate that BII moderates cultural priming effects on prospective judgements and decision-making, going beyond past studies of causal judgements (Benet-Martinez *et al.*, 2002). Results in Experiment 3 are consistent with recent findings that cultural schemas need not be yoked to the culture of the target (Morris & Mok, 2011). A general experience of low identity integration appears sufficient to trigger contrastive responses to cultural cues, as we documented contrast effects by low BIIs whether BII was assessed as the harmony and/or blendedness between the cultural identities.

Practical implications

How we choose to interact with other people typically depends on the kinds of behaviours we expect from them (e.g. Chen & Bargh, 1999; Curtis & Miller, 1986). Positive forecasts may produce interpersonal behaviours that are more trusting, engaging, and pro-social, whereas negative forecasts may contribute to a more critical, avoidant, and cautious interpersonal style. Our results have implications for numerous applied settings, such as in business, law enforcement, and marketing contexts. The culturally contrastive forecasts of low BII have some interesting practical implications. For example, how will low BII managers' forecasts affect their interviewing behaviours? Will their positive behaviour forecasts in Western cultural situations engender a focus on employees' strengths, as opposed to their weaknesses? Managers might non-consciously elicit behaviours from employees that confirm their forecasts (Rosenthal, 1995). Similarly, cultural cues could interact with biculturals' identity structure in law enforcement settings. Westernized Korean police officers with unintegrated cultural identities may be more cautious rather than lenient when dealing with individual suspects in a Korean context. In marketing settings (e.g. political or health campaigns), low BII Chinese Americans may be less likely to accept the persuasive messages of spokespersons who use Chinese (rather than English), perhaps because those spokespersons are forecasted to exhibit less exemplary behaviours. Future research could test these assumptions directly.

Recent evidence suggests that contrastive responses by low BIIs can be temporarily diminished through tasks that elicit positive affect or integrative thinking (Mok & Morris,

2011). Organizations could draw on these tasks to decrease culturally contrastive forecasts by low BII managers. This protects bicultural managers from potential conflicts that arise when they appraise employees contrary to cultural norms (Francis, 1991), especially inadvertently.

Limitations and future research directions

The cultural priming \times BII effect was not entirely consistent with past results, as assimilation effects were not shown by high BII individuals (cf. Benet-Martinez *et al.*, 2002; Mok & Morris, 2009, 2010). Because the current research used the same priming manipulation as in past studies (Mok & Morris, 2009, 2010), the lack of assimilation observed in high BIIs cannot be attributed to the type of priming method or stimuli. Also, we do not believe this pattern is specific to forecast judgements. In a recent study tapping extraversion (Mok & Morris, 2011), for example, we did not observe assimilative responses by high BII Asian-Americans (cf. Mok & Morris, 2009), although we replicated the contrastive response among low BIIs. Together, this evidence suggests the assimilative responses of high BIIs may be less reliable. Models proposing that integrated cultural identities would result in more cross-situational stability (see Amiot, Sablonnière, Terry, & Smith, 2007) may be correct in this prediction at least. High BII individuals may be at times relatively unconcerned with regulating their behaviour to match cultural norms or expectations. More research needs to be done to specify the motives associated with high and low BII in culturally-laden situations.

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While the current work focuses on Asian-American biculturals in the US, our results could generalize beyond the context of immigration. Individuals who develop dual cultural attachment from growing up immersed in the mass media of second culture (e.g. Lu & Yang, 2006; Zhang, 2009) or from expatriate assignments could similarly differ in their cultural identity structure. For example, Friedman, Liu, Chi, Hong, and Sung (2011) studied Taiwanese managers who previously worked in the West, and found their level of BII moderates the effects of cultural cues on their reward allocation judgements. Whereas managers with high BII assimilated to cultural cues (e.g. they used an equality rule when in Asian situations), those with low BII contrasted against cultural cues (e.g. they used an equity rule when in Asian situations). Future research could examine the implications of identity integration in other populations of biculturals, including Asians residing in former Western colonies (e.g. Macau, Hong Kong) or multicultural cities (e.g. Singapore, Shanghai) and those working in American multinational corporations (see Caprar, 2011).

Conclusion

The present studies suggest that biculturals with unintegrated identity structures (low BII) contrast against cultural cues automatically and non-consciously; the contrastive response is unrelated to awareness of cultural group differences or the experimental hypothesis. Our work calls for more research on the role of motivation in biculturals' frame-switching process as a function of their BII.

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