MULTICULTURAL EMPLOYEES:

A FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING HOW THEY CONTRIBUTE TO ORGANIZATIONS

by

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Abstract

Organizations are now experiencing a rise in a new demographic of employees – bicultural and multicultural individuals. They are individuals who have multiple cultural identities because they have internalized multiple cultural schemas. In this dissertation, I propose that two dimensions that can be used to describe multicultural identity patterns: identity plurality and identity integration. Identity integration is the extent to which individuals integrate their cultural identities versus keeping them separate, while identity plurality refers to the number of primary cultural identities, ranging from one to many. Hypotheses are developed about the antecedents and outcomes of each identity dimension, and the moderating effects of organizational identification and diversity climate.

A pilot study was followed by three correlational studies to test the framework, with a total of 771 participants. Based on descriptive, OLS regression and hierarchical regression analyses, the findings show that multiculturals with high identity plurality reported higher levels of psychological toll, higher structural social capital, and higher levels of action and analytical skills than those with low identity plurality. Multiculturals who separated their cultural identities reported higher levels of psychological toll, and action and analytical skills than those who integrated their identities. Organizational identification moderated the relationship between identity plurality and cultural metacognition at work, such that the positive relationship existed only for employees who were weakly identified with their organizations. Diversity climate further moderated this effect, such that in strong diversity climates, the

interaction of organizational identification and identity plurality was more pronounced than in weak diversity climates. When employees perceived a weak diversity climate, there was no relationship between identity plurality and cultural metacognition, regardless of the degree to which employees identified with the organization.

The framework presented in this dissertation provides a theoretical basis for studying unique multicultural identity patterns, relative to other multicultural identity patterns, and systematically examines multicultural employees within the context of their organizations.

Keywords: bicultural, multicultural, biculturalism, employees, social identity, multiple identities

Dedication

For the love of my life,

and my constant supporter,

Matt Jackson

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CHAPTER ONE: KNOWNS AND UNKNOWNS ABOUT MULTICULTURAL

EMPLOYEES

A recent New York Times article argued that multicultural employees "belong to multiple worlds and carry those worlds with them; they are defined by ambivalence and complexity; they are leading the world in important new wbays" (Giridharadas, May 6, 2010). For example, Indra Nooyi, Indian-American CEO of PepsiCo, explicitly draws on her multiple cultures to succeed as the head of a multination organization, while her rival, Turkish-American CEO of Coca-Cola Muhtar Kent, says "We need leaders with a different set of skills -- leaders who can be both business executives and diplomats. That's why we look for people with diverse backgrounds and points of view. We need people who can move seamlessly across borders and cultures." (Kent, November 2009). Indra Nooyi and Muhtar Kent are at the forefront of a new shift in attention, from the challenges of working with individuals from different cultures, to the influence of bicultural or multicultural employees. The objective of this dissertation is to develop a framework to help managers and researchers better understand the potential contributions of multicultural employees. The first step is to clarify exactly who counts as a multicultural individual.

Who are multicultural individuals?

Multiculturals have been variously defined as "people who have internalized two cultures to the extent that both cultures are alive inside of them" (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000, p. 710), individuals "who have experienced and internalized more than one culture", resulting in multiple meaning systems (Benet-

Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002, p. 493), "individuals who have internalized two cultures [and have] distinct cognitive frameworks associated with each of their cultures" (Luna, Ringberg, & Peracchio, 2008, p. 279), and as individuals who enacted the integration acculturation strategy, "simultaneously maintaining one's cultural heritage and adopting a new cultural identity" (Tadmor, Tetlock, & Peng, 2009).

I follow Brannen and Thomas' (2010) definition of multiculturals as individuals who "identify with two (or more) distinct cultures because of having internalized more than one set of cultural schemas" (p.6), because this definition incorporates the most common aspect of current definitions (internalizing two or more cultures), while also drawing on the theoretical understanding of schemas as a basis for predictions. People who have internalized two cultural schemas are *bi*cultural, while those who have internalized two or more cultural schemas are *multi*cultural, but I refer to them all as multicultural, for consistency. Cultural schemas include cultural knowledge, beliefs, values, norms, habits, and domain-specific self-schemas. However, schemas are not always accessible to individuals, because they are internalized (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Instead, most research on multiculturals examines identity. Cultural identities are based on cultural schemas, but are accessible for people to report. I follow this convention here, but draw on cultural schemas to explain the theoretical mechanisms underlying predictions about multicultural individuals.

Thus, there are two parallel phenomena occurring in multicultural individuals. At the surface level, there is identity. Current research examines multicultural individuals primarily through an identity perspective (Benet-Martínez, 2010; Roccas, 2003). However, identity alone does not go deep enough; it does not include the values,

norms, assumptions and behaviours that are normally associated with having

internalized a culture. Below the surface, there are cultural schemas. When individuals

internalize a culture, they internalize the associated set of knowledge, beliefs, values,

norms, habits, and domain-specific self-schemas (Markus, 1977). This set, called a

cultural schema, then becomes generally available to the individual, but it only becomes

a primary guide for behaviour when culture becomes salient, for example, when in an

intercultural environment, or when travelling abroad (Brumbaugh, 2002; Markus,

1986). However, schemas alone do not explain why some multicultural individuals who

have internalized the same cultures draw on them in very different ways, or why some

multiculturals find the experience easy, while others find it psychologically difficult.

Not much is known about how multiple schemas interact with one another, because they

are inaccessible to individuals and thus difficult to study. Neither identity, nor schemas

alone, can produce a rich understanding of the complex nature of multicultural

individuals. Identity does not explain how multicultural individuals access the

knowledge, beliefs, values, norms, habits, and domain-specific self-schemas associated

with each of their cultures, while schemas do not explain the interplay of multiple

internalized cultures within one person. The solution I propose is to integrate identity-

based and schema-based theorizing, producing a richer understanding of multicultural

individuals, at both surface- and schema-levels. Although research has usually taken

only one perspective or the other, each level of theorizing reinforces the other. To

integrate the cultural identity and cultural schema perspectives, it is essential to

understand how they interact.

The relationship between cultural identities and cultural schemas can be understood through the metaphor of a smartphone platform. Individuals organize icons on the home screens, but cannot manipulate the inner workings of the applications they represent. Nonetheless, the way icons are organized on the screen influences how frequently people access the applications they represent (for example, icons on the first page are accessed more often), and how they are used (for example some applications run automatically in the background, while others can be used conjointly). In the same way that individuals organize icons, cultural identities are also within the domain of control, at least to a degree, because there is a conscious, motivational aspect to identification (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Multicultural individuals can mentally organize their cultural identities into patterns. However, individuals are not able to actively manipulate, organize, or even become consciously aware of cultural schemas; they are beyond the domain of control, just as the operational code for applications is also beyond the domain of control of awareness for most individuals (Nishida, 2005). When identities become salient, they facilitate access to the set of knowledge, beliefs, values, norms, and so on, stored in the associated schema. Illustrated by this metaphor, identity patterns do not influence the internalization of cultural schemas, but they do influence the degree to which individuals access their cultural schemas, and how they are accessed (for example, singly or simultaneously).

Research often mistakes acculturation processes (the process of acquiring another culture) for cultural identity patterns (ways to understand the interrelationships among cultural identities that have already been acquired) (Tsai, Chentsova-Dutton, & Wong, 2002). According to Tsai and colleagues, individuals are conscious of their

ethnic identities. Although ethnic or racial identity is often related to cultural identity, these are different constructs, since cultural identity is not necessarily limited to race or national-level cultures. This dissertation is concerned with how individuals mentally organize their cultural identities *once they have already been acquired.* Once a person has internalized more than one culture, there are several ways to organize those cultures. Since acculturation must occur before a person can identify with multiple cultures, I draw on ideas from the extensive acculturation research to explain antecedents to cultural identity patterns (Berry, 1980; Phinney, 1990), but do not review this literature in-depth.

In the remainder of this chapter, I review previous models of multiculturalism, summarize what is known about multicultural employees, identify knowledge gaps, and conclude with research questions to address two of the gaps. The review categorizes models of multiculturalism as one-dimensional, multidimensional, and cultural-domain models.

Previous models related to multiculturalism or biculturalism

The earliest conceptualization of biculturalism (Park, 1928; Stonequist, 1937) portrayed the concept as an individually detrimental state in which the individual was, by necessity, marginalized in both cultures. Park (1928) believed that while the experience of being bicultural was unpleasant, it was beneficial for the society as a whole to include multiculturals because they were independent from both cultures, and thus wiser than those who were culture-bound. Later conceptualizations presented multiple identity patterns as one-dimensional continua, although the endpoints varied by researcher. Erikson (1956) described the range of possibilities from firm identity

(referring to certainty) to confused or diffused identity. Prelinger and Zimet (1964) changed only the diffused identity end, renaming it diffuse-conflicted. Baumeister, Shapiro and Tice (1985) integrated the two previous continua into a new continuum by identifying two types of identity crises. The first, identity deficit, refers to a motivational crisis, where individuals have little basis for making consistent choices because the self is inadequately defined. In contrast, the second, identity conflict, refers to a legitimation crisis, where individuals feel torn between their multiple, and sometimes incompatible, self-definitions. Although this revised continuum accepts that problems can arise from either conflict or confusion, it does not allow for a positive experience of dual identification (Leong & Ward, 2000). All of the one-dimensional models focused on the challenges that can arise from multiple identities, without explaining how those identities are organized.

In comparison to these earlier models, multidimensional models recognized multiple ways to organize identities, and allowed that they may not all be experienced as hardships. For example, Poston (1990) presented identity complexity as a progression through four phases of development. At the personal identity stage, the individual begins to understand herself as a racial being; at the choice of group categorization stage, she feels pushed to choose one group over the other, and often feels alienated as a result; at the enmeshment and denial stage, she chooses only one group identity, and often feels guilty and confused; finally at the integration stage, she recognizes the value in multiple component identities, and feels whole. Although focused on identity development, and not stable identity management, this model illustrates several options for organizing multiple cultural identities.

Instead of a progression, Pratt and Foreman (2000) propose four strategies individuals can use to actively manage multiple *organizational* identities. They focus on advising managers how they ought to manage their own multiple organizational identities, given a particular organizational context. The prescriptions do not easily transfer from the managerial identity domain to the cultural identity domain, but the multiple organizational identity management strategies can inform our understanding of multicultural identity patterns. The four strategies are arranged along identity plurality (number of distinct identities) and synergy (degree to which the identities can be integrated) dimensions. These strategies are compartmentalization (preserving multiple identities, separately), deletion (ridding oneself of one identity), integration (fusing multiple identities into a new, unique identity), and aggregation (retaining all distinct identities and linking them together).

Roccas and Brewer developed a related model of social identity complexity (2002) that specifies four patterns people use to organize multiple social identities. This model is not limited to a particular identity domain, such as organizational identities or cultural identities. Instead, it specifies that identities are complex whenever a person has more than one social identity within the same domain. The patterns, in order from least to most complex, are intersection, dominance, compartmentalization and merger. Intersection constrains the identity group to include only those with the same set of social identities, for example identification might include only female lawyers. Dominance bolsters one social identity over the other, for example some people might identify with being lawyers first, and women second. Compartmentalization isolates each social identity within unique contexts or situations, for example identifying with

being a lawyer at work, and a woman at home, and merger introduces a superordinate identity that transcends lower-level social identities. For example, identification might refer to all professionals, men and women.

In addition to the complexity that emerges from these previous conceptualizations of having multiple identities, the cultural identity domain is unique, with its own assumptions and relationships that cannot be adequately explained by theories based on management and social identity domains. For this reason, theories specific to organizing multiple *cultural or ethnic* identities hold promise for explaining multicultural identity patterns.

Several models have considered multiple identity management within the cultural or ethnicity domains. However, most of the models in the cultural domain have focused on the acculturation process, with an overwhelming focus on Berry's (1980) four-part model. Although acculturation occurs prior to becoming multicultural, the process of taking on a new cultural identity may be related to the patterns used to organize those cultural identities. Berry's (1980) conceptualization describes four ways to take on a new culture. These are assimilation (take on host culture), integration (keep both home and host cultures), separation (keep home culture), or marginalization (keep neither culture). A program of research indicates that the integration pattern is the most adaptive, although multicultural individuals can employ all four processes (Berry, 2001). In fact, this model's prevalence may have unnecessarily restricted our notion of multiculturalism to only those using an integrated acculturation process.

Although Berry's (1980) acculturation model is the most well-known model related to multicultural individuals, LaFromboise and colleagues' review (1993)

describes five methods by which individuals can acquire a second culture. The assimilation model assumes that people lose their original cultural identities as new ones are acquired. The acculturation model emphasizes a forced change in the minority group towards to the majority group, although individuals can strongly identify with both original and new cultures. The alternation model is the model underlying frame switching research. It assumes that individuals can know, understand and identify with two different cultures, and alter behaviour to fit each particular social context. This process is self-directed, not forced by others. The multicultural model is a societal perspective of acculturation, where each person keeps only his or her original culture, but develops other-group acceptance and tolerance by engaging in contact and sharing across groups. This corresponds to Berry's integration process. Finally, the fusion model portrays both cultures merging into something new, based on constant contact.

Research on multi-ethnic and multiracial identity research, although different from cultural identity, may be instructive in portraying new ways to organize multiple cultural identities. In particular, Phinney developed a unique framework for patterns of biculturalism (Phinney, 1990, 1992; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). Six different patterns were identified, where cultural overlap and the individual's placement within the cultures are both important pieces used to understand each pattern. According to this model, an assimilated pattern has non-overlapping cultures and the assimilated individual identifies with only one. A fused pattern has cultures that overlap completely. Blended and alternating bicultural patterns both exhibit cultures that partially overlap, but the blended individual resides within the intersection of the two, while the alternating individual resides in one culture or the other, depending on the context.

Finally, both separated and marginal patterns feature non-overlapping cultures, but the separated individual resides in only one culture (similar to an assimilated individual), while the marginal individual resides in neither. These patterns are useful to the extent that they represent a wide range of patterns individuals can adopt. However, they are not theoretically-driven, and rely on differentiating between one mainstream and one ethnic identity, thus limiting the generalizability of this model.

Multiracial identity research has gone through a similar progression to that of multicultural research, from focusing on the negative aspects of managing a multiracial identity, to seeing multiracial identity in a more positive, complex light. A review found that people with multiracial identities do not have increased prevalence of negative psychological outcomes (Shih & Sanchez, 2005), suggesting that negative outcomes are more likely due to minority status in general (as opposed to multiracial identity in particular). Also, some multiracial individuals have used this status to their advantage by coming to a better understanding of the perspective of both groups, and developing a wider ethnic community that encompassed more than one group (Shih & Sanchez, 2005). Recent findings indicate that multiracial individuals may organize their racial identities as more integrated or separated, depending on the situational primes (Cheng & Lee, 2009).

Studies that examine the intersection of gender and race in organizational contexts illustrate why complicated power dynamics can occur when individuals with more than one culture work in organizations where one of their cultures is dominant. (Nkomo & Cox, 1989). For example, a network study of career-oriented black women defined their experiences in terms of a black and white *double-consciousness*, where a

white, male, Anglo-Saxon culture is primary within the workplace (Bell, 1990). Some participants drew on their bicultural experiences to develop emotional wholeness, while others experienced it primarily in terms of identity conflict, but all experienced a pull to adopt the dominant culture within their workplaces.

Thus, the early, one-dimensional models highlighted the challenges of experiencing multiculturalism, the multidimensional models drew attention to its complexity, and the cultural-domain models highlighted assumptions and power dynamics unique to the domain of organizing multiple *cultural* identities. In order to synthesize conceptualizations of multiculturalism from one-dimensional, multidimensional, and cultural domain models, I propose a framework that draws on social identity theory mechanisms, as explained in chapter two.

Current models of multiculturalism or biculturalism – the identity perspective

Ever since Ashforth and Mael (1989) introduced social identity theory to organizational research, it has been used to explain some of the most fundamental areas of study in the field, including power (e.g. Taylor, Moghaddam, Gamble, & Zellerer, 1987; Turner, 1991), leadership (e.g. Haslam, Oakes, McGarty, Turner, & Onorato, 1995; Hollander, 1964) and decision-making (e.g. Turner & Oakes, 1989; Turner, 1991). Its popularity is due in part to its explanatory power across a wide range of organizational phenomena. Identity can also be problematic as a theoretical lens because its popularity as a construct also means it has a long history of misuse.

Identity has been used to signify a broad range of characteristics, including stable personal characteristics, political affiliations and projected image (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004). The meaning of identity has shifted across

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disciplines and over time (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; Gleason, 1983). Based on Ashmore et al.'s (2004) collective identity framework, multicultural identity is a form of collective identity, where identification is with a group of people, as opposed to a personal attribute. Collective identity presumes that individuals with the same collective identity share common characteristic(s), even if they have never met (Ashmore, et al., 2004). Although it refers to identifying with a collective, it is an individual-level construct. Someone can only possess a collective identity if he or she personally acknowledges it as self-defining (Ashmore, et al., 2004).

The identity development process occurs primarily during childhood and adolescence (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). Once developed, cultural identity is a stable, deep identity, meaning that cultural schemas become part of the self-concept (Ashforth, Harrison, & Corley, 2008; Cheng & Lee, 2009; Van Oudenhoven & Eisses, 1998). As opposed to situated identities, such as those cultivated during minimal group lab-based experiments, deep identities remain part of the self across situations, although they only guide behaviour when salient or activated (Ashforth, et al., 2008; Markus, 1986). Although identity development work may still occur into adulthood, it is less intense than it was during adolescence. This means that identity can change during adulthood, but change occurs slowly, just as cultural values can change, albeit slowly (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004; Van Oudenhoven & Eisses, 1998). An exception may occur during times of drastic contextual change, when schemas may evolve more quickly. For example, cultural identity may become unstable after a move to a new country, until a new cultural identity can be developed with respect to the new country context. The cultural identity someone holds in one country may no longer

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make sense in the new country, and will likely take a few years to stabilize again. In this way, development of cultural identity as an adult resembles a punctuated equilibrium that remains relatively stable unless the context changes drastically (Gersick, 1991). In this framework I focus on predicting *current* multicultural identity, based on the context and set of experiences a person has had up to that point. That is, this framework addresses how people mentally organize their cultures once they have internalized more than one.

According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), people sort others and themselves into social groups in order to reduce uncertainty, and they positively differentiate their own in-groups from out-groups in order to enhance self-esteem. Self categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) describes one aspect of social identity theory, namely how people categorize themselves in groups based on the groups' relative salience, distinctiveness and prestige (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Salience refers to how easily a category comes to mind, or accessibility, while distinctiveness refers to the uniqueness of a particular group. Prestige refers to an individual's affect-laden, subjective judgement of cultures, not an objective ranking of cultural groups. Individuals are more likely to identify with groups that are seen to have increased salience, distinctiveness and prestige, compared to other groups.

Dynamic constructivism and social identity theory represent different approaches to studying multiculturalism, but they are consistent to the extent that both allow for context to influence cultural identity. Under dynamic constructivism, the context primes culture-specific knowledge (Hong, et al., 2000). Under social identity theory, individuals identify with cultures in order to increase self-esteem and reduce

uncertainty, but the relative salience, distinctiveness and prestige of groups in a particular context determine which culture(s) will achieve that goal (Ashforth & Mael, 1989).

What is known about multicultural employees

Previous research suggests three areas of understanding about multicultural employees that are especially important. (1) The productivity of bicultural identity integration research indicates that identity can be a useful lens through which to examine multiculturalism, because both individual and contextual factors are taken into consideration (Haslam, 2004). In addition, the bicultural identity integration research indicates that multiculturals are able to report their identity patterns (Benet-Martínez, 2010). (2) Over time, the range of outcomes examined shows that multiculturals seem to develop certain skills and abilities, such as more complex thinking (Benet-Martínez, Lee, & Leu, 2006; Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006), higher levels of creativity (Cheng, Sanchez-Burks, & Lee, 2008a; Cheng et al., 2008b), more resilience with regard to negative self-evaluations by outsiders (Baumeister, et al., 1985), and higher awareness of, and ability to respond to, cultural cues, compared to monoculturals (Brannen, Garcia, & Thomas, 2009). Earlier studies indicated that multiculturals also seem to develop certain challenges, such as identity crises (Baumeister, et al., 1985; Bell, 1990). (3) Finally, we know that multicultural individuals can identify with regions (Lu & Yang, 2006), religious or linguistic groups (Verkuyten, 2007) and nations, despite the traditional assumption that countries are the only source of cultural values (Lehman, Chiu, & Schaller, 2004).

What is not known about multicultural employees

Leung et al. (2005) highlighted cultural identity as a significant gap in research, while Sackmann and Phillips (2004) predicted cultural identity would be the future of cross-cultural management research, based on the rationale that there are more sources for potential identifications now than ever, such that "the question 'Who am I?' is no longer a trivial one." (p.376).

There has been significant expansion of our knowledge about multicultural individuals, even in the six years since these two publications emerged (Benet-Martínez, 2010), but two significant gaps remain: multiculturals in the context of organizations, and a systematic, theory-based dimensionality of multiculturals. First, multicultural individuals have rarely been examined in the context of organizations, . despite their potential to contribute to organizations, as identified in the opening quotation. A few exceptions exist, including articles in a special issue of the International Journal of Cross-Cultural Management (Brannen & Thomas, 2010; Hong, 2010; Lee, 2010) and research on the intersection of gender, race and career orientation (Bell, 1990; Nkomo & Cox, 1989). However, current research on multicultural individuals falls short of identifying how these skills, abilities, and challenges are influenced by their organizational contexts. For this reason, I focus attention on multicultural employees in the context of their organizations, to discover what resources they bring to the global workplace.

Second, there is a vibrant field of research on bicultural identity integration, and several categorization schemes have been proposed, but according to Brannen and Thomas (2010, p. 10), "to date no classification framework of bicultural individuals

exists that is rigorous enough to form the basis for theory development". Multiculturals vary in more than just identity integration. In particular, research on multicultural individuals usually mentions the possibility for individuals to internalize more than two cultures, but so far there has been no theoretically-grounded examination of the effect of internalizing two, three or more cultures. A systematic dimensionality of multiculturalism that adds to bicultural identity integration research would allow for theorizing about a wider range of potential outcomes, and therefore more refined predictions about the range of skills, abilities and challenges multicultural employees bring to the global workplace.

When managers think of multicultural employees as a homogeneous group, they risk overlooking the variety of resources and challenges that these employees represent. Some organizations, such as IBM and Eastman Kodak, are beginning to implement programs that develop their multicultural employees, such as using cultural networks to promote knowledge transfer across sites (DiversityInc, 2009). However, without a systematic understanding of how multicultural employees vary, it would be difficult to develop them effectively, because they do not all share the same talents or needs. Following from the unknowns about multicultural employees, I address three overall research questions:

1. Along which dimensions are multiple cultural identity patterns organized?

2. What are the antecedents and outcomes of each multicultural identity dimension?

3. How does the organizational context affect the relationships between multicultural identity patterns and outcomes?

In chapter two, I explain the two proposed dimensions for multicultural identity patterns, and the resultant prototype patterns. In chapters three and four, I explain why individuals organize their cultural identities in different patterns, why the patterns predict sets of outcomes, and why the organizational context moderates the relationships between patterns and outcomes. In chapter five, I describe my methodology and results from one pilot study and three main studies, and finally in chapter six I include implications and conclusions for both research and managerial practice.

CHAPTER TWO: A FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING MULTICULTURAL IDENTITY PATTERNS

Following from the progression of research described in chapter one, the framework I describe in this chapter begins to fill both gaps in the literature: multiculturals in the context of organizations, and a systematic dimensionality as a basis for theorizing beyond identity integration. The review of current knowledge in chapter one indicates that cultural identity can be a useful lens through which to examine multiculturals, and that it would be useful to have a theoretical explanation for the mechanisms underlying multiculturals' identity dynamics. The framework presented here is based on three underlying arguments: Cultural schemas represent a rich explanation for multiculturals' identity patterns, because (1) schemas are more stable than identities over time, (2) they only influence individuals when salient, and (3) they are reflected in cultural identity patterns (Ashforth, et al., 2008; Markus, 1977). Cultural schemas are organized knowledge structures that help people interpret and select information associated with a culture (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Individuals' cultural identities are organized in cognition based on these underlying cultural schemas. Multicultural employees have internalized more than one cultural schema, from which they draw their cultural norms, values and beliefs. However, because they are internalized, cultural schemas are often inaccessible (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Therefore most research relies on identity as a proxy for the underlying schemas.

By definition, multiculturals are individuals who have multiple deep cultural identities based on internalized cultural schemas, as opposed to multiple situated, fleeting cultural identities. Thus, it is important to differentiate between situated and

deep identities. The theoretical explanation for the difference between situated and deep identities is that deep identities are supported by internalized schemas, whereas situated identities are not (Rousseau, 1998). In practical terms, this framework excludes those who feel Irish on St. Patrick's Day, or Chinese during Chinese New Year, but have no internalized schema related to either culture. As opposed to situated identities, such as those cultivated during minimal group lab-based experiments, deep identities remain part of the self across situations, although they only guide behavior when salient or activated (Ashforth, et al., 2008; Markus, 1986). According to Ashforth, Harrison and Corley (2008, p. 332), "The distinction between situated and deep identification is very important because it suggests that, contrary to the implicit view in social identity theory / self-categorization theory, identification can be regarded as a more or less stable quality that transcends specific situations". Deep identity development occurs primarily during childhood and adolescence (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). Once developed, deep identities such as cultural identity usually remain in place for the rest of a person's life (Ashforth, et al., 2008; Cheng & Lee, 2009; Stroink & Lalonde, 2009; Van Oudenhoven & Eisses, 1998). This is one area where it is fruitful to integrate social identity theory (surface-level) with a cultural schemas perspective (deep level), because surface-level dynamics can be explained by the underlying theoretical mechanisms..

When individuals have more than one cultural schema – and thus, more than one cultural identity – the identities are mentally organized in order to facilitate sense-making (Ashforth, et al., 2008). Ahead, I build an argument that identity integration, which ranges from separated to integrated, and identity plurality, which ranges from single to multiple, create a map of possible ways to organize more than one cultural

identity (Figure 1). *Identity integration* is the extent to which individuals integrate their cultural identities versus keeping them separate (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005), while *identity plurality* refers to the number of primary cultural identities, ranging from one to many. By primary cultural identity, I am referring to identities based on internalized cultural schemas, and not surface-level identities that can be tried on and discarded. For example, a multicultural individual could prioritize one culture over the other (*single* pattern), while another person might have three internalized cultures (*multiple* pattern). As opposed to much cultural research that considers how the *content* of cultural identities influences behavior, this framework considers how their *organization* influences behavior. Together, these dimensions produce a map that can be used to compare different identity patterns.

Figure 1: Model of multicultural identity dimensions
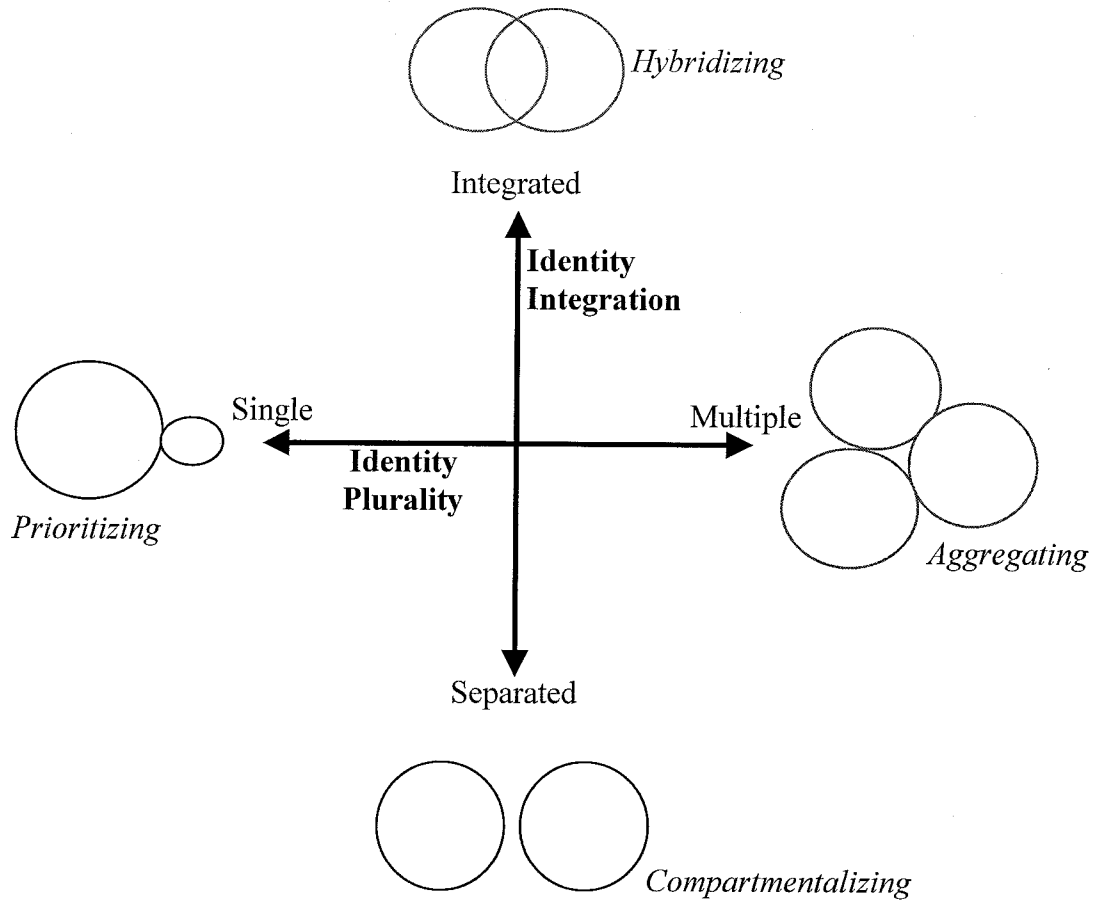
Identity dimensions are easiest to understand by contrasting the patterns positioned at their end points. Based on the two dimensions, four patterns emerge at the end points of each dimension: prioritizing, compartmentalizing, hybridizing and aggregating. These patterns represent ideal types, not categories, because the dimensions are continuous, not categorical. Although the ideal types are useful for explaining the two dimensions, each multicultural individual is more likely represented by a blend of patterns. Related dimensions have been developed in both Pratt and Foreman's (2000) organizational identity management strategies, and in Roccas and

Brewer's (2002) social identity complexity model, although key differences exist among all three models, particularly related to identity domains.

Illustrating the two extremes of identity plurality are *prioritizing* multiculturals, who organize multiple cultural identities hierarchically, such that only one is primary, and *aggregating* multicultural, who draw on three or more cultural identities. Aggregating multiculturals may be more likely to encompass their cultural identities under a larger, umbrella identification that extends beyond the boundaries of their own cultural groups. The prioritizing ideal type is related to dominance (Roccas & Brewer, 2002) and deletion (Pratt & Foreman, 2000), although it does not rely on identities that are nested objectively (e.g. Sunni and Shiite identities are always nested within Muslim identity), as the dominance pattern does (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). However, prioritized or hierarchical patterns can exist regardless of the identities' objective relative position. The aggregating ideal type is related to merged (Roccas & Brewer, 2002), integrated (Pratt & Foreman, 2000), marginal, fused (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997), and cosmopolitan (Hannerz, 1990) patterns. It reduces differentiation between in-group and out-group members, because the in-group is more heterogeneous than it is for other patterns (Park & Rothbart, 1982). Compared to aggregating, the prioritizing ideal type permits a simplified identity structure, where most phenomena are filtered through the corresponding prioritized cultural schema, with accents of the second or third cultures.

Illustrating the end points of identity integration, *compartmentalizing* multiculturals see their identities as separate and identify with one or the other, depending on the context, while *hybridizing* multiculturals see their identities as integrated. The compartmentalizing ideal type organizes multiple cultural identities by

retaining all of them, yet separating them by context, which is similar to the alternating (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997) and compartmentalized patterns (Pratt & Foreman, 2000; Roccas & Brewer, 2002). In contrast, the hybridizing ideal type identifies primarily with the intersection of the two cultures, more than with either culture, similar to intersection (Roccas & Brewer, 2002), aggregated (Pratt & Foreman, 2000), and blended patterns (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). For example, hybridizing Chinese-Canadians will identify with other Chinese-Canadians as their in-group (more than with Canadians or Chinese). The identity integration dimension has been shown to significantly influence multiculturals' frame switching behavior, creativity and other outcomes (Cheng, Lee, & Benet-Martínez, 2006; Cheng, et al., 2008b). The outcomes related to each identity dimension are discussed in more detail in the outcomes section (chapter four). With these two dimensions, an unlimited number of potential patterns can emerge, not limited to the four ideal types at the endpoints of each dimension. Figure 2 illustrates this point with eight potential patterns.

Figure 2: Model of multicultural identity dimensions, illustrating continuous

nature of the dimensions
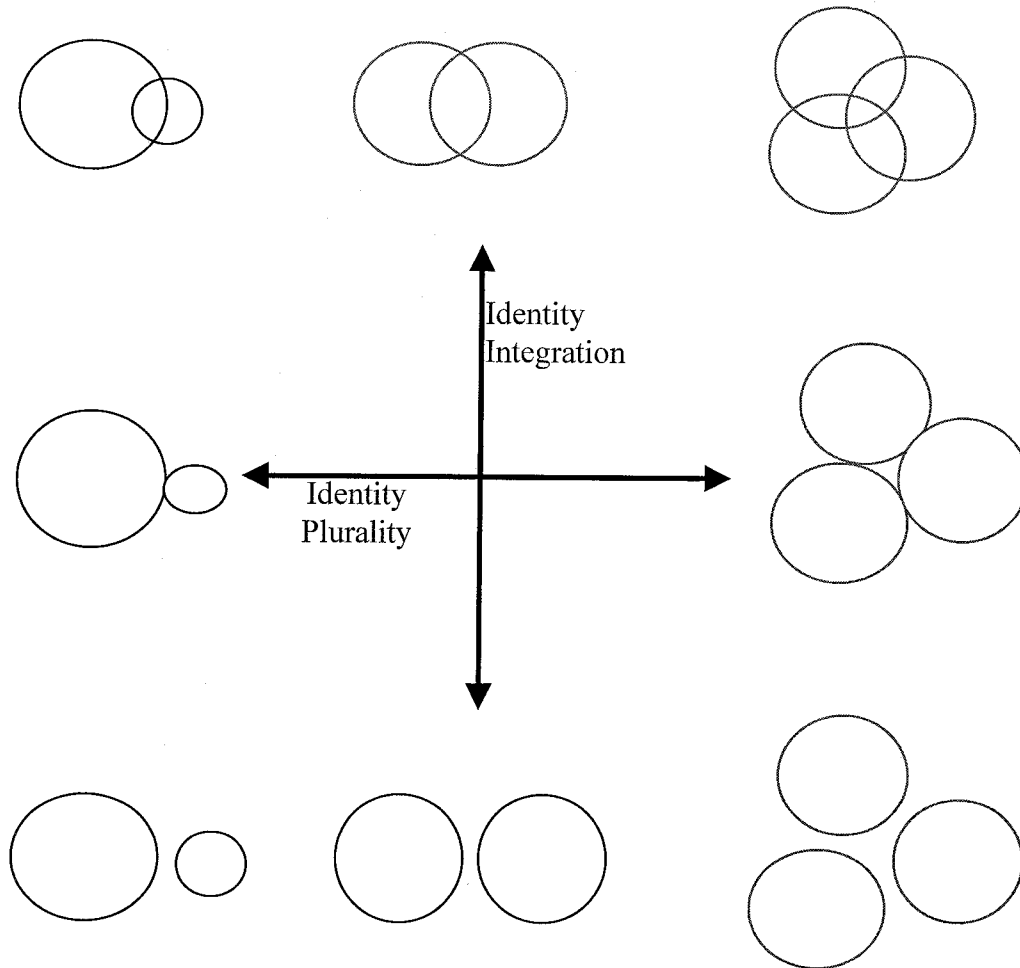
In sum, multicultural individuals' identities can be represented by the map of

possible organizing patterns created by identity integration and identity plurality

dimensions. In the next section of this dissertation, I explain how people arrive at their

identity patterns, by interpreting a set of antecedents through the desires to reduce

uncertainty (cognitive mechanism) and increase self-esteem (motivational mechanism).

CHAPTER THREE: ANTECEDENTS OF CULTURAL IDENTITY PATTERNS

Hypotheses in this chapter and chapter four are based on the two identity pattern dimensions – identity integration and identity plurality. The framework explains how different patterns arise. Individuals develop multicultural identity patterns based on their unique sets of experiences and situations. However, relationships between antecedents and multiculturalism patterns are probabilistic, not deterministic, because the mechanisms linking antecedents to patterns represent individual interpretations of exogenous antecedents. The mechanisms described ahead are present across multicultural individuals, but the extent to which they apply varies with individual differences, such as personality or need for cognitive closure (Leung & Chiu, 2010). Thus, two multicultural individuals with the same set of antecedents could form different identity patterns, because differences in cognition or motivation could produce different interpretations of the antecedents. For example, two individuals may both prioritize the identity(ies) with the highest potential to enhance self-esteem, based on judgments of group prestige. However, they may end up prioritizing different identities, because one concludes that a politically charged subculture has higher group prestige, while the other may conclude that the mainstream culture has higher prestige and is therefore best for increasing self-esteem. Similarly, variation in the extent to which individuals are comfortable with cognitive inconsistencies may affect the degree to which they are drawn to consistent identity patterns over inconsistent patterns (Elliot & Devine, 1994; Leung & Chiu, 2010; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Rotheram-Borus, 1990).

According to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), people sort others and themselves into social groups in order to reduce uncertainty, and they positively differentiate their own in-groups from out-groups in order to enhance self-esteem. Self categorization theory (Turner, et al., 1987) describes one aspect of social identity theory, namely how people categorize themselves in groups based on the groups' relative salience, distinctiveness and prestige (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Salience refers to how easily a category comes to mind, or accessibility, while distinctiveness refers to the uniqueness of a particular group. Prestige refers to an individual's affect-laden, subjective judgement of cultures, not an objective ranking of cultural groups. Individuals are more likely to identify with groups that are seen to have increased salience, distinctiveness and prestige, compared to other groups. Therefore, these characteristics became criteria for inclusion of antecedents in the current framework. Three categories of antecedents – personal history, current context, and cultural content – meet the following criteria for inclusion: Stable and long-term, exogenous to the individual, and related to group prestige, salience and distinctiveness, the three drivers of identification in social identity theory (Ashforth & Mael, 1989).

Personal history refers to a person's family and context during childhood and adolescence. Identity research often focuses on this time period (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Phinney, 1990; Poston, 1990) because identity development occurs to the greatest degree during adolescence (Erikson, 1963). *Current context* refers to large-scale context, such as region, country or city. *Cultural content* refers to the values, norms, beliefs or behaviors normally associated with each culture. Hypotheses predict that current context and cultural content antecedents are related to identity integration

through the desire to reduce uncertainty, while personal history antecedents are related to identity plurality through the desire to increase self-esteem, explained next.

Personal History Antecedents

Personal history influences whether individuals are motivated to identify primarily with a single culture or with multiple cultures (identity plurality dimension), by influencing the way people judge the prestige of cultural groups. Social identity research reveals that people are motivated to increase self-esteem by identifying with prestigious groups, and by positively differentiating their own social groups from others (Turner, et al., 1987). I call this the *motivational mechanism*. Prestige does not refer to an objective ranking of cultural groups. Instead, it refers to an individual's affect-laden, subjective judgment of cultures, where multicultural individuals are motivated to identify with the culture(s) they evaluate most positively (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). It follows that affective judgments of relative group prestige should predict whether multicultural individuals will be motivated to identify primarily with a single cultural group, or evenly across multiple groups. This mechanism can either precede or reinforce internalization of a cultural schema, where individuals who are motivated to identity with a culture will then surround themselves with cultural artefacts, such as people and media from that culture, supporting the process of internalizing that culture's schema.

Although Tajfel (1982) originally claimed that affect was an important factor in how people define their social groups, the role of affect dwindled over time as social identity research became associated with cognitive experimental research on minimal groups (Chao & Moon, 2005; Park & Judd, 2005). The minimal group studies consistently demonstrated that when people identify with groups – even temporary,

random groups – they will subsequently evaluate their own groups more positively than others, in order to increase self-esteem through association with the higher prestige group (Park & Judd, 2005). Despite Tajfel's involvement with the minimal group studies, he insisted that affect also precedes self-categorization (Park & Judd, 2005), wherein individuals first make value judgments of groups, and then categorize themselves within the group that they evaluate more positively. It follows that causality likely runs both directions: affective judgments of cultural group prestige lead to identification with higher prestige groups, and identification with groups lead to positive differentiation of one's own cultural groups, compared to others.

Therefore, individuals are motivated to categorize themselves in higher prestige groups, to increase self-esteem (Park & Judd, 2005). Individuals who evaluate prestige to be high in more than one culture will be motivated to identify with both or all groups, resulting in higher identity plurality. In contrast, individuals who evaluate only one culture as highly prestigious will be motivated to identify primarily with that group, resulting in lower identity plurality. Personal evaluations of cultural prestige stem from individuals' interpretations of their own personal experiences (Cheng & Lee, 2009) not from objective rankings of group prestige. This is especially true of experiences that occur while individuals' cultural identities are being formed, typically during childhood, adolescence, or after immigrating to a new country (Phinney, 1990; Poston, 1990). Therefore, the motivation to increase self-esteem by identifying with high-prestige groups justifies the following hypothesis:

> H1a: The number of cultures with which individuals perceived high levels of
>
> cultural group prestige as a child will be positively related to identity plurality.

Individuals usually assign higher prestige to cultures with which they have more experience. It follows that acculturation process and generational status, explained next, each have the potential to be important predictors within the personal history category of antecedents.

Acculturation. Acculturation is the process of acquiring another culture (Berry, 1980). Research often equates acculturation processes with cultural identity patterns. In fact, several articles restrict their definition of multiculturals to those who draw on Berry's (1980) *integration* acculturation process, in which individuals maintain both cultures equally (Benet-Martínez, 2010; Tadmor, et al., 2009). This approach unnecessarily restricts the boundary conditions for classification as a multicultural individual, because multiculturalism does not require equal identification across both or all cultures, and it confounds the process of internalizing a new culture with the patterns of cultures that have already been internalized. Since the process of acculturation must occur prior to mentally organizing acquired cultural identities, acculturation must be a precursor to multicultural identity patterns (Brannen & Thomas, 2010). Those who draw on an integrated acculturation process are most likely to have higher identity plurality than those who draw on separated (identifying primarily with the home culture) or assimilated (identifying primarily with the host culture) acculturation processes, because each of the latter processes prioritize one culture over the other(s).

Generational status. Based on the motivation to increase self-esteem by identifying with high-prestige groups, the number of generations a family has lived in a country seems likely to influence identity plurality. Judgments of group prestige shift across generations, such that first-generation immigrants generally have more

experience with their home cultures, especially if they immigrated as adults, while second- and third- generation immigrants will often have experience with both (Tsai, et al., 2002). It follows that first-generation immigrants may have lower identity plurality than second-generation immigrants. It has been documented to take three generations before immigrants identify more with the host country than with the home country (Boski, 1994; Connor, 1974). Therefore, third-generation immigrants or later may be more likely to have experience primarily with one culture, and therefore prioritize that identity. Based on evidence from generational change in identity patterns, I propose that second-generation immigrants will have higher identity plurality than first- or third-generation immigrants:

> H1b: Generational status will have an inverted U-shaped relationship with identity plurality such that people with earlier and later generational status will have lower identity plurality than those at the mean of generational status.

In sum, personal history antecedents are predicted to be related to identity plurality, based on the motivation to identify with high-prestige groups in order to increase self-esteem. In addition to the influence that personal history has on multicultural identity patterns, current context is also likely to influence identity patterns (Johns, 2007).

Current Context Antecedents

Large-scale context, such as the city or country of residence, is likely to be a more important predictor of multicultural identity patterns than temporary contexts that change over the course of a day, because multicultural identity patterns are based on the

organization of cultural schemas, which remain stable over time (Ashforth, et al., 2008; Markus, 1986). Temporary changes in context, such as going home after work, affect the *accessibility* of particular schemas (Markus, 1977, 1986), but they do not affect the content, meaning, or organization of those schemas (Molinsky, 2007). Thus, I use current context to refer to larger-scale, stable contexts, such as country or city.

Context influences the perceived salience and distinctiveness of cultural groups, which in turn influence how individuals organize their cultural identities in order to reduce uncertainty. In contrast to the motivational mechanism's goal of increasing self-esteem, this relationship can be explained by the goal of reducing uncertainty by developing identity patterns that are internally consistent. Also based on social identity theory, I call this the *cognitive mechanism* (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Consistent patterns, with a single set of guiding norms, values and assumptions, reduce uncertainty more effectively than inconsistent patterns with multiple sets of guiding norms, values and assumptions, because inconsistent patterns have the potential to provide conflicting guidance (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). People are generally drawn to consistent patterns over inconsistent ones, but the context can limit the ease with which individuals integrate their cultural identities (Haslam, 2004).

When culture is both salient and distinctive in a particular context, then the borders between cultural groups are perceived more easily (Friedkin & Simpson, 1985), making it more difficult to integrate identities. For example, culture's salience and distinctiveness as a categorizing variable may be influenced by a country's multicultural policies, as experienced through the degree of cultural segregation in society. Countries with assimilationist policies are more likely to have a greater degree of cultural

segregation in society (Taylor, 1991), resulting in increased cultural salience, and increased likelihood that multicultural individuals will separate their cultures instead of integrating them (Williams & Berry, 1991). In fact, Koreans living in China were found to be less likely to be multicultural than Koreans living in the United States, and this difference can be attributed to higher levels of cultural integration in the U.S. than in China (Lee, Falbo, Doh, & Park, 2001). Also, in countries with strong multiculturalism policies, such as Canada and New Zealand, mainstream identity and ethnic identity tend to be positively related or not related, while they are negatively related in France, Germany and The Netherlands, where policies do not promote multiculturalism to the same extent (Phinney, Berry, Vedder, & Liebkind, 2006). These findings indicate that people experience a country's multicultural policies by noticing the degree to which people segregate themselves into cultural groups, leading to the following proposed relationship between current context and multicultural identity patterns:

H2: The degree to which regional policies promote multiculturalism will predict identity integration among residents.

Multicultural identity patterns may change more rapidly during times of drastic contextual change. For example, cultural identity may become unstable after a move to a new country, until a new cultural identity can be developed with respect to the new country context, as previously described. The cultural identity someone holds in one country may no longer make sense in the new country, and it will likely take a few years to stabilize the new identity by making sense of one's self in a new country context. In this way, development of cultural identity as an adult resembles a punctuated equilibrium that remains stable unless the context changes drastically (Gersick, 1991;

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Stroink & Lalonde, 2009). In contrast, the content of cultural identities, including their associated norms, values, assumptions and beliefs, remain generally stable throughout a person's lifetime. This content may also influence how people mentally organize their cultural identities, through the desire to reduce uncertainty.

Cultural Content Antecedents

Individuals will go to great lengths to maintain self consistency by placing themselves into consistent groups (Markus, 1977). Integrated identity patterns are more consistent than separated identity patterns, so it is likely that people will be drawn to integrated identity patterns (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). However, some pairs of cultures are liable to lend themselves to integration better than others. Specifically, pairs of cultures may be easier to integrate if the cultures are loose, if cultural distance is small, or if the countries representing the cultures are not in conflict. All three instances of cultural content draw on the theoretical rationale that the pursuit of cognitive consistency will lead individuals to be naturally drawn to integrated identity patterns, unless the cultures themselves impede integration.

Cultural tightness. Loose cultures allow more deviations from prescribed cultural norms, compared to tight cultures (Au, 1999; Gelfand, Nishii, & Raver, 2006), making them easier to integrate. In contrast, members of tight cultures, such as the priesthood, seldom integrate their personal (I am a man) and occupational (I am a priest) identities. Instead, they prefer to separate their identities without allowing them to mix (Kreiner, Hollensbe, & Sheep, 2006). Thus, cultural tightness is likely to impede integration.

H3a: Cultural tightness will be negatively related to identity integration.

Cultural distance. Cultural distance refers to the magnitude of differences between two cultures. When cultural distance is small, multicultural individuals may find it easier to integrate their cultures because there are fewer inconsistencies to reconcile (Van de Vijver & Phalet, 2004). For example, when cultural distance is calculated as the absolute difference between country A and country B, on the sum of Schwartz's seven country-level values, German-Austrians (total distance = 1.02) would likely have an easier time integrating their cultures than German-Ugandans (total distance = 6.43). A study of Latvian-Americans who immigrated to America during childhood found that by the time they reached high school age, there were more who integrated their cultural identities, than those who kept them separate. By the time they reached their 50s and 60s, none of the participants continued to separate their cultural identities (Smith, Stewart, & Winter, 2004). The participants themselves attributed this trend to the similarities between their cultures – at the time of immigration, both countries shared a religion, similar family values, and similar emphasis on work and education, and this facilitated identity integration (Smith, et al., 2004). Thus, cultural distance is likely to impede identity integration.

H3b: Cultural distance will be negatively related to identity integration .

Cultural conflict. When a set of cultures are generally friendly towards one another, multiculturals with those cultures will likely find them easier to integrate, versus cultures with political misgivings or conflict towards one another. Similar to the effect of competitions, cultural conflict tends to increase the salience of group differences and group boundaries (Friedkin & Simpson, 1985). For example, Palestinian-Israelis would likely have a harder time integrating their multicultural

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identities than Australian-New Zealanders, because the relationship between the former set is more conflicted than the latter. It follows that conflicted relations between cultures will related to identity integration.

H3c: Historically conflicted relations between cultures will be negatively related to identity integration.

All of the antecedent hypotheses are illustrated in Figure 3, and summarized in Appendix A, along with their associated mechanisms. Overall, current context and cultural content likely influence whether multiculturals separate or integrate their cultural identities, based on the desire to reduce uncertainty. Personal history should influence identity plurality, based on the motivation to identify with high-prestige groups in order to increase self-esteem.

Figure 3: Proposed antecedents of multicultural identity dimensions

H2: Contexts with policies that promote multiculturalism
H3a: Cultural looseness
H3b: Small cultural distance
H3c: Historically peaceful relations

Identity Plurality

H1a: Smaller difference between judgments of group prestige
H1b: First and third generation

H1a: Larger difference between judgements of group prestige.
H1b: Second generation

H2: Contexts with policies that do not promote multiculturalism
H3a: Cultural tightness
H3b: Large cultural distance
H3c: Historically conflicted relations

Identity Integration

CHAPTER FOUR: OUTCOMES OF CULTURAL IDENTITY PATTERNS AND THE INFLUENCE OF ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXT

Each multicultural pattern is a unique representation of self based on a unique set of internalized cultural schemas, and thus produces unique personal, social and task outcomes. This three-part categorization of outcomes mirrors the most common distinction made in the expatriate and adjustment literatures, between personal well-being, interpersonal relationships and task-related effectiveness (Bhaskar-Shrinivas, Harrison, Shaffer, & Luk, 2005; Black, Mendenhall, & Oddou, 1991). Despite issues in the original theory, including data-driven development and lack of validation (Thomas & Lazarova, 2005), similar three-part distinctions continue to be applied as categorical tools, even beyond purely adjustment outcomes (Thomas & Fitzsimmons, 2008). The three categories are applied here as a useful and common distinction among organizationally-relevant outcomes (as contrasted to purely psychologically-relevant outcomes), in order to develop implications for organizational practice and research. Outcome hypotheses are developed for identity integration and identity plurality dimensions based on the dual desires to reduce uncertainty and increase self-esteem, as drawn from social identity theory. I describe each category of outcomes in turn, starting with personal outcomes.

Personal Outcomes

As discussed in chapter two, the identity patterns vary in their effectiveness at reducing uncertainty. Roccas and Brewer (2002) explained how identity patterns with a single in-group (e.g. Canadianized-Chinese) are more internally consistent than patterns

with multiple in-groups (e.g. Canadian and Chinese), and there is evidence that integrated multiculturals have better psychological adjustment than those with separated patterns (Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Bond, 2008). Inconsistent identity patterns fail to reduce uncertainty as effectively as consistent patterns, because they have the potential to provide conflicting guidance for behavior, resulting in a greater psychological toll. Thus, single, integrated identity patterns should result in the lowest levels of psychological toll, while those with multiple, separated identities should experience the highest.

Psychological toll refers to the negative feelings that can result from switching among identities, such as identity stress, adjustment, health outcomes and work-related stressors, which deplete psychological resources available for other activities (Molinsky, 2007). An artifact of early multiculturalism studies is the assumption that all forms of multiculturalism are psychologically difficult (LaFromboise, et al., 1993). This is sometimes the case, but to a greater degree for people who have inconsistent patterns, because they will have more uncertainty than people with consistent patterns (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). It follows that personal outcomes likely vary along with both identity plurality and identity integration, because both dimensions influence the degree of identity pattern consistency. Identity stress is examined in more depth because it remains an important construct within this category, linked to early theorizing about multicultural individuals.

Identity stress. Identity stress is stress that results from existential uncertainty, or uncertainty about the answer to the question, "Who am I?" (Sackmann & Phillips, 2004; Thoits, 1999). There are two competing hypotheses about the effect of multiculturalism

on stress. According to the identity accumulation hypothesis, more identities lead to less stress because each identity gives meaning and helps guide behavior (Thoits, 1983). This hypothesis claims that individuals with multiple identities may be better able to buffer feelings of stress or depression, due to a sense of self that is less bound to any one aspect of the self (Linville, 1987; Thoits, 1983, 1986). In contrast, Baumeister, Shapiro and Tice (1985) argued that when an individual has multiple identities, the identities may conflict with each other, thus increasing stress as they become less useful for guiding behavior. Their model claims that as the number of identities increases, the potential for identity conflict also increases, resulting in greater stress. Together, these two perspectives seem to result is a set of conflicting hypotheses; when the number of cultural identities increases, the result may be less stress (Linville, 1987; Thoits, 1983), or more stress (Baumeister, et al., 1985).

These seemingly conflicting hypotheses are actually compatible. Stress is only increased when the number of *inconsistent* identities increases, resulting in identity patterns that are less effective at reducing uncertainty. This occurs when identity patterns are high on identity plurality and low on identity integration. Organizing multiple, separated identities is stressful because it requires individuals to reconcile conflicting aspects of self, resulting in a greater psychological toll than single, integrated patterns. The following proposed relationships are based on the psychological toll of having an inconsistent cultural identity pattern.

H4a: Identity plurality will be positively related to psychological toll.

H4b: Identity integration will be negatively related to psychological toll.

Although logically, managers might prefer employees with low levels of psychological toll because they have more cognitive resources available for other activities, there may be social benefits that compensate for the psychological toll of inconsistent identity patterns, explained next.

Social Outcomes

Identity plurality is proposed to predict social capital outcomes because peoples' patterns of relationships are influenced by their identity patterns. Social capital resources can be accessed through networks of relationships or membership in groups (Bordieu, 1986). They are important because they are essential for knowledge transfer, linking and facilitating activities, innovation capacity, and organizational learning, especially in multinational organizations or any organization that conducts business across borders (Barner-Rasmussen, Ehrnrooth, Koveshinikov, & Mäkelä, 2010). Social capital results from identity patterns because people seek to increase self-esteem by positively differentiating their in-groups from comparison out-groups, influencing their relationship patterns and choice of out-groups (Ashforth, et al., 2008). The group that becomes a comparison out-group depends on an individual's identity pattern; as the number of cultural identities increases, it may become difficult to choose other cultural groups as comparison out-groups. Instead, people with multiple cultural identities may be more likely to choose comparison out-groups from other domains, such as members of other organizations or other professions. In contrast, people with one primary cultural identity may be more likely to choose other cultural groups as comparison out-groups, and perceive other cultures as lower in prestige as a result. Social capital is often divided into structural, relational and cognitive social capital (Nahapiet & Ghoshal,

1998). I illustrate the relationships between identity patterns and social capital outcomes with structural and relational examples.

Structural social capital. Employees' physical ties, including the composition of their in-groups and other connections, constitute their structural social capital (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). When employees are better connected across multiple groups, they are valuable for their ability to span boundaries and facilitate positive interactions among groups, even across cultural faultlines (Barner-Rasmussen, et al., 2010). Because individuals with fewer cultures may find it easier to choose other cultural groups as comparison out-groups, they may be more likely to evaluate other cultures as having less prestige, and consequently be less likely to include people from other cultures in their in-groups. In contrast, individuals with multiple cultures may find it more difficult to differentiate between their own cultures and comparison cultural out-groups, instead choosing out-groups from other domains, such as other organizations or professions. The result may be that individuals with high identity plurality have the widest variety of cultures in their in-groups, even beyond their own cultures. In contrast, multiculturals with low identity plurality likely have more culturally homogeneous in-groups than those with high identity plurality, resulting in lower levels of social capital for low plurality patterns, and supporting the following hypothesis.

H5a: Identity plurality will be positively related to structural social capital.

Relational social capital. Trust, norms and expectations are examples of the behavioral assets embedded in relationships, collectively called relational social capital (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998). Usually operationalized in terms of trust with out-group members, relational social capital allows interactions to take place across group

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boundaries, whether those boundaries are cultural, organizational or departmental (Barner-Rasmussen, et al., 2010). Relational social capital likely increases along with identity plurality, because as an identity encompasses a wider array of meanings, there may be fewer bases for intergroup conflict. Indeed, the development of multicultural identities has been proposed as a way to reduce ethnocentrism (Thomas, 1996), and research on out-group bias found that as the number of meanings for a group increased, measured by the number of distinct group names, intergroup hostility fell (Mullen, Calogero, & Leader, 2007). Thus, interpersonal trust likely increases as multicultural identity patterns encompass a wider range of possible meanings, indicated by higher identity plurality, and supporting the following hypothesis.

H5b: Identity plurality will be positively related to relational social capital.

The third type of social capital (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998), cognitive social capital, is more closely related to task outcomes because of its reliance on the cognitive desire to reduce uncertainty, explained next.

Task Outcomes

Beyond the psychological toll of mentally organizing multiple cultural identities, and the social capital resources that can result from different organization patterns, managers are especially interested in the degree to which multicultural employees are able to accomplish work-related activities, such as solving complex problems, leading multicultural teams, and negotiating across cultures (Fitzsimmons, Miska, & Stahl, forthcoming). There is evidence that these task outcomes may result from multicultural identity patterns, as mediated by intercultural skills, and explained by degree to which the patterns reduce uncertainty. The mediated relationship occurs because most

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intercultural tasks require intercultural skills to perform them successfully. For example, minority expatriates received higher performance evaluations than their Caucasian colleagues, perhaps because the minority expatriates were more likely to be multicultural, leading to higher levels of intercultural skills than their monocultural colleagues (Pattie & Parks, 2010). Identity patterns influence which set of skills individuals develop, and in turn, these skills influence their success at performing intercultural tasks, such as solving complex global problems by drawing on ideas from multiple sources.

Inconsistent identity patterns do not reduce uncertainty as effectively as consistent patterns, likely resulting in a higher psychological toll for inconsistent patterns, but also allowing for more complex cognitive schemas, with multiple sets of values, assumptions and norms that sometimes conflict. Consistent cultural schemas may provide a basis for quick decision-making because there is only one set of values, assumptions and beliefs to consult (Markus, 1977), but they may also detract from outcomes that depend on cognitive complexity, such as cultural metacognition – knowledge of and control over one's culture-domain thinking and learning activities (Brannen & Thomas, 2010; Thomas et al., 2008a). Thus, task outcomes represent the flip side of personal outcomes, in that inconsistent patterns produce the highest psychological toll, but also produce the highest level of intercultural skills. There are any number of ways to categorize task-related skills (Thomas & Fitzsimmons, 2008). Yamazaki and Kayes' (2004) model is one of the few theoretically-based categorization systems, so I draw on their analytical and action skills categories to demonstrate particular relationships between identity dimensions and task outcomes.

Action skills. Often described as one of the most important skills for predicting expatriate success (Thomas & Fitzsimmons, 2008), action skills such as adaptability and flexibility also predict task achievement across cultures (Mol, Born, Willemsen, & Van der Molen, 2005; Schaffer, Harrison, Gregersen, Black, & Ferzandi, 2006). Multicultural individuals have better action skills than monocultural individuals because they have more cultural identities than monoculturals, and thus a wider variety of cultural schemas to guide behavior (Bell & Harrison, 1996). It follows that multiculturals with the most inconsistent cultural identity patterns should have better action skills than those with consistent patterns, because pattern inconsistency results in more selection among behavioral repertoires. Thus, action skills such as adaptability and flexibility should be highest for multicultural individuals with the most inconsistent identity patterns. Based on the rationale that inconsistent identity patterns are least effective at reducing uncertainty, and thus push multicultural individuals to develop their intercultural skills, I propose the following relationships.

H6a: Identity plurality will be positively related to action skills.

H6b: Identity integration will be negatively related to action skills.

Analytical skills. Employees' ability to think in ways that complement different cultural contexts can be even more important than their ability to act appropriately. For example, cognitive skills are essential for accurately interpreting others' behaviors, negotiating successfully across cultures and solving global ethical problems (Fitzsimmons, et al., forthcoming). Broadly, cognitive skills are related to *cognitive* social capital (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998), and refer to skills that require complex thinking, such as cultural metacognition and creativity. Cultural metacognition is

knowledge of and control over one's thinking and learning activities during cross-cultural interactions (Thomas, 2006; Thomas, et al., 2008a), and it facilitates positive cross-cultural interactions (Brannen, et al., 2009; Stephan & Stephan, 1992). Researchers have found conflicting results about how multiculturalism relates to cognitive outcomes. Multicultural individuals, defined as those who identify strongly with both cultures, were found to be more integratively complex than those who identified more strongly with one culture over the other (Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006), and this difference was attributed to the increased dissonance of having two equal cultures. Cognitive complexity has been found to increase with identity separation, because perceptions of cultural conflict sharpen cultural awareness (Benet-Martínez, et al., 2006). These arguments are consistent with the idea that inconsistent identity patterns produce more dissonance than consistent patterns, and thus push individuals to pay more active attention to cultural content, increasing analytical skills as a consequence. Since identity inconsistency varies along both dimensions, analytical skills likely increase along with identity plurality and decrease with identity integration, leading to the following two hypotheses:

H7a: Identity plurality will be positively related to analytical skills.

H7b: Identity integration will be negatively related to analytical skills.

In contrast, decision-making is expected to be fastest when identity patterns are the most consistent, because it takes longer to process decisions that draw on multiple cultural identities than it does to process decisions drawing on one primary cultural identity (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). This is supported by findings that response latency on self-relevant questions is longer when two inconsistent schemas are primed,

and shorter when two consistent schemas are primed (Tavella, 1997). Indeed, one of the foundational studies of schemas tested response latency as a proxy for the existence of self-schemata, concluding that response times were fastest for individuals responding to items that were consistent with their self-schemata (Markus, 1977). Schemas, however, are not accessed continuously, but only when made salient by the context. Thus, this response latency effect is only expected for questions within the culture domain. Identity pattern consistency varies along with both identity plurality and identity integration, so both dimensions are expected to be related to decision-making speed, such that decision-making is expected to be longest for the most inconsistent identity patterns.

H8a: Identity plurality will be negatively related to culture-domain decision-making speed.

H8b: Identity integration will be positively related to culture-domain decision-making speed.

Together, personal, social and task outcomes illustrate what happens when cultural identity patterns influence the way people think and behave, as depicted in Figure 4. However, multicultural identity never works in isolation of contextual influences (Chao & Moon, 2005; Markus, 1986). In particular, this model examines the moderating effect of organizational context, because employees have the potential to develop an organizational identity that competes with cultural identities (Ashforth, et al., 2008; Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Depending on both the strength and content of the organizational identity, it may be a stronger guide than multicultural identity when

organizational identity is salient, weakening the relationships between multicultural

identity patterns and their outcomes.

Figure 4: Proposed outcomes of multicultural identity dimensions
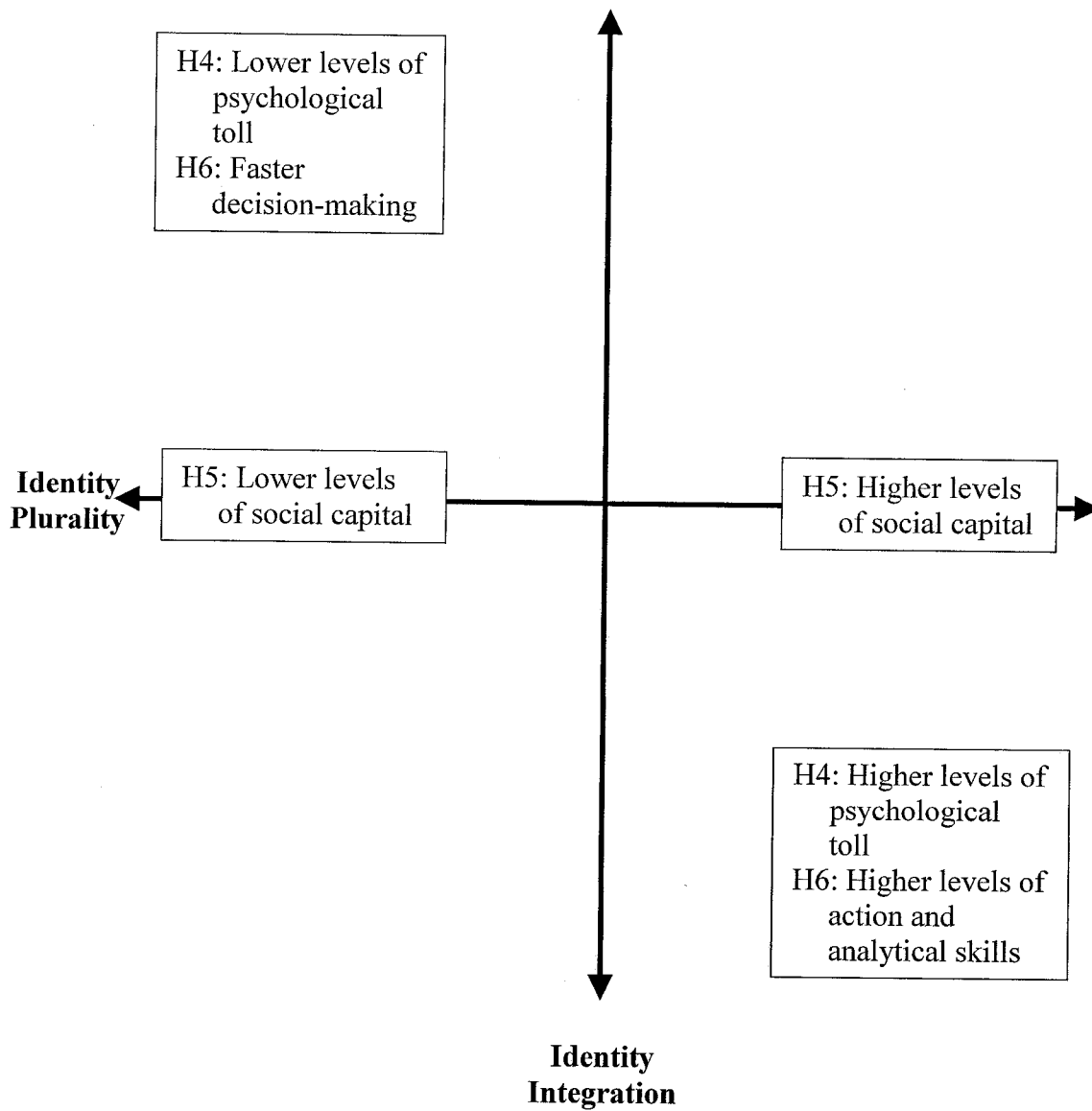
Moderator: Organizational Identification

Identities only guide behavior when salient (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). For example, when individuals are physically at work, thinking about work, or talking with colleagues from work, the context or activity may work as a prime to heighten the accessibility of organizational identities (Ashforth, et al., 2008). Multicultural identity salience could explain findings that multiculturals only respond differently than monoculturals when it concerns the cultural domain. For example, multiculturals had higher cognitive complexity when talking about cultures, but not about landscapes (Benet-Martínez, et al., 2006); they had higher creativity when developing fusion cuisine dishes, but not monocultural dishes (Cheng, et al., 2008a), and female engineers had more original ideas about designing a new product for women, but not for college students in general (Cheng, et al., 2008a). In these examples, multicultural identity only served as a guide for behavior for activities within the cultural domain, because the context primed accessibility of the multicultural identity over other identities.

Based on the same rationale, organizational identity has the potential to be a more salient guide than multicultural identity, when the organizational identity is primed. Organizational identity is an individual's identification as a member of the organization (Ashforth, et al., 2008). Widespread agreement about the central, distinctive and enduring aspects of the organization leads to stronger organizational culture, and provides the basis for stronger organizational identification among its members. Organizations with especially strong cultures train employees to think, behave and react based on organizational norms, providing a strong alternative source of identification for its multicultural employees (Jackson, Joshi, & Erhardt, 2003). It

follows that both positive (e.g. social capital, task skills) and negative (e.g. psychological toll) relationships between multicultural identity patterns and outcomes are likely moderated by the degree to which competing identities (such as organizational identities) are more salient than multicultural identities. When organizational identity is most salient, people may rely on their organizational identities as a primary guide, resulting in weakened relationships between multicultural identity patterns and personal, social and task outcomes (Markus, 1977).

H9: The strength of organizational identification will moderate the relationships between multicultural identity patterns and outcomes, such that the relationships will be strongest when organizational identification is weak.

However, when the organizational culture promotes diversity, it might promote the salience of both organizational and multicultural identities, allowing employees to draw on both to guide behavior (Ely & Thomas, 2001). For example, people whose values differed from the organization's values were more likely to identify with the organization when that organization also had a diversity climate (Luijters, van der Zee, & Otten, 2008). After reviewing 63 studies published from 1997-2002, Jackson, Joshi and Erhardt (2003) concluded that organizations are more likely to benefit from multiple cultures when the organizational culture values breadth of experience, skills, and attributes. These results indicate that the relationships between multicultural identity patterns and outcomes may not necessarily be weakened by strong organizational identification, so long as the organizational culture also promotes diversity. As such, the degree to which individuals identify with their organizations, and the content of their organizational cultures, are both likely to influence the degree to

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which individuals draw on organizational identities over multicultural identities, when the organizational identity is salient.

H10: Diversity climate will moderate the effect of the interaction between identity patterns and organizational identification on outcomes, such that in strong diversity climates, the interaction effect will be more pronounced than in weak diversity climates.

In sum, multicultural identity patterns influence three categories of outcomes, based on two mechanisms drawn from social identity theory: Personal and task outcomes are influenced by the degree to which patterns are internally consistent, and thus, the degree to which they effectively reduce uncertainty; social outcomes are influenced by the degree to which patterns increase self-esteem by positively differentiating in-groups from comparison out-groups. Specifically, psychological toll is expected to increase along with identity plurality (H4a) and decrease along with identity integration (H4b), because low plurality and high integration patterns are more internally consistent than high plurality, low integration patterns. Structural (H5a) and relational (H5b) social capital are expected to increase along with identity plurality, because homogeneous cultural in-groups provide a stronger basis for positive differentiation of the cultural in-group against other cultures. Task outcomes are expected to be mediated by intercultural skills, such that action and analytical skills are expected to increase along with identity plurality (H6a & H7a) and decrease along with identity integration (H6b & H7b), while the inverse is expected for culture-domain decision-making speed (H8a-b). The logic of the task outcome relationships is that internally inconsistent patterns access more cultural schemas than internally consistent

patterns, promoting complex thinking and broad cultural knowledge, while consistent patterns promote decisiveness.

Two constructs are expected to moderate the relationships between multicultural identity patterns and outcomes. When the organizational identity is made salient, such as when employees are at work, both positive and negative outcomes may be suppressed by strong organizational identification, because it promotes the salience of the organizational identity over multicultural identities, as a primary guide for behavior. Thus, the strength of organizational identification is expected to moderate the relationships among multicultural identity patterns and their associated outcomes (H9). Further, diversity climate is expected to moderate the effect of organizational identification, such that the moderating effect of organizational identification will be suppressed by a weak diversity climate (H10).

When considered collectively, the two identity dimensions, antecedents and outcomes, create a framework that may be used to differentiate among multicultural individuals. The complete framework is depicted in Figure 5. Relationships proposed in chapters three and four are summarized in Appendix A. The following chapter describes how the hypotheses were tested and presents results from regression analyses.

Figure 5: Overall framework of multicultural identity dimensions, including antecedents, outcomes and moderators
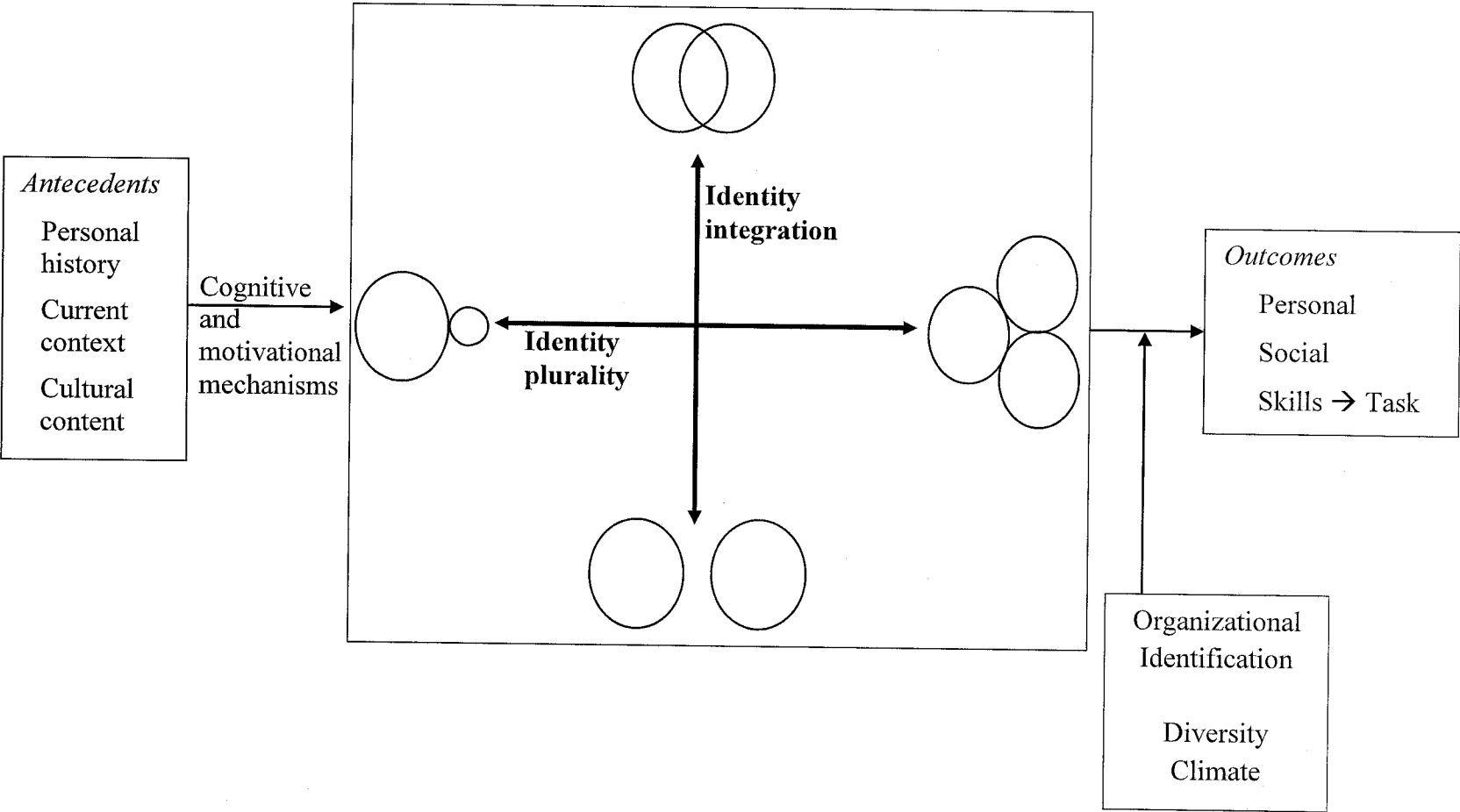
CHAPTER FIVE: METHODOLOGY AND RESULTS

The hypotheses proposed in chapters three and four were tested with a series of four studies consisting of a total of 771 participants. A pilot study was followed by three questionnaire studies with three different populations. The pilot study was designed to test the effectiveness of identity integration and identity plurality dimensions, in describing individuals' cultural identity patterns. Participants were 46 multicultural individuals. Study one was designed to test antecedent hypotheses and personal and social outcome hypotheses (H1-H5), with a sample of 347 multicultural undergraduate business students. Study two was designed to test outcome hypotheses and the moderation effects (H4-H10). Participants were 300 multicultural undergraduate business students who were also employed, in order to test the moderating effects of organizational identification and diversity climate. Study three was designed to test for replication of relationships found in the student samples with an organizational sample, and to examine the effect of multiculturalism on an objective measure of job performance. Participants were 77 employees across five locations in a hotel chain in western Canada, 40 of whom were multicultural and 37 monocultural. The variables used across all studies are depicted in Figure 6, and the most common cultures in each sample are presented in Table 1.

Three hypotheses were not tested, because there was no variability in context (H2) and the questionnaire length could not accommodate all of the proposed constructs (H3a and H5b). All studies were questionnaire-based, and examined cultural identity, which can be reported consciously (Tsai, et al., 2002). In this chapter, I describe each study in turn.

Figure 6: Variables used to test overall framework

Antecedents

Personal history
- Generations in Canada
- Cultural pride and experiences

Current context
- Not measured

Cultural content
- Cultural similarity
- Cultural animosity

Identity integration

Identity plurality

Outcomes

Personal
- Identity stress
- Identity uncertainty
- Feeling overburdened

Social
- In-group cultural composition

Skills → Task
- Adaptability
- Cultural metacognition

Organizational Identification

Diversity Climate

Table 1: Frequency of most common cultures represented in each sample

Cultures	Pilot Study	Study One	Study Two	Study Three
Canadian	44	294	289	39
Chinese	16	155	192	7
Indian	4	29	40	2
Taiwanese	1	16	18	1
Hong Konger	0	13	11	0
Christian	0	6	10	1
South Korean	1	20	11	0
Filipino	6	14	5	3
Total number of cultures	29	62	46	26
Total N (multicultural participants only)	47	347	300	40
Percentage who internalized more than two cultures	21%	28%	18%	18%

Pilot Study

The pilot study was designed to test whether the dimensions of identity plurality

and identity integration were effective descriptors of multicultural identity patterns,

through triangulation. This was accomplished with a paper-based questionnaire that

included both quantitative and qualitative measures of identity integration and identity

plurality. Qualitative responses were coded in order to examine correlations against

quantitative scores on each dimension. I expected positive correlations between

individuals' qualitative and quantitative scores on each dimension. I also expected the

aggregating ideal type to be positively related to identity plurality, prioritizing to be

negatively related to identity plurality, hybridizing to be positively related to identity

integration, and separating to be negatively related to identity integration. The

secondary purpose of the pilot study was to use the method proposed by Stanton, Sinar, Balzer and Smith (2002) to create a shortened version of Cheryan and Morin's (2005) 20-item Measuring American and Ethnic Practices and Pride scale, for inclusion as a personal history variable in study one.

Pilot Study Participants and Procedure

Forty-six individuals (mean age = 28.78 years, SD = 8.35 years, 23 male, 22 female, 1 missing gender) completed the paper-based questionnaire. This sample size is similar to samples used to develop an earlier model that developed five different forms of bicultural identity (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). Participants were recruited from an MBA cross-cultural management class in Vancouver, BC (39 participants), coupled with snowball sampling (7 participants). All participants were living in Canada at the time of testing. No compensation was offered. All participants self-identified as multicultural, based on the following questions and clarifying definition:

> Do you have more than one culture? Do you see yourself as a member of more than one cultural group? If so, you are invited to complete a short questionnaire to explore your own cultural identity. A culture can refer to a region or country, or the combination of two, for example Chinese, East Indian, Chinese-Canadian, etc. You can see yourself as a member of a culture even if you've never lived there.

Pilot Study Measures

Identity integration was measured with the 4-item blendedness subscale (alpha = .62) of the bicultural identity integration scale, version one (BII-1; Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). This scale measures the degree to which participants see their cultures

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as separate versus overlapping. The blendedness subscale was chosen over the harmony subscale for two reasons. First, the blendedness subscale is better suited to testing the hypotheses in this dissertation because the harmony subscale was designed to measure affective aspects of identity integration, whereas the blendedness subscale was designed to measure cognitive aspects of identity integration (Benet-Martinez, 2003a). Hypotheses in this dissertation were developed from cognitive theorizing, thus the blendedness subscale was a better fit. Second, the BII cultural blendedness subscale has been shown to relate to a wider variety of variables than the harmony subscale, indicating that the blendedness subscale may be more general than the harmony subscale. Specifically, biculturals who saw their cultures as separated (rather than integrated) were more likely to endorse the separated acculturation strategy (high identification with Chinese culture, low identification with American culture), and reported higher levels of linguistic acculturation stress and identity stress (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). The response set was a 9-point Likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree to 9 = strongly agree), where higher numbers indicate more integration. The internal consistency reliability (Cronbach's alpha) for this sample was low, although it was similar to the alpha coefficient found in a prior study (alpha=.69) (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005).

Identity plurality was measured with one item, *Think of people who are like you. Circle the number that best describes them.* The response set was a 7-point scale with the following markers: 1 = they all share the same culture, 3 = they are from several different cultures, but the majority share the same culture, 5 = most have different cultures, but a small number share the same culture, and 7 = they all have different

cultures from one another. Higher numbers indicate that the in-group is composed of more cultures, and thus, the cultural identity likely has higher identity plurality. This item was written in such a way as to capture the cultural composition of the participant's in-group, based on the social identity theory rationale that identity patterns are represented by the social in-group (Haslam & Ellemers, 2005; Mok, Morris, Benet-Martínez, & Karakitapog˘lu-Aygün, 2007). According to this line of reasoning, the cultural composition of the in-group should capture only those who have *internalized* multiple cultures, not those who have been influenced by multiple cultures without internalizing them. This construct was measured indirectly, rather than asking directly how many cultures each respondent has internalized, because informal conversations with multicultural individuals indicated that they found it difficult to differentiate between identifying with a culture because they have some experience with it, versus identifying with a culture because they have internalized the cultural schema. This question was designed to circumvent the problem by capture identity plurality indirectly through a more objective measure.

Multicultural identity patterns were measured using two open-ended items and four Likert-type items. In order of appearance in the survey, the open-ended items were "How important are each of these cultures to your identity, or to how you see yourself? Why?" and "A bicultural person is anyone who has more than one culture, or who belongs to more than one culture. There are many ways to be bicultural. How would you describe your own form of biculturalism?" The former was designed to tap the cognitive dimension of identification (Ashforth, et al., 2008), because this dimension was also the basis for development of the four Likert-type items. The Likert-type items

were developed for this study to tap cognitive self-definition of each ideal type (Ashforth, et al., 2008). Items were reviewed for cross-cultural clarity by seven multicultural PhD students. Each item included a circle diagram (from Figure 1), a description and an example. Because Chinese-Canadians are the largest group of multiculturals in Vancouver, all items include examples based on Chinese-Canadian biculturalism, as follows.

Prioritizing: I have one primary culture, and a second, less influential culture. E.g. I am mostly Chinese, with a little bit of Canadian influence, OR I am mostly Canadian, with a little bit of Chinese influence.

Compartmentalizing: I have two cultures, and I keep them separate. E.g. In some situations I am Chinese, while in other situations I am Canadian.

Hybridizing: I am part of a hybrid culture, where 'my' culture is the combination of both my cultures. E.g. I am Chinese-Canadian all the time.

Aggregating: I am part of a broader culture that includes both my cultures and many other cultures too. E.g. I am a global citizen, I have internalized many different cultures.

Personal history was measured with Cheryan and Morin's (2005) 20-item Measuring American and Ethnic Practices and Pride scale (alpha = .77). This scale is appropriate for capturing personal history antecedents because it includes both concrete experience (practices) and affective (pride) aspects of personal history, consistent with theorizing that both cognitive and motivational mechanisms drive identity pattern

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development . The scale was developed with 44 Stanford undergraduate Asian-Americans, resulting in the following alpha coefficients for American practices (.62-.68), American pride (.87-.88), Asian practices (.57-.65) and Asian pride (.78-.81) (Cheryan & Monin, 2005). The low alpha coefficients may have been the result of the small sample. Under conditions of American identity denial, reports of American practices increased, while American pride, Asian pride and Asian practices all remained stable, indicating that participants understood these as two separate dimensions, and not two ends of the same dimension (Cheryan & Monin, 2005). In the current study, participants were asked to "Think about your childhood and teenage years when answering these questions (before the age of 15)", in order to differentiate between historical antecedents and current identity patterns. Each item was repeated twice, once per culture. A sample practices subscale item is *I was exposed to X culture* (7 items per culture), and a sample pride subscale item is *I was proud of X culture* (13 items per culture), where X was replaced by each of the participant's own cultures, in turn. Four pride subscale items were omitted because they only refer to country-based countries, not regional or sub-group cultures. For example, *I found the sight of X flag very moving.* The response set was a 9-point Likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree to 9 = strongly agree), where higher numbers indicate more pride or experience.

Demographic questions included age, gender, country of birth for self, mother and father, years lived in Canada, number of languages and fluency in each. The complete questionnaire is presented in Appendix B.

Pilot Study Analysis and Results

In order to examine how participants identified their cultures when unconstrained by a list, I compiled the names of cultures identified, and the frequency with which they occurred. All 47 participants identified at least two cultures, and 10 participants identified with three or more. One participant identified two cultures that were themselves blends of cultures, resulting in a Russian-Ukrainian, Arabic, and French-Italian identity pattern. There were 29 cultures represented by this sample, where the most common culture was Canadian (N = 44), followed by Chinese (N = 16), Filipino (N = 6), American (N = 6) and Indian (N = 4). Almost all cultures were country-based, but there were several important exceptions. First, both Jewish and Muslim religions were named as cultural identities. Second, regional cultures were also identified that were both bigger (European, Global) and smaller (Dubai) than countries. No one identified themselves with a race-based identity (eg Black, Asian).

In order to analyze the open-ended descriptions of participants' multicultural patterns, I coded them on identity integration, and on identity plurality, using a three-point scale (1-3). Codes were assigned consistently by consulting the following markers. Identity integration was assigned 1 when descriptions clearly indicated separation between cultures (e.g. "I see myself as having two separate cultures that both influence who I am. There is little overlap between how these cultures influence me" -- Jewish-Canadian male), assigned 2 when descriptions indicated minimal integration (e.g. "Since I've been in Hong Kong for a while, I was affected by HK culture which have some points with Chinese culture and Western culture" – Hong Kong-Canadian female), and assigned 3 when integration was clearly indicated:

I would describe my own form of biculturalism as integrated. Neither cultures are

separate on their own but rather are combined to create a unique culture that

draws on my identification with both the Barbadian and Canadian cultures.

(Barbadian-Canadian female).

Identity plurality was assigned 1 when descriptions clearly indicated that one

culture was primary (e.g. "Chinese is most important" -- Chinese-Canadian female),

assigned 2 when descriptions indicated that two cultures were both equally important

(e.g. "Filipino culture is where my values (which I use in my everyday life) come from.

Canadian culture is how I live my life now." – Filipino-Canadian female), and assigned

three when descriptions indicated that three or more cultures were all important, such as

the following description:

I would say I am multicultural. I used to stay in India and there's multiculturalism.

I moved to Singapore and their culture is close to my culture and habits. I come to

Canada and it was a bit different, but there are a few similarities.

(Indian-Singaporean-Canadian male)

In order to test whether the dimensions of identity plurality and identity

integration were effective descriptors of multicultural identity patterns, I first examined

correlations among the variables (Table 2). As expected, significant correlations

emerged between the qualitative and quantitative measures of identity integration ($r =$

$.59, p < .01$) and the qualitative and quantitative measures of identity plurality ($r = .41$,

$p < .01$), indicating that participants' written descriptions were related to their self-

ratings on the dimensions. Identity integration and identity plurality were not

significantly correlated, based on the coded ratings ($r = .18$, $p = ns$) or the self-ratings ($r = .27$, $p = ns$).

Among the four ideal types, hybridizing was positively correlated with both measures of identity integration ($r = .45$, $p < .05$; $r = .50$, $p < .01$) and aggregating was positively correlated with both measures of identity plurality ($r = .52$, $p < .01$; $r = .53$, $p < .01$). Both relationships were consistent with expectations. Prioritizing was negatively correlated with self-ratings on identity plurality ($r = -.55$, $p < .01$), as expected, but was also negatively correlated with both measures of identity integration ($r = -.38$, $p < .01$; $r = -.33$, $p < .05$). Compartmentalizing was not significantly correlated with either identity dimension. Table 3 illustrates these findings with exemplary open-ended responses by ideal type.

The pilot study's secondary purpose was to create a shortened version of Cheryan and Monin's (2005) American and ethnic pride and experiences scale for inclusion in study one, while maintaining reasonable psychometric quality. After reviewing available techniques for reducing scale length, Stanton (2002) recommends a step-by-step best practice procedure presented in Table 4. My corresponding steps are presented alongside Stanton's.

Table 2: Correlations, means and standard deviations. (Pilot study)

	Mean	s.d.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Coded identity plurality	2.09	.69											
2. Coded identity integration	1.89	.80	.18										
3. Self-rated identity plurality	5.83	2.10	.41**	.26									
4. Self-rated identity integration	5.41	1.71	.15	.59**	.27								
5. Prioritizing	5.74	2.36	-.27	-.38**	-.55**	-.33*							
6. Compartmentalizing	3.76	2.18	-.08	-.27	-.04	-.06	.18						
7. Hybridizing	5.72	1.93	.11	.45*	.18	.50**	-.40**	-.17					
8. Aggregating	5.35	2.41	.52**	.09	.53**	.06	-.32*	-.20	.08				
9. Age	28.7	8.35	.30*	.03	.25	-.05	-.02	-.27	.02	.15			
10. Gender (0=male, 1=female)	n/a	n/a	-.12	-.06	-.05	.01	.01	.31*	-.05	-.19	-.18		
11. English fluency	3.31	.63	.41**	.19	.26	.37*	-.17	-.01	-.07	.46**	.24	-.34*	
12. Other language fluency	3.18	1.39	-.07	-.05	-.03	-.20	-.06	.01	.09	-.10	-.25	.15	-.63**

Note: *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$ Ns range from 45 to 46.

Table 3: Exemplary responses to open-ended questions asking for descriptions of participants' multicultural patterns, by ideal type

Prioritizing	Since I've spent two thirds of my life in my home country I feel more Slovak than Canadian. The values I was brought up with are rooted deeply within me and I try to keep them and not change. [30-year-old Slovakian-Canadian female] I still see myself as a Sri Lankan. Even if I live here, I belong to Sri Lanka. It is really important to my identity. [28-year-old Sri Lankan-Canadian male]
Compartment-alizing	I choose one set of norms and behaviours for one situation and perhaps a different one for a different situation. If I find myself in a situation where people from two cultures interact, I take the role of the translator even if the language is a common one. I guess one could say that I see culture as situational. I may go to the church in the morning and to the beach in the afternoon. Each place has its norms but there is no conflict. I behave like I should behave in church when I go there and I behave like I should behave at the beach. My values are unseen regardless of the situation. [38-year-old Mexican-Canadian female] The way to live is entirely different in Indonesia and Canada and I think there's no "right" way and it all depends on who you are and where you live. [22-year-old Indonesian-Canadian male]
Hybridizing	I am born in Hong Kong, but lived in Canada for most of my life. I can't say I'm fully Chinese or fully Canadian, culturally. [19-year-old Chinese-Canadian female] I see myself as being a proud Canadian, but equally as proud in my Filipino heritage. I don't feel conflicted, confused or dominated by one group, I only see myself as both - leveraging from experiences and knowledge from one side to bring out the best in another. [28-year-old Filipino-Canadian male]
Aggregating	Member of many cultures and a broader global culture.[60-year-old American-New Zealand-Canadian] I lost my keys in the sea. Behind me are locked doors, I seek to live in an open square. Many languages trip off my tongue, and many cultures enrich my life; but I belong to none of them. I belong only to God and the earth, and when I die I will return to them. (stolen with pride from Rawi Hage's acceptance speech for the IMPAC literary prize. He quotes various Iraqi poets, and I have paraphrased. He has really captured how I feel.) [41-year-old Pakistani-Canadian-American male]

Table 4: Best practice procedure for reducing scale length and corresponding steps applied in current study

Procedure recommended by Stanton (2002)	Procedure applied in the current study
1. Generate item level indices of external quality, such as item-criterion correlations.	Calculated the absolute difference between cultures X and Y for each item, then correlated these values with identity plurality and identity integration. Larger differences between the two cultures indicate that experience had been skewed towards one culture over the other, and is expected to be related to identity plurality only.
2. Generate item level indices of internal quality, such as item-total correlations or factor loadings.	Calculated Cronbach's alpha for the scale if each item is deleted.
3. Have experts rate face validity of each item.	Four items in the original scale were not included in this study because they excluded cultures that were not country-based (e.g. "*I found the sight of X flag very moving*"). The 18 remaining items had equal levels of face validity.
4. Sort items by available item quality indices. Give preference, in order, to quality indices from steps one, two, then three.	Sorted items based on their correlations from step one.
5. Use professional judgment to evaluate the items' quality scores and configure a suitable reduced length scale from among the top rated items (e.g. with similar proportion of positive and negative weighted items).	All items were kept that met the following three criteria: Significantly correlated with identity plurality at the $p < .05$ level; not significantly correlated with identity integration; among the top half of items with respect to internal consistency, based on the Cronbach's alpha if item deleted. Five items met all three criteria.

Procedure recommended by Stanton (2002)	Procedure applied in the current study
6. Assess the validity correlations between the reduced-length scale and a) the full-length version; b) relevant other correlates. Return to step 5 if necessary.	a) The long 18-item scale was significantly correlated with the short five-item scale for culture one ($r = .85, p < .01$) and culture two ($r = .60, p < .01$). b) The short scale for culture two was significantly correlated with the demographic variable being raised in culture two ($r = .48, p < .05$). The long scale was also correlated to this demographic variable ($r = .55, p < .01$). Neither the short nor long scales for culture one were correlated with being raised in culture one ($r = .05, p = $ ns) and ($r = .15, p = $ ns), respectively.
7. Assess internal consistency of the reduced set of items.	The long 18-item scale had a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .80, compared to .65 for the 5-item short version. Although this is low, it is comparable to the alpha coefficients observed when the original scale was developed (.57-.88).
8. Field the reduced-length scale along with external criterion measures in a cross-validation sample.	Not conducted.
9. Recheck item-level performance against item-criterion correlations and factor loadings.	Not conducted.
10. Use multi-group SEM to compare the scale-level correlation matrices using a sample with the full-length scale and the cross-validation sample containing the reduced-length scale.	Not conducted.

A second pilot study was not conducted prior to study one, so the procedure applied here did not fulfill steps 8 to 10 of the recommended best practice steps. Stanton addressed this possibility as follows:

In the absence of a cross-validation sample, one could still obtain *some* useful information on the validity of the reduced-length scale based on the original item

data and in reference to relevant external criteria (i.e., leaving out steps 8-10 in Table 5). (Stanton, et al., 2002, p. 190)

The shortened scale's performance is compared to against the long scale in steps six and seven. The following five items met the three criteria for inclusion in study one:

1. X culture was considered to be prestigious.

2. People from X culture were considered to be successful.

3. I was familiar with X culture's practices and customs.

4. My friends were from X culture.

5. I wished to be accepted by people from X culture.

Pilot Study Discussion

The pilot study was designed to accomplish two goals: triangulate measures of identity plurality and identity integration in order to test their applicability as descriptors of multiculturals' identity patterns, and construct a shortened version of the American and ethnic pride and experiences scale (Cheryan & Monin, 2005) for inclusion in study one as an antecedent variable. With respect to the first goal, correlational results indicate some support for the effectiveness of the two dimensions. Specifically, the coded measure of each dimension was correlated with the corresponding self-report measure, as expected. This indicates that multiculturals' responses to closed-ended questionnaire items measuring their cultural identity dimensions are consistent with their open-ended descriptions.

I also expected the ideal types to be related to the identity dimensions. Specifically, I expected aggregating ideal type to be positively related to identity

plurality only (supported), prioritizing to be negatively related to identity plurality only (not supported), hybridizing to be positively related to identity integration only (supported), and separating to be negatively related to identity integration only (not supported). In addition to the expected negative relationship with identity plurality, prioritizing was also found to be negatively related to identity integration. This might indicate that multiculturals who prioritize one culture are also likely to keep their identities separate. Hybridizing was not related to either dimension. It is unclear whether this occurred because of a poorly constructed item or because hybridizing is not related to identity integration as proposed.

With respect to the second goal, a systematic procedure resulted in a five-item short scale measuring cultural pride and experiences. The short scale has an internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha = .65) that is comparable to those found in the original scale (Cronbach's alphas ranged from .57-.88), it is significantly correlated with the original scale ($r = .85, p < .01$), and correlated with the same demographic variable as the original scale (short scale: $r = .48, p < .05$ versus long scale: ($r = .55, p < .01$). Although the procedure was not ideal, the resultant short scale exhibited enough comparability to the original scale to merit inclusion in study one.

Pilot study results also indicate areas for improved measures, especially more robust measures of identity plurality and identity integration. In this study, identity plurality was measured indirectly, with one item, and identity integration was measured with the 4-item BII distance subscale. In the next study, identity integration was measured with the complete 8-item BII scale instead of a subscale, and identity plurality was measured with multiple items instead of a one-item measure. When given free,

unconstrained space to name their cultures, participants usually identified country-based cultures. However, religion-based cultures (e.g. Muslim, Jewish) and region-based cultures (e.g. European, Dubai) were also identified. Participants did not differentiate among these domains, because in all cases where an 'alternative' culture was identified, the second culture was country-based. For example, participants identified themselves as Dubai-Indian-Canadian, Muslim-Canadian, and European-American. Both types of cultures share the characteristic of being long-term identities that guide individuals through internalized cultural schemas that include values, norms, beliefs, behaviours and assumptions related to the culture. Indeed, a recent study of Turkish-Dutch biculturals found that the Muslim identity was more salient than the Turkish identity (Verkuyten, 2007). I address these issues in study one.

Study One: Antecedents and non-work outcomes

Study one was designed to test two personal history and three cultural content antecedent hypotheses, along with two personal and one social outcome hypothesis. Two related personal history antecedents were based on the motivation to increase self-esteem through association with high-prestige groups. I expected the number of cultures with which individuals perceived high levels of cultural group prestige as a child to be positively related to identity plurality, because the drive to increase self-esteem motivates individuals to identify with high-prestige groups (H1a). I also expected generational status to have a curvilinear relationship with identity plurality, because individuals are likely to assign higher prestige to groups with which they have more experience (H1b). Two related cultural content hypotheses were both based on the cognitive desire to reduce uncertainty by maintaining internal consistency, unless the content of the cultures themselves hinders integration. Accordingly, cultural distance (H3b) and cultural animosity, referring to historically conflicted relations between cultures (H3c) were both expected to be negatively related to identity integration.

With respect to outcomes, inconsistent identity patterns were expected to reduce uncertainty less effectively than consistent patterns, resulting in higher levels of psychological toll. In this study, psychological toll was measured with identity stress, identity uncertainty and feeling overburdened with cultural translation work. Thus, all three of these constructs were expected to be positively related to identity plurality (H4a) and negatively related to identity plurality (H4b). Finally, although multiculturals were expected to be generally motivated to increase self-esteem by positively differentiating in-groups from comparison out-groups, this motivation was also

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expected to become less salient along with higher levels of identity plurality. As a result, identity plurality was expected to be positively related to structural social capital (H5a).

This study was conducted with a web-based questionnaire using Limesurvey software and controlled by a login, completed by 347 multicultural undergraduate business students. A web-based questionnaire was more appropriate than a paper-based questionnaire for this study, because the web platform allowed each individual's own cultures to be inserted into the questions. For example, instead of asking questions about home versus host cultures, or mainstream versus ethnic identities, the web platform allowed questions about "your Filipino identity" or "your Métis identity". Screenshot illustrations are provided in Appendix C. Not only does this technique expand the boundaries of which cultures could be included in a study, it also added precision in targeting questions to each respondent's own unique set of cultures.

Study One Participants and Procedure

Participants were recruited to complete an anonymous online survey through university mailing lists for culture-related clubs (e.g. Jewish club, Caribbean club, Chinese-Canadian club), and through professors who forwarded the survey link to their students. A drawback of this procedure is that a response rate cannot be calculated. I checked IP addresses along with demographics to avoid dual submissions, and found two sets of dual submissions for which the second was deleted (Stanton & Rogelberg, 2001). Participation was encouraged by the chance to win one of three gift certificate prizes worth $50 each.

Data were gathered from 347 bicultural individuals (mean age = 21.4 years, SD = 3.16 years; 209 females, 112 males, 26 missing gender) in Vancouver, Canada. All participants self-identified as bicultural, based on the following definition: "You're bicultural if you are a member of more than one cultural group, or if you have internalized aspects of more than one culture. (You have parts of more than one culture within you)". Although the study was framed in terms of biculturalism, 96 participants (28%) indicated that they also identified with a third culture.

Culture was defined for participants as follows: "A culture can refer to a region or a country, or the combination of two, for example Chinese, East Indian, Chinese-Canadian, etc. You can see yourself as a member of a culture even if you've never lived there." In total, 62 cultures were represented, as indicated by Table 1. Two hundred and ninety-four respondents included Canadian as one of their cultures, and 155 included Chinese as one of their cultures. The next five most common cultures were Indian (N = 29), South Korean (N = 20), Taiwanese (N = 16), Filipino (N = 14) and Hong Kong (N = 13). Non-country-based cultures included Christian (N = 6), Jewish (N = 5), Muslim (N = 4), Catalonian (N = 1), and French Canadian (N = 1). On average the sample had lived in Canada for 12.7 years (SD = 7.5), and the average English language fluency was 4.4 out of 5, indicating a high degree of fluency in English.

I pilot tested the complete survey with ten multicultural students, also at Simon Fraser University. I engaged pilot study participants in dialogue about their interpretations of each question, to make sure their understanding was consistent with my intended meaning. I then added clarifying statements based on their feedback. This pilot test also tested the online instrument's functionality and ease of use.

Study One Measures

Identity dimension variables

Cultures. Participants chose their two most important cultures from a drop-down list at the beginning of the survey, and the remainder of the survey questions were personalized to each participant's cultural identities. For example, each participant's cultures were substituted for 'Canadian' and 'Chinese' in the sample pattern items taken from the pilot study. Appendix C presents screenshots to illustrate the survey platform. The list of cultures included 100 of the most populous countries, plus a list of the most common religions. Religions were included in this list of cultures because pilot study participants wrote interchangeably about both regional and religious cultural identities, indicating that they perceived both coexisting within the same domain. In addition, if a participant's culture(s) were not on the list, they had the option to type in their cultures instead. Sixteen people took this option, and added cultures such as Baha'i, French Canadian, Punjabi and Catalan. The complete survey is presented in Appendix D.

Identity integration was measured by averaging across the eight items of the bicultural identity integration scale (BII-1; Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). This scale captures the degree to which individuals perceive their own cultures as intersecting. It is composed of two subscales: cultural blendedness subscale taps the degree to which individuals perceive their cultural identities as fused versus dissociated; cultural harmony subscale taps the degree to which individuals feel conflicted between their cultural identities versus feeling harmonious. Although the two subscales are generally considered to be independent (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2007), an examination of the factor structure with the current sample revealed that six of the eight

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items all loaded on the first factor, and only two items (both from the cultural blendedness subscale) loaded on a second factor. In addition, cultural distance and cultural harmony subscales were significantly intercorrelated ($r = .25, p < .01$), and hypotheses in this dissertation were based on identity integration as a whole, not on one particular subscale. As a result, both subscales were combined into a more general measure of identity integration for this study, with a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .67. The response set was a 9-point Likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree; 9 = strongly agree), where higher numbers indicate more integration.

Identity plurality was calculated as the mean of the following three semantic differential items (alpha = .61), plus 1 for responding yes to the question "Do you have a third culture?": "I see myself as a member of one dominant culture" versus "I see myself as a member of many cultures"; "There is a single dominant culture that influences who I am" versus "There are multiple cultures that influence who I am"; and "People who are like me all share the same culture" versus "People who are like me all have different cultures from one another". This scale was expanded from the one-item construct measuring identity plurality in the pilot study, and was based on a similar rationale. That is, the scale was designed to capture only those who have *internalized* multiple cultures, not those who have experienced multiple cultures without internalizing them. This study targeted a *bi*cultural student population, so it was not expected that so many participants would also have a third culture (N = 96; 28% of total). Thus, the four-item construct includes both perceptual items (semantic differential), and an objective item (third culture). However, the low alpha coefficient indicates room for an improved measure of identity plurality with higher internal

consistency. The response set for each ranged from -4 to +4, with no markers between the two endpoints just described, such that higher numbers indicate higher levels of identity plurality.

Personal history antecedents

Generations in Canada was calculated as the mean of two items: "On your mother's side, how many generations has your family been in Canada?", and "On your father's side, how many generations has your family been in Canada?" Participants were instructed to answer 0 if mother or father is not in Canada. There was no response set for this variable, but higher numbers indicate a longer family history in Canada.

Cultural pride and experiences was calculated as a count variable, ranging from 0 to 3, representing the number of cultures with which respondents had higher than average (scale mean) level of pride and experience during childhood and adolescence. Pride and experience was measured with using a short version of Cheryan and Morin's (2005) Measuring American and Ethnic Practices and Pride scale. This scale is appropriate for capturing personal history antecedents because it includes both concrete experience (practices) and affective (pride) aspects of personal history, consistent with theorizing in this dissertation, that both cognitive and motivational mechanisms drive identity pattern development (Chapter three. Summarized in Appendix A). The short scale was developed based on the procedure recommended by Stanton and colleagues (2002), as described in the pilot study results. A sample item is "I was familiar with X's practices and customs". Each item was asked twice, referring to participants' cultures X and Y, with alphas of .71 and .68, respectively. Participants were asked to "Think about your childhood and teenage years when answering these questions (before the age of

15)", and all questions were phrased in past tense, to discriminate between personal history and current identity. The response set was a 9-point Likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree; 9 = strongly agree), where higher numbers on each culture indicate more pride and experience with that culture, and higher values on the count variable represent significant childhood experience with more cultures.

Cultural content antecedents

Cultural similarity was measured with one item ("Within the range of all cultures in the world, how similar are X and Y cultures? Think about the values, beliefs, norms and typical behaviours of each country when answering this question"). This item measures perceived similarity, not objective similarity, because perceived similarity is the construct of interest, with respect to mental organization of cultural identity patterns. Related items have been used to measure the effect of perceived cultural similarity on expatriates' partners (De Cieri, Dowling, & Taylor, 1991), and on Japanese students studying in the UK (Greenland & Brown, 2005). Participants responded on a scale from 1 (very different) to 9 (very similar), such that higher values indicate more similarity.

Cultural animosity was calculated as the mean across two items (alpha = .69) ("X and Y cultures are friendly towards each other" and "X and Y cultures are enemies"). The measures for both cultural similarity and cultural animosity emphasized perception over objective distance because the corresponding hypotheses were based on the influence of perceived distance and perceived animosity. In addition, objective distance has been shown to have no significant influence on acculturation strategy (Berry, et al., 2006). Higher values on cultural similarity indicate cultures that are more

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similar to one another, while higher values on cultural animosity indicate cultures that have more hostility towards one another.

Personal outcome variables

Identity stress was measured with the three-item cultural isolation subscale of the Riverside Acculturation Stress Inventory (Benet-Martinez, 2003b) (e.g. "I feel that there are not enough people of my own cultural group in my living environment"). This scale measures the degree to which individuals feel isolated from others who share their cultural identit(ies). Negative relationships between this scale and the blendedness subscale of the BII have been found in two previous studies, one with 133 Chinese-American biculturals (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005), and the other with 471 Asian American biculturals, both in the United States (Miller, Kim, & Benet-Martínez, 2011). The negative relationships indicate that individuals who kept their identities separate reported higher levels of cultural isolation than those who integrated their cultures. This scale was chosen for inclusion because it is conceptually unique from the other measures of psychological toll, yet has been shown to be related to multicultural identity dimensions. It was retained for this study because of its theoretical importance, despite the low internal consistency (alpha =.54), even as compared to an earlier sample (alpha = .68) (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Alpha is significantly influenced by number of items, so the usual .70 standard may not be appropriate for very small scales (Cortina, 1993). The identity stress scale was dropped in later studies. The response set was a 9-point Likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree; 9 = strongly agree), where higher numbers indicate more stress and more identity stress.

Identity uncertainty (alpha =.86) measures the degree to which individuals are unclear or uncertain about their cultural identities. The scale was adapted from the three-item uncertainty subscale of the measure of sexual identity exploration and commitment (MoSIEC) (Worthington, Navarro, & Savoy, 2008) (e.g. "My cultural orientation is not clear to me"). The original scale measures the degree to which individuals are unclear or uncertain about their sexual identities. It was developed with a sample of 690 individuals, where sexual identity uncertainty scores were found to be highest for bisexual participants, lowest for heterosexual participants, and in the middle for gay and lesbian participants (Worthington, et al., 2008). The scale was then validated with samples of 1038 participants, 851 participants, and 51 participants, indicating a high test-retest reliability ($r = .90$) and a consistent set of correlates (e.g. negatively related to sexual conservatism) (Worthington, et al., 2008). Items were adapted by replacing "sexual orientation" with "cultural orientation". The likert-type response set ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 9 (strongly agree), such that higher values represent a higher degree of uncertainty about one's cultural identity.

Feeling overburdened with cultural translation work (alpha = .72) was measured with three items written for this study in the style of the Global Measure of Perceived Stress (Cohen, Kamarck, & Mermelstein, 1983). Items were "In the past four months, how often have you felt like you were spending too much time helping others understand one of your cultures?"; "In the past four months, how often have you felt like explaining different cultures to people was a burden?", and "In the past four months, how often has your schoolwork suffered because you had to help other people understand a different culture?". This variable measures the degree to which individuals

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experience their regular situations as stressful as a result of an overwhelming amount of time spent on cultural translation activities, such as helping others understand other cultures. The Global Measure of Perceived Stress measured the degree to which individuals experience situations as stressful as a result of overloading (Cohen, et al., 1983), and is among the most common scales used to measure general stress (Cerclé, Gadéa, Hartmann, & Lourel, 2008). The items in this study were framed with four-month windows because university students tend to experience their lives in four-month increments. The variable was named "feeling overburdened with cultural translation work" instead of "perceived stress" because the former more precisely describes the content of the three items. Possible responses ranged from 1 to 9, such that higher numbers represent higher levels of feeling overburdened with cultural translation work. The response set included the following labels: 1 "never", 3 "almost never", 5 "sometimes", 7 "often", 9 "very often".

Social outcome variable

In-group cultural composition was the social outcome variable measured in this study. It captures the degree to which the in-group is weighted toward people from one's own cultures (higher values), versus being weighted toward people from other cultures (lower numbers). Participants were asked to type the initials of seven of their closest friends, then indicate each friend's culture from a drop-down menu. The response set included culture X, culture Y, culture X-Y or other, where X and Y were replaced with the two cultures chosen by the participant at the beginning of the questionnaire. A screenshot is presented in Appendix C. A similar technique was used to map the social network of 111 bicultural Chinese-Americans, by calculating the

percentage of non-Chinese in the in-group (Mok, et al., 2007). They found that identity integration marginally predicted having more non-Chinese friends in the in-group (Mok, et al., 2007). Compared to Mok and colleagues' technique, the variable measured here is more conservative, in that people are only considered cultural outsiders if they share *neither* one of the respondents' cultures. In this study, the percentage of friends who shared *either one* of the respondent's cultures (X, Y or X-Y) was calculated, where higher numbers represent an in-group weighted towards one's own cultures, and lower numbers represent an in-group weighted towards other cultures.

Task outcome variables

Adaptability (alpha =.84) was measured with a five-item scale of adaptability that taps behavioural flexibility across intercultural situations (e.g. "I tend to show different sides of myself to people from different cultures"). The scale was developed as part of the Cultural Intelligence assessment (CQ; Thomas et al., 2008b), first with a sample of 495 participants from 85 different countries of birth, allowing for a simultaneous confirmatory factor analysis across four country clusters. Items were retained if they loaded on the same factor across all four clusters. It was found to be significantly related to the number of languages spoken and the number of countries in which participants have lived, and it is one of the skills components predicting Cultural Intelligence (Thomas, et al., 2008b).

Cultural metacognition (alpha =.91) was measured with a twelve item scale of cultural metacognition (e.g. "In situations when I have interacted with people who are culturally different, I really enjoy analyzing the reasons or causes for their behaviour"), also drawn from the Cultural Intelligence assessment (Thomas, et al., 2008b). The scale

taps the degree to which respondents are aware of, and have control over, their own thinking and learning activities within the cultural domain (Thomas, et al., 2008a). It was developed by comparing scores on the self-report scale against coded verbal protocol responses, where 36 undergraduate and 42 executive management participants were encouraged to think aloud to explain how they were analyzing short video clips of cross-cultural interactions. The executives significantly improved their cultural metacognition scores after attending a workshop on cross-cultural management. In a separate sample of 65 participants, the cultural metacognition scale was significantly related to intercultural effectiveness, as measured by a three-item scale that taps personal, interpersonal and task-related effectiveness. The likert-type response set for both adaptability and cultural metacognition ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 9 (strongly agree), such that higher values represent a higher degree of adaptability or cultural metacognition, respectively.

Study One Analysis and Results

Correlations, means and standard deviations are shown in Table 5. Identity integration and identity plurality were positively correlated ($r = .15, p < .01$), indicating that multiculturals are more likely to integrate their cultures when they have internalized more cultures. I include both dimensions in all further analyses in order to control for shared variance. Neither identity integration nor identity plurality were related to age or gender of participants, so these demographics were not controlled in further analyses. An examination of variables for normal distribution, extreme outliers, homoscedasticity and multicollinearity (among independent variables included in the same analysis)

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found no major deviations, so variables were not transformed and all participants were retained in the sample.

In order to test for presence of common method variance, I loaded all items onto one factor in a confirmatory factor analysis to examine model fit. If common method variance is largely responsible for the relationships among the variables, the one-factor CFA model should fit the data well (Korsgaard & Roberson, 1995; Mossholder, Bennett, Kemery, & Wesolowski, 1998; Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). CFA results showed that the single-factor model did not fit the data well, x^2 (860) = 4040.11, p=.00, GFI=.53; CFI=.33; SRMR=.13; RMSEA=.11. While the results of these analyses do not preclude the possibility of common method variance, they suggest that it is not the primary driver of relationships among variables and thus is less likely to confound interpretation of results. Remaining results are presented in two sections: antecedents and outcomes.

Table 5: Correlations, means and standard deviations (Study one)

	Mean	s.d.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Identity integration	5.62	1.15														
2. Identity plurality	1.58	1.82	.15**													
3. Cultural pride & experiences	1.55	.92	.15**	.11*												
4. Generations in Canada	3.98	.73	-.25**	.03	.16**											
5. Generations in Canada [a]	1.51	1.35	-.25**	-.04	.01	.71**										
6. Cultural similarity	3.79	1.93	.22**	.07	19**	.04	.15**									
7. Cultural animosity	3.19	1.49	-.24**	-.16**	-.11*	.01	.00	-.24**								
8. Feeling overburdened	3.40	1.59	-.37**	.08	.01	.22*	.28**	.00	.07							
9. Identity uncertainty	3.78	1.78	-.41**	.05	-.14*	.07	.05	-.09	.18**	.20**						
10. Identity stress	3.81	1.67	-.28**	-.08	-.03	.18*	.18**	.10	.07	.36**	.34**					
11. In-group cultural composition: Insiders to total	.73	.26	-.12*	-.24**	.06	.14*	.14*	.08	.04	-.09	-.16**	-.02				
12. Adaptability	6.27	1.43	-.15**	19**	.00	.04	.00	-.11*	.02	.10	16**	.13*	-.12*			
13. Cultural metacognition	6.21	1.20	-.10	.23**	.12*	.11*	.09	.15**	-.17**	.15**	-.06	.03	.00	.29		
14. Age	21.36	3.16	.04	.07	-.06	.08	.15**	.07	-.05	.10	.06	.02	-.04	.03	.04	
15. Gender [b]	n/a	n/a	-.07	.08	.00	.08	.11	-.04	-.02	-.02	.06	-.03	.02	-.02	.05	-.04

Note: Ns range from 321 to 347. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ [a] variable is centered and squared.   [b] 0=male, 1=female.

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Antecedent results. Bivariate correlations are consistent with hypothesis 1a, that identity plurality is positively related to cultural pride and experiences ($r = .11, p < .05$), indicating that multiculturals internalize more cultures when they had significant childhood experience and pride in more cultures. Identity plurality was also unexpectedly related to cultural animosity ($r = -.16, p < .01$), such that multiculturals are likely to internalize more cultures when their cultures are not antagonistic towards one another. Hypothesis 1b, the relationship between generational status and identity plurality, was not consistent with correlations.

Consistent with hypotheses 3b and 3c, identity integration was positively related to cultural similarity ($r = .22, p < .01$) and negatively related to cultural animosity ($r = -.24, p < .01$), indicating that multiculturals are more likely to integrate their cultures when their cultures are similar, and when they have a history of peaceful relationships. However, identity integration was also positively related to cultural pride and experiences ($r = .15, p < .01$) and negatively related to both the first-order and second-order (squared) measures of generations in Canada ($r = -.25, p < .01$ for both relationships), indicating that multiculturals are more likely to integrate their cultural identities when they had childhood experiences with more than one culture, and for those who are second- or third-generation Canadian.

In order to further examine relationships between antecedents and identity dimensions, I conducted two OLS multiple regression analyses. There are two reasons why multiple regression was more appropriate for testing hypotheses in this dissertation than structural equation modelling (SEM). First, hypotheses predicted individual relationships among variables. Thus, the overall model fit was less interesting than the

significance of individual coefficients. Individual coefficients can be interpreted in multiple regression analyses, regardless of the overall model fit, while the same is not appropriate in SEM (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988). Second, a sample size of 347 has inadequate statistical power to test an SEM model with 12 variables (Lai & Kelley, 2011). This is especially true when the individual model parameters are of interest, beyond overall model fit (Lai & Kelley, 2011). For these same reasons, regression was used to test hypotheses in all three studies. In the regression model, all four antecedents were entered together, along with the other identity dimension as a control variable, measuring the unique contribution of each antecedent in explaining variance in identity integration or identity plurality. Results are presented in Table 6. Together, the antecedents explained a significant amount of variance in identity integration (R^2 = .16, F = 12.62, p <.01) and identity plurality (R^2 = .03, F = 2.85, p <.05). In support of hypotheses 3b and 3c, cultural similarity was positively related to identity integration (β = .20, p < .01) and cultural animosity was negatively related to cultural animosity (β = -.17, p < .01). Hypotheses 1a and 1b were not supported as there was not a significant relationship between cultural pride and experiences (β = .08, p = ns), or squared generations in Canada (β = -.02, p = ns), and identity plurality. However, generations in Canada (squared) was related to identity integration, such that multiculturals were most likely to integrate their identities when they were second- or third-generation Canadian, and most likely to separate their identities as a first- or fourth-generation Canadian (β = -.28, p < .01). This may be explained by the relationship between identity plurality and identity integration, in that those with a dominant culture (first- or fourth-generation)

are more likely to separate their cultures than those with two more equally weighted cultures.

In order to better understand this relationship between generations in Canada and identity integration, I examined regression results for the linear relationship between generations in Canada and both identity dimensions, and found similar results to those with the squared variable. That is, there was a significant linear relationship between generations in Canada and identity integration ($\beta = -.28$, $p < .01$), indicating that multiculturals are more likely to separate their identities as they have lived in Canada for more generations, but the proposed linear relationship between generations in Canada and identity plurality was not supported ($\beta = .04$, $p =$ ns). The negative linear relationship between generations in Canada and identity integration can be subsumed under the inverse U-shaped relationship, in that integration tends to be highest for those who are second- or third- generation Canadian, and lower for those who were first- or fourth-generation Canadian.

Table 6: Multiple regression results: Antecedents of identity dimensions (Study one)

Independent variables	Identity plurality β	Identity integration β
Cultural pride and experiences	.08	.09
Generations in Canada (centered and squared)	-.02	-.28**
Cultural similarity	.01	.20**
Cultural animosity	-.13*	-.17**
Identity integration	.10	
Identity plurality		.08
F	2.85*	12.62**
Adjusted R^2	.03	.16

N = 347; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; $^{\dagger} p < .10$ All beta coefficients are standardized.

Outcomes results. Consistent with hypothesis 4b, identity integration was negatively related to all three measures of psychological toll: feeling overburdened with cultural translation work ($r = -.37, p < .01$), identity uncertainty ($r = -.41, p < .01$), and identity stress ($r = -.28, p < .01$), indicating that multiculturals who keep their identities separate (rather than integrating them) experienced higher levels of psychological toll. Consistent with hypothesis 6b, identity integration was also negatively related to adaptability ($r = -.15, p < .01$). Correlations were not consistent with hypothesis 7b, because there was no relationship between identity integration and cultural metacognition ($r = -.10, p = $ ns).

Identity plurality was negatively related to the ratio of cultural insiders to total friends ($r = -.24, p < .01$), indicating that the in-group becomes increasingly weighted towards people from other cultures, along with identity plurality, consistent with hypothesis 5a. Identity plurality was also positively related to adaptability ($r = .19, p <$

.01) and cultural metacognition (r = .23, $p < .01$), indicating that adaptability and cultural metacognition both increase along with the number of cultural identities, consistent with hypotheses 6a and 7a, respectively. Correlations were not consistent with hypothesis 4a, as there was not a significant relationship between identity plurality and the three measures of psychological toll (feeling overburdened with cultural translation work, identity uncertainty, and identity stress).

I conducted a series of OLS multiple regressions to further test the relationships between identity dimensions and outcomes (Table 7). I entered both dimensions together as predictors in order to measure the unique contribution of each dimension on the outcomes. The combination of identity plurality and identity integration significantly predicted all of the outcome variables (using the Bonferroni adjustment, to compensate for elevated Type 1 error as a result of multiple tests). All except one predicted relationship was found to be statistically significant (between identity plurality and identity stress) at the usual $p < .05$ significance level. When controlled for multiple tests, the relationship between identity plurality and identity uncertainty was no longer significant, so this relationship should be interpreted with caution.

In support of hypothesis 4a, identity plurality was positively related to two indicators of psychological toll: feeling overburdened with cultural translation work (β = .13, $p < .01$) and identity uncertainty (β = .11, $p < .05$). However, it was not related to identity stress, and the relationship with identity uncertainty was not statistically significant when controlled for multiple tests. In support of hypothesis 4b, identity integration was negatively related to all three indicators of psychological toll: feeling overburdened with cultural translation work (β = -.39, $p < .01$), identity uncertainty (β =

-.42, $p < .01$) and identity stress ($\beta = -.27, p < .01$). Together, these relationships indicate that psychological toll increases along with identity separation, and might also increase along with identity plurality.

In support of hypothesis 5a, identity plurality was negatively related to the percentage of cultural insiders in the in-group ($\beta = -.23, p < .01$). A cultural insider is someone who shares at least one culture with the focal respondent. Thus, individuals with higher identity plurality tend to have more 'outside' cultures represented in their social networks, and correspondingly higher structural social capital, than individuals with lower identity plurality. As expected, identity integration was not related to in-group cultural composition.

Hypotheses 6 and 7 predicted relationships with task-related outcomes, categorized as action and analytical skills. In this study action skills were measured with adaptability and analytical skills with cultural metacognition. In support of hypotheses 6a and 7a, identity plurality was positively related to adaptability ($\beta = .22, p < .01$) and cultural metacognition ($\beta = .25, p < .01$). In support of hypotheses 6b and 7b, identity integration was negatively related to adaptability ($\beta = -.18, p < .01$) and cultural metacognition ($\beta = -.14, p < .01$). Together, these results indicate that both action and analytical skills increase with identity plurality, and decrease with identity integration.

Table 7: Multiple regression results: Outcomes of identity dimensions. (Study one)

Independent variables	Personal outcomes			Social outcome	Task outcomes	
	Feeling overburdened	Identity uncertainty	Identity stress	In-group cultural composition: Insiders to total friends	Adaptability	Cultural metacognition
	β	β	β	β	β	β
Identity plurality	.13**	.11*	-.04	-.23**	.22**	.25**
Identity integration	-.39**	-.42**	-.27**	-.08	-.18**	-.14**
F	29.78**	35.22**	14.25**	10.91**	12.03**	12.84**
Adjusted R^2	.15	.17	.08	.06	.06	.07

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; † $p < .10$
N = 347   All Betas coefficients are standardized.

Study One Discussion

Low alpha coefficients for identity integration and identity plurality indicate potential for improved measures. As a result, in study two, I used version two of the BII scale (BIIS-2) to measure identity integration, and a revised measure of identity plurality. I examine other limitations of study one and two together, in the discussion following study two. Together, correlation and regression results indicate support for most of the hypotheses tested with study one, as described in detail in the following.

Antecedent hypotheses. I found support for two of four antecedent hypotheses tested with this study, as summarized in Appendix E. Specifically, I found some support for hypotheses 3b and 3c, the relationships between cultural content (cultural similarity and cultural animosity) and identity integration. People whose cultures were similar were more likely to integrate their cultural identities, while those whose cultures were in conflict were more likely to separate their cultural identities. The relationships proposed in hypotheses 1a and 1b were not supported, as there was no significant relationship between childhood pride and experience with cultures or generational status, and identity plurality. That is, neither generations in a country, nor evaluations of group prestige, influenced individuals' identity plurality. The participants' youth might partially explain the lack of support for generational status as a predictor variable, because none of the participants could have immigrated as older adults. A first-generation Canadian in this study was likely to have had similar childhood experiences to a second-generation Canadian, excepting only the earliest years of life. Instead, the key difference might have been between those who immigrated as younger children, versus those who immigrated during high school. For example, a study of Latvian-

Americans found that those who had immigrated when they were around eight years old identified themselves as more integrated by the time they reached high school age, compared to those who had immigrated around age eleven. H2 was not tested in this study, because all participants were located in Vancouver, so it was not possible to differentiate among cultural contexts.

The unsupported hypotheses predicting identity plurality might indicate that something beyond relative cultural experience motivates individuals' identity plurality. For example, there is evidence that lay theories of race influence the degree to which multiracial individuals identify with "other" cultures (Hong, forthcoming; Hong, Chao, & No, 2009). Lay theories of race include the *essentialist* theory, where race is seen as a non-malleable, biological essence that gives rise to personality traits and abilities that cannot be changed, and the *contructionist theory,* where race is seen as largely a social construction, allowing individuals' racial categories to change, depending on the context. Asian-Americans who were primed to endorse the essentialist theory were less likely to identify with American culture than their constructionist-primed peers, while both groups were equally likely to identify with their Asian culture (No et al., 2008). A similar process may help to explain why multicultural individuals identify across cultures, in that lay theories of cultural identity may influence individuals' propensity to identify with more than one cultural group.

Outcome hypotheses. Results indicate that individuals with high levels of identity plurality and low identity integration experienced the highest levels of psychological toll (supporting hypotheses 4a and 4b), as well as the highest levels of action (H6a and H6b) and analytical skills (H7a and H7b), indicating that the

multicultural individuals who experience the highest level of psychological toll may also be the ones who develop the highest level of intercultural skills. However, the relationship between identity plurality and psychological toll should be interpreted cautiously, because the level of significance was marginal, given the number of statistical tests performed. Identity plurality and identity integration also predicted unique relationships. Identity integration alone predicted identity stress (supporting H4b), and people with higher identity plurality also reported having more close friends who did not share one of their cultures, indicating that identity plurality predicts structural social capital (supporting H5a).

Together, the results indicate both a benefit and a challenge for multicultural individuals. Although individuals who internalize more than two cultures and keep them mentally separate have higher cultural skills, and higher structural capital, they also find the experience more psychologically difficult than those who integrate fewer cultural identities. For organizations, this could indicate that employees with the highest level of intercultural skills are the same employees who experience the highest levels of psychological toll. This finding could create a link between early and current studies of multicultural individuals. Earlier studies focused on the psychological challenges experienced by multicultural individuals (Baumeister, et al., 1985; Erikson, 1956; Poston, 1990), while current studies are more likely to measure intercultural skills and abilities, such as creativity (Cheng, et al., 2008a) integrative complexity (Tadmor, et al., 2009) or intercultural effectiveness (Lee, 2010). However, the results presented here do not test for the moderating effect of organizational identification. That is, do these

effects hold when multicultural employees also identify with their organizations? I

designed study two to test the moderating effect of organizational identification.

Study Two: Work-related outcomes and organizational context:

Student sample

Study two was designed to extend the results from study one by examining work-related outcomes of multicultural identity patterns, and the moderating effect of organizational identification. Based on the rationale that inconsistent identity patterns reduce uncertainty less effectively than consistent patterns, I expected that individuals drawing on patterns with higher inconsistency (that is, higher identity plurality and lower identity integration) would have higher levels of skills and higher psychological toll than individuals with more consistent patterns (lower plurality, higher integration). Thus, I expected to replicate the following results from study one: psychological toll (H4a & H4b), adaptability (H6a & H6b) and cultural metacognition (H7a & H7b) were all expected increase along with identity plurality, and decrease along with identity integration. Expanding on the results from study one, participants in this study were timed while responding to one section of the survey, in order to examine the effect of identity pattern on decision-making speed. I expected decision-making speed to decrease along with identity plurality, and increase along with identity integration, such that the fastest decision-makers would be those with the most consistent identity patterns (low plurality and high integration).

The participants in this study were employed, so I was also able to test two proposed moderating effects: organizational identification and diversity climate. Both effects are predicted by the logic that identities only guide behaviour when salient. When employees are strongly identified with their organizations, the organizational identity is likely to be the most salient guide for behaviour, suppressing the effects of

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cultural identity patterns. Thus, I expected organizational identification to moderate the relationships between identity patterns and outcomes when individuals are in workplace contexts, such that relationships would be strongest for individuals who are least identified with their organizations (H9). However, the content of the organizational culture may influence the meaning attached to a strong organizational identification. When employees perceive an organization that accepts and encourages diversity, it may allow the organizational identity and cultural identity patterns to be salient simultaneously. Thus, I expected the moderating relationship of organizational identification to be further moderated by perceptions of diversity climate, such that organizational identification will only moderate the relationships between identity patterns and outcomes when individuals perceive a strong diversity climate (H10).

This study was conducted as a web-based survey with 300 working multicultural students, using Fluidsurveys online software ("Fluidsurveys," 2011). The format was similar to the format for Study 1, in that participants entered their cultures on the first page of the survey (e.g. Canadian and Austrian), then all further questions were tailored to the respondent's own unique set of cultures (e.g. "When I'm at work, my *Austrian* identity is ... "). The same technique was used to ensure participants responded consistently about the same organization when reporting their work-related outcomes. That is, participants were first asked to enter the initials of their organization, then all further work-related questions substituted these initials in place of "your organization". For example, someone who worked at Canadian Revenue Services might enter CRS as their organization's initials. Later questions about work-related outcomes then primed this context by prefacing each question with, "When you're at CRS, ...". This technique

ensures respondents are thinking about the appropriate work context when responding to work-related items. Screenshots illustrating this method are presented in Appendix C, and the complete survey instrument is presented in Appendix F.

Study Two Participants and Procedure

Surveys were completed by 300 multicultural University students who were also employed at the time of the survey (mean age = 21.0 years, SD = 2.4 years; 164 females, 136 males) in Vancouver, Canada. It was important to target students who were employed, in order to test the organizational moderators. All participants self-identified as multicultural, based on the following definition:

You're multicultural if you have more than one cultural identity. A cultural identity is a culture that is so familiar to you that it becomes part of who you are. A culture can refer to a region or a country. For example, Chinese, Indian, and French-Canadian are all cultures. You can be a member of a culture even if you've never lived there, but it must be so deeply embedded in you that it influences your values, your behaviours and the way you see the world.

All respondents identified with at least two cultures, 45 identified with three cultures and nine identified with four cultures, totalling 18% of the sample with more than two cultural identities. Participants were contacted through announcements in class and emails, and offered incentives to participate. They filled out the survey at scheduled times in a computer lab on campus, ensuring they were not distracted while completing the survey. Access was controlled to avoid dual submissions.

In total, 46 different cultures were represented, as presented in Table 1. Two

hundred and eighty-nine respondents included Canadian as one of their cultures, and

192 included Chinese as one of their cultures. The next most common cultures were

Indian (N = 40), Taiwanese (N = 18), and Hong Konger (N = 11). Non-country-based

cultures included Christian (N=10), Sikh (N=4), Muslim (N=4) and Arab (N=3). On

average the sample had lived in Canada for 11.8 years (SD = 7.3), spoke 2.1 languages

(SD = 0.7) and the average English language fluency was 3.1 out of four (SD = 0.7),

indicating a high degree of fluency in English.

Study Two Measures

Identity dimension variables

Identity integration (alpha = .84) was measured as the mean of the nine-item

blendedness subscale from Benet-Martínez's revised BII scale (BIIS-2; Benet-Martínez,

2010; Huynh & Benet-Martínez, 2009). It taps the degree to which individuals perceive

their cultural identities as fused versus dissociated. It is expected to perform similarly to

the first version of the blendedness subscale, because it supplements the original four

items with an additional five items that are all conceptually similar, including two more

reverse-coded items. A sample item from the original scale is "I feel X-Y", and a

sample item from the lengthened scale is "I feel X and Y at the same time". The

blendedness subscale was chosen over the harmony subscale because the blendedness

subscale was designed to measure cognitive aspects of identity integration (Benet-

Martinez, 2003a). Relevant to this dissertation, biculturals who scored low on cultural

blendedness were more likely to endorse the separated acculturation strategy (high

identification with Chinese culture, low identification with American culture), and

reported higher levels of linguistic acculturation stress and identity stress (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). The response set was a five-point Likert-type scale 0 = strongly disagree to 4 = strongly agree), where higher numbers indicate more integration.

Identity plurality was calculated as the sum of identification with each participants' cultures, such that people who identified more strongly with more cultures had higher scores than those who identified strongly with only one culture. This measure was created to increase accuracy in the way identity plurality is assessed, compared to the three semantic differential items used to measure identity plurality in study one. Identification with each culture was measured with Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, Halevy and Eidelson's (2008) four-item importance subscale (alphas range from .80 to .91), as part of their four-mode social identification scale. The importance subscale measures the centrality of a social identity to one's self-concept, including the following item "It is important to me that I view myself as a member of Culture X". The other three modes measuring identification are commitment, deference and superiority. The importance subscale is more appropriate for testing hypotheses in this dissertation than the other three modes because it taps the cognitive aspect of identification, it most directly addresses the construal of self, and it is assumed to be the only subscale that may shift structurally, following robust changes in the social context or personal changes, such as immigration or retirement (Roccas, et al., 2008). Three related studies found that the importance subscale alone could be primed by manipulating the saliency of values, indicating that this is an appropriate scale to use in conjunction with the moderation tests of organizational identification (Roccas, et al., 2008). I conducted a

one-way analysis of variance in order to examine identity plurality against a straight count of the number of cultures reported by participants. Results indicated that identity plurality was significantly different across groups in the expected direction, $F(2, 300) = 123.68, p < .01$. Post-hoc comparisons using the Scheffé criterion for significance indicated that identity plurality was significantly lower for individuals who identified with two cultures ($M = 5.49$, $SD = 1.09$), than it was for individuals who identified with three cultures ($M = 7.74$, $SD = 1.52$), and that identity plurality for the three-cultures group was significantly lower than it was for the group identified with four cultures ($M = 10.67$, $SD = 3.30$). Together, these results indicate that this measure of identity plurality represents the construct consistently. Although it is possible to measure identity plurality as a simple count variable, that method ignores variability in the centrality or importance of each cultural identity. Identity plurality, defined as the number of *primary* cultural identities, can be influenced by the number of internalized cultures, and by the strength of identification with each one. As a result, this measure – a sum of scales measuring identification with each culture – is a more accurate representation of the identity plurality construct than counting cultures alone, because it differentiates between those who identify with one primary culture and two secondary (less important) cultures, versus someone who identifies strongly with three cultures. The response set measuring identification with each culture was a five-point Likert scale (0 = strongly disagree; 4 = strongly agree), such that higher values indicate higher identification with more cultures. Identity plurality ranged from 1.5 to 16.

Personal outcome variables

Identity uncertainty (3 items; alpha = .75) was measured with the same scale as in study one, with responses on a five-point Likert scale (0 = strongly disagree; 4 = strongly agree). F*eeling overburdened with cultural translation work* (3 items; alpha = .89) was also measured with the same as in study one, where responses ranged from 0 "never" to 4 "very often". Higher values on both scales indicate higher levels of the corresponding constructs.

Task outcome variables

Decision-making speed was measured by timing participants' responses to the outcome scales section of the survey, in seconds. Participants were instructed to fill out this section quickly and accurately. Participants filled out the survey on dedicated computers in a lab setting, where they were not distracted by their emails, other people, or online notifications. I timed the outcomes section because all participants had the same number of questions to answer, whereas participants with more cultures had more questions to answer at the beginning of the survey. All questions were within the culture domain, so they were expected to prime cultural identities and their corresponding cultural schemas. Response latency is a common measure of schema activation, because it represents the efficiency of accessing schema-relevant information (Tavella, 1997). For example, an early study of gender schemas found that androgynous individuals (those with similar levels of self-ratings on feminine and masculine attributes) had equal response latencies for masculine and feminine questions, whereas masculine individuals had longer response latencies for feminine questions, and vice versa (Markus, Crane, Bernstein, & Siladi, 1982). In a more recent study, individuals who scored high or low on scales measuring the Big Five personality inventory responded more quickly than

those who scored in the middle, indicating that personality schemas were clearer or more accessible for those who scored at the extreme ends of the personality dimensions (Akrami, Hedlund, & Ekehammar, 2007). In this study, higher values on decision-making speed indicate longer response latency, or slower decision-making.

Adaptability (5 items; alpha = .82) and *cultural metacognition* (12 items; alpha = .89) were both measured with the same scales as in study one. Both scales used five-point Likert response sets (0 = strongly disagree; 4 = strongly agree), such that higher values indicate higher levels of the corresponding constructs.

Moderator variables

Organizational identification (alpha = .91) was measured as the mean of the four-item importance subscale from Roccas and colleagues' social group identification scale (2008). It measures the centrality of a social identity to one's self-concept. The scale was slightly modified in order to refer to an organizational identity. Specifically, all instances of "member of X" became "employee of X", such that "It is important to me that I view myself as a member of X culture" became "It is important to me that I view myself as an employee of X organization". This is consistent with the intent of the original scale, because it was developed to measure identification with large social groups, specifically including national and organizational identities. The importance subscale has measured identification with organizations such as the Israeli military (405 participants), employees in one organization (78 participants), and prospective jurors in the United States (382 participants), and it has been found to significantly predict extra-role activities among employees, such as working overtime, volunteering for organizational activities, and helping co-workers (Roccas, et al., 2008). The response set

for items in this scale was a five-point Likert scale (0 = strongly disagree; 4 = strongly agree), such that higher values represent higher degrees of identification with the organization.

Diversity climate (alpha = .89) was measured with a six-item scale of intercultural organizational climate (Luijters, et al., 2008). It measures the degree to which employees perceive their organizations as accepting of and valuing cultural diversity. A sample item is "At Company X, people understand and accept different cultures". A study conducted with 75 employees at a Dutch employment agency, all of whom worked in culturally diverse work teams or were minority members themselves, found that individuals who perceived a strong diversity climate identified significantly more with the organization than those who perceived a weak diversity climate, indicating that the scale performs as would be expected for this group of employees. The response set was a five-point Likert scale (0 = strongly disagree; 4 = strongly agree), such that higher values represent higher degrees of perceived diversity climate.

Study Two Analysis and Results

In order to test for presence of common method variance, I loaded all items onto one factor in a confirmatory factor analysis to examine model fit. If common method variance is largely responsible for the relationships among the variables, the one-factor CFA model should fit the data well (Korsgaard & Roberson, 1995; Mossholder, et al., 1998; Podsakoff, et al., 2003). CFA results showed that the single-factor model did not fit the data well, x^2 (1325) = 5865.26, p=.00, GFI=.43; CFI=.29; SRMR=.13; RMSEA=.12. While the results of these analyses do not preclude the possibility of

common method variance, they suggest that it is not the primary driver of relationships among variables and thus is unlikely to confound interpretation of results.

Correlations, means and standard deviations appear in

Table 8. Similar to study one, identity plurality and identity integration were significantly correlated ($r = .34, p < .01$), indicating that multiculturals are more likely to integrate their cultures when they have internalized more cultures. I include both dimensions together in regression analyses to control for shared variance. However, each dimension was also uniquely related to other variables. Specifically, identity integration was negatively correlated with identity uncertainty ($r = -.26, p < .01$) and feeling overburdened with cultural translation work ($r = -.25, p < .01$), consistent with hypothesis 4b, while identity plurality was positively correlated with cultural metacognition ($r = .19, p < .01$), consistent with hypothesis 7a. Both identity dimensions were positively correlated with English language fluency (identity integration: $r = .27, p < .01$; identity plurality: $r = .18, p < .01$) and females were more likely to integrate their cultures than males ($r = .15, p < .05$). For this reason, I control for English language fluency in all further analyses, and control for gender in analyses that include identity integration. Moderator variables were standardized for inclusion in interaction analyses. I examined variables for normal distribution, extreme outliers, homoscedasticity and multicollinearity (among independent variables included in the same analysis), and found no major deviations, except for decision-making time, which had several outliers whose response times were more than 2.5 standard deviations above the mean. I conducted analyses with and without these outliers, and found no difference in significance, so I retained all participants in the sample.

Table 8: Correlations, means and standard deviations. (Study two)

	Mean	s.d.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Identity integration	2.64	.71											
2. Identity plurality	5.98	1.71	.34**										
3. Decision-making speed (in seconds)	221.05	208.33	.11	-.08									
4. Adaptability	2.57	.65	.01	.07	.04								
5. Identity uncertainty	1.25	.71	-.26**	-.11	.03	-.04							
6. Overburdened	1.02	.85	-.25**	-.02	.00	.11	.26**						
7. Cultural metacognition	2.56	.55	.07	.19**	-.01	.30**	-.14*	.18**					
8. Organizational identification	2.21	.93	.12*	.09	.10	.17**	-.12	.08	.46**				
9. Diversity climate	2.72	.76	.21**	.19**	.07	.18**	-.17**	-.06	.38**	.45**			
10. Age	20.76	2.43	-.06	.00	-.06	-.09	.05	.06	.08	.03	.03		
11. Gender (0=male, 1=female)	n/a	n/a	.15*	.09	-.03	.07	-.09	-.08	.09	.20**	.18**	-.05	
12. English fluency	3.10	.67	.28**	.18**	.08	-.01	-.17**	-.21**	.01	.00	.08	-.13*	.01

Ns range from 255 to 300. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

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Main effects. In order to examine the additional explanatory variance of identity plurality and identity integration, beyond English language fluency and gender effects, I conducted a series of hierarchical regressions. In all regression analyses, gender and English language fluency were entered as controls in the first step. Identity plurality and identity integration were entered as predictors in the second step. Five separate outcome variables (feeling overburdened with cultural translation work, identity uncertainty, adaptability, cultural metacognition, and decision-making time) were regressed on identity plurality and identity integration, as presented in Table 9. In support of hypothesis 4b, identity integration was negatively related to feeling overburdened with cultural translation work ($\Delta R^2=.04$, $p<.01$; $\beta = -.22$, $p<.01$) and identity uncertainty ($\Delta R^2=.04$, $p<.01$; $\beta = -.21$, $p<.01$). This indicates that feeling uncertain about one's identity and feeling overburdened with cultural translation work both decrease along with identity integration. Identity integration was also marginally related to decision-making time (in seconds), but not in the expected direction ($\Delta R^2=.02$, $p<.05$; $\beta = .13$, $p<.10$), indicating that decisions took marginally longer for those who integrated their cultural identities, than for those who separated their identities.

Beyond the effects of English language fluency and gender, identity plurality was significantly related to cultural metacognition ($\Delta R^2=.04$, $p<.05$; $\beta = .19$, $p<.01$), supporting hypothesis 7a, and indicating that cultural metacognition increases along with the number of internalized cultures. Identity plurality was also related to decision-making time (in seconds), but not in the expected direction ($\Delta R^2=.02$, $p<.01$; $\beta = -.14$, $p<.05$). Unexpectedly, individuals with more cultural identities took less time to make decisions than those with fewer cultural identities. I examined decision-making time for

outliers, and found five participants who took longer than 2.5 standard deviations away from the mean. I conducted the regression analysis with and without these participants, and found no difference in significance of results, so all participants were retained in the sample. There was no support for hypothesis 4a because there was no relationship between identity plurality and psychological toll, and neither identity plurality nor identity integration were related to adaptability, so hypotheses 6a and 6b were not supported.

Table 9: Multiple regression results, controlling for gender and English language fluency. (Study two).

Independent variables	Personal outcomes				Task outcomes					
	Feeling overburdened		Identity uncertainty		Adaptability		Cultural metacognition		Decision making time (in seconds)	
	Step1 β	Step 2 β	Step 1 β	Step 2 β	Step 1 β	Step 2 β	Step 1 β	Step 2 β	Step 1 β	Step 2 β
Control variables										
Gender (1 = female; 0 = male)	-.07	-.05	-.09	-.06	.07	.06	.09	.07	-.03	-.03
English fluency	-.22**	-.17**	-.18**	-.12†	-.01	-.02	-.01	-.04	.08	.06
Predictors										
Identity plurality		.09		-.02		.08		.19**		-.14*
Identity integration		-.22**		-.21**		-.03		.01		.13†
ΔF	7.02**	5.49**	5.58**	5.79**	.58	.69	1.04	4.64*	.97	3.01*
ΔR²	.05	.04	.04	.04	.00	.01	.01	.04	.01	.02
R²	.05	.09	.04	.09	.00	.01	.01	.04	.01	.03

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; † $p < .10$

N = 232   Standardized betas coefficients reported in columns.

Moderators. In order to assess the moderating effect of organizational identification (hypothesis 9), I conducted three hierarchical moderated regressions on the three significant predicted main effects just reported. Specifically, feeling overburdened with cultural translation work was regressed on identity integration and its interaction with organizational identification, identity uncertainty was regressed on identity integration and its interaction with organizational identification, and cultural metacognition was regressed on identity plurality and its interaction with organizational identification. In all three regression analyses, control variables were entered in step one. Gender was only included as a control variable in regressions with identity integration, as it was not correlated with identity plurality. Organizational identification and either identity plurality or identity integration were entered in step two. Organizational identification was included at this step to control for its relationship with outcome variables. The two-way interaction of organizational identification with the identity dimension was entered in step three. This analysis technique allowed me to test for changes in R-squared after adding the interaction term and controlling for demographics. One significant interaction emerged, on the relationship between identity plurality and cultural metacognition, as presented in Table 10.

Results at step three indicated that organizational identification significantly moderated the relationship between identity plurality and cultural metacognition (ΔR^2 =.02, $p<.05$; β = -.14, $p<.05$), as depicted in Figure 7. The positive relationship between identity plurality and cultural metacognition was only significant for individuals who were weakly identified with their organizations (-1 s.d.) (unstandardized β for simple

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slope = .10 $p < .01$). For those who were highly identified with their organizations (+1

s.d.), there was no relationship between identity plurality and cultural metacognition

(unstandardized β for simple slope = .01 p = ns), supporting hypothesis 9.

Table 10: Hierarchical regression examining moderating effects of organizational

identification and diversity climate on cultural metacognition. (Study two).

	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4	Step 5
Control variable					
English fluency	.01	-.02	-.03	-.04	-.04
Predictors					
Identity plurality		.15**	.18**	.15**	.17**
Organizational identification		.45**	.46**	.38**	.39**
Hypothesized two-way interaction term					
Identity plurality X organizational identification			-.14*	-.11†	-.09
Predictors for three-way interaction					
Diversity climate				.18**	.19**
Identity plurality X diversity climate				-.01	-.03
Organizational identification X diversity climate				.05	.04
Three-way interaction term					
Identity plurality X organizational identification X diversity climate					-.11*
ΔR^2	.00	.24	.02	.02	.01
ΔF	.01	39.85**	5.99*	2.78*	4.14*

$** p < .01; * p < .05; ^{\dagger} p < .10$
N = 255   Standardized beta coefficients reported in columns.
Dependent variable: Cultural metacognition.

Figure 7: Study two moderating effect of organizational identification on the relationship between identity plurality and cultural metacognition
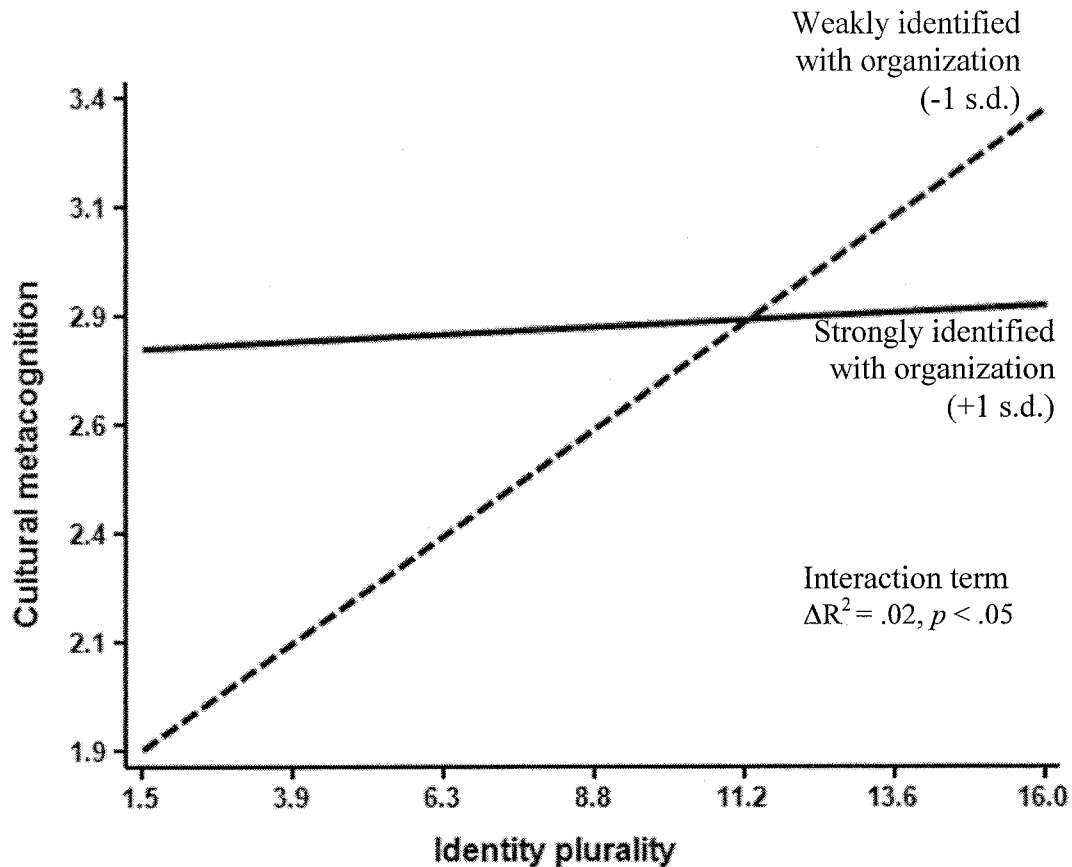
In order to test the proposed three-way interaction (hypothesis 10), the remaining two-way interaction terms and diversity climate were entered in step four as controls (ΔR^2=.02, p<.05). The three-way interaction term was entered in step five. As expected, results support the existence of a three-way interaction among identity plurality, organizational identification and diversity climate in predicting cultural metacognition at work (ΔR^2=.01, p<.05; β=-.11, p<.05). Figure 8 presents a depiction of the three-way interaction. In strong diversity climates, the interaction effect of

organizational identification was more pronounced than it was in weak diversity climates. Specifically, in strong diversity climates, individuals who were weakly identified with their organizations reported higher levels of cultural metacognition along with higher levels of identity plurality (unstandardized β for the simple slope =.12, $p<.01$). In weak diversity climates, there was no relationship between identity plurality and cultural metacognition, regardless of the degree of identification with the organization. The significant two-way interaction found in step three fell below the level of significance after including the three-way interaction term, indicating that the moderating effect of organizational identification relies on the organizational context.

Figure 8: Study two three-way moderating effect of organizational diversity climate and

identification on the relationship between identity plurality and cultural metacognition

Weak Diversity Climate

Strongly identified
with organization
(+1 s.d.) (p = ns)

Weakly identified
with organization
(-1 s.d.) (p = ns)

Strong Diversity Climate

Weakly identified
with organization
(-1 s.d.) ($p < .01$)

Strongly identified
with organization
(+1 s.d.) (p = ns)
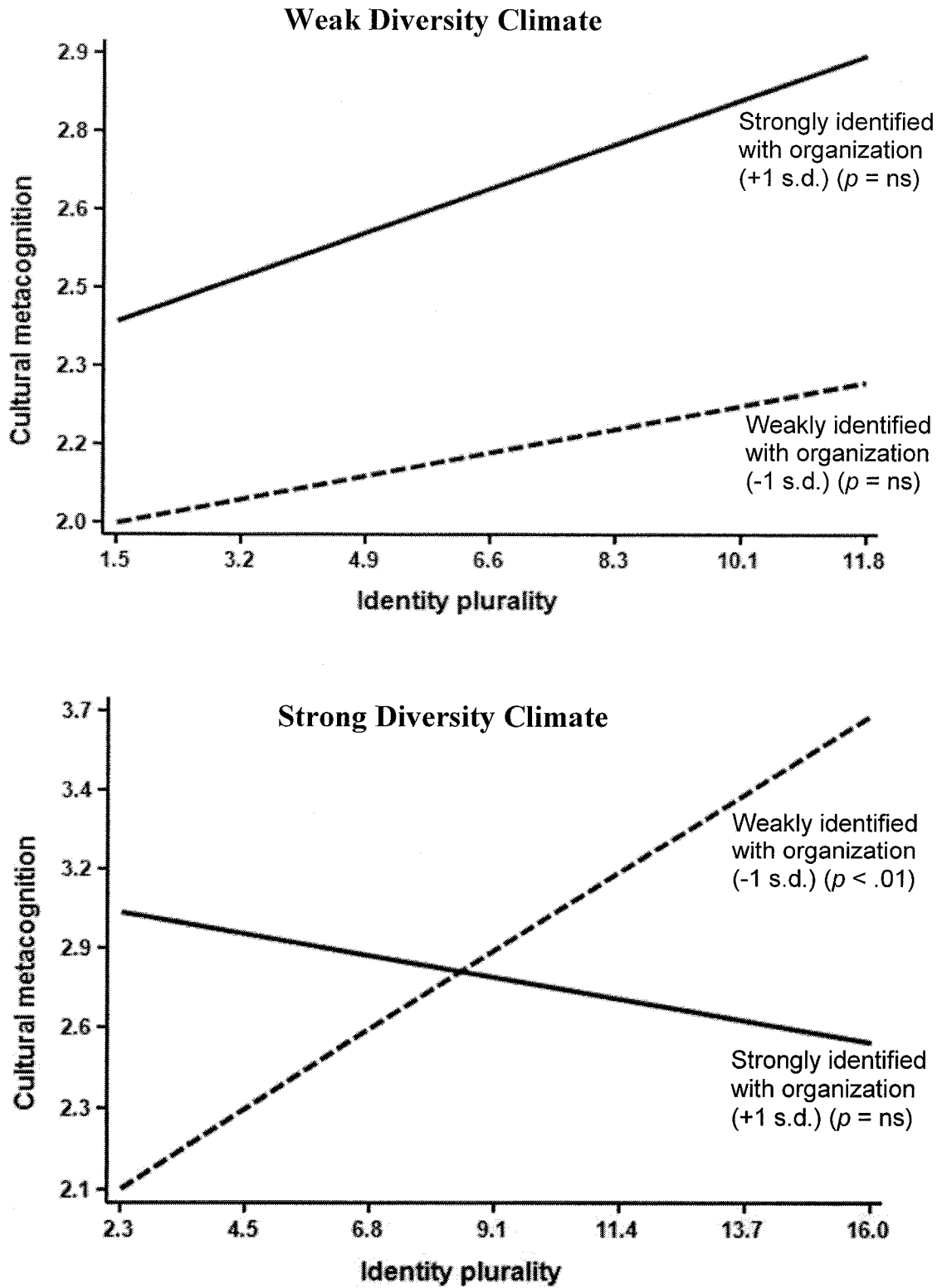
Study Two Discussion

Appendix E presents a summary of the hypotheses tested in study two. Results supported hypothesis 4b, that multiculturals who separate their cultural identities tend to experience higher levels of psychological toll (as measured by identity uncertainty and feeling overburdened with cultural translation work) than those who integrate their cultural identities. Results also indicate that decision-making time decreases along with identity plurality, and increases along with identity integration, even after controlling for English language fluency. Both relationships were contrary to expectations (hypotheses 8a & 8b); I expected decision making time to increase along with identity plurality, and decrease along with identity plurality, based on the rationale that inconsistent identity patterns require more time for decision-making than consistent identity patterns. Instead, the fastest decision makers were those with the most inconsistent identity patterns – multiple cultural identities that are separated instead of being integrated. Based on the schema approach, long response latencies indicate a lack of corresponding domain-specific schema. For example, individuals who score near the middle on personality assessments take longer to respond to personality items than those who score at either end, because individuals who are more extreme (high or low) on a trait are more likely to have personality-domain schemas, an effect called the inverted-U response-time effect (Akrami, et al., 2007). By this argument, multiculturals who have fewer cultural identities, and integrate them, are *less* likely to have culture-domain schemas than those who have more cultural identities and separate them, even though this latter group are also most likely to report high levels of identity uncertainty. This effect might be explained by the inverted-U effect, where multiculturals only

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represent half of the 'U'. Logically, identity plurality can be expanded to include

monoculturals, who only have one internalized cultural schema, and thus have lower

identity plurality than those who have internalized more than one cultural schema.

However, the dividing line between monocultural and multicultural is gradual, not

sharp. The group of people on the border, who have one primary cultural identity, but

are also influenced by another cultural identity, may represent the 'aschematics'

(individuals without a clear domain-specific schema) at the bottom of the U. Individuals

who are clearly monocultural, or clearly multicultural, may respond faster than those

who are in the middle, because the former can quickly respond to items that are either

clearly consistent or clearly inconsistent with their cultural schemas. This area of

research would benefit greatly from experimental studies, to better understand how

multiple cultural identity patterns influence decision-making speed and response

latency.

Finally, multiculturals were found to increase cultural metacognition along with

identity plurality, supporting hypothesis 7a. Upon further examination, the relationship

between identity plurality and cultural metacognition was moderated by organizational

identification, in that identity plurality only predicted cultural metacognition for

individuals who were weakly identified with their organizations. This finding supports

hypothesis 9, that relationships between multicultural patterns and outcomes will be

dampened by stronger organizational identification. Also, a significant three-way

interaction also emerged, supporting hypothesis 10. The three-way interaction indicates

that organizational identification only moderated the relationship between identity

plurality and cultural metacognition when individuals were in organizations they

perceived as having a high diversity climate. When individuals perceived a low

diversity climate, there was no relationship between identity plurality and cultural

metacognition. The three-way interaction with diversity climate underscores the

importance of organizational climate in priming identity salience.

Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978) helps to explain the dampening effect of

organizational identification, but it does not fully explain why this effect only emerged

in organizations that were perceived to have a diversity climate. According to social

identity theory, people draw on the identities that are most salient in the moment, to

guide thoughts and behaviour. When organizational identification is strong, then it is

more likely to become the strongest influence on behaviour, especially when individuals

are in a workplace context. In contrast, when organizational identification is weak, then

it is less likely to become the strongest guiding identity, releasing the potential for

multicultural identity to become the strongest guiding identity. Thus, weak

organizational identification may allow significant relationships between multicultural

patterns and outcomes to emerge, such as the relationships found in study one. Yet this

does not explain why the dampening effect of organizational identification only

occurred in organizations perceived to have high diversity climate, because social

identity theory does not usually draw on the content of identities, to explain their

salience.

Instead, the effect of diversity climate might be explained by the strength of

context as an explanatory variable, compared to individual attributes (Johns, 2007).

Context is among the strongest predictors of behavior (Johns, 2007), so a low diversity

climate might influence employees regardless of how strongly they are identified with

their organizations. Thus, as demonstrated by the importance of diversity climate in moderating relationships among identity plurality, organizational identification and cultural metacognition, the content of the organization's culture may matter more than the strength of identification with that organization.

Limitations of Studies One and Two

The samples and study design for the first two studies have several limitations. I describe sample limitations first, before describing study design limitations. Both samples were heavily weighted towards Chinese-Canadians, over other cultures, so the model should be tested across other cultural groups to confirm its generalizability. In addition, the student participants may have found it difficult to accurately report their multicultural identity patterns because they may have only recently stabilized their cultural identities. However, multicultural identity can be well-developed by the time individuals pass adolescence (Shi & Lu, 2007), supporting the inclusion of university students in a study of developed multicultural identity.

The cross-sectional design means that causal relationships can only be inferred, not tested longitudinally. This was controlled to some extent in study one by asking about antecedents that took place in the past, but cannot be controlled completely. Also, the survey was in English only. For this study's purposes, using two languages would introduce more unintended problems than it would solve. The model tests for differences that are due to *multicultural patterns* – the organization of cultural identities – not differences due to cultures themselves (Harzing et al., 2005; Harzing & Maznevski, 2002; Yang & Bond, 1980). For this reason, it was appropriate to use an English-only survey, in order to ensure consistency in response style across patterns.

Specifically, if the survey were translated into Chinese, respondents low on identity plurality would likely have the most respondents using the Chinese-language survey, confounding the effect of identity plurality with the effect of responding in Chinese.

All responses were collected via the same self-report questionnaire, introducing the potential for common method bias. In order to limit this potential, I followed the four steps recommended by Conway and Lance (2010). First, self-report measures are appropriate because cultural identity is an internal construct, hypotheses are explained through internal mechanisms, and study outcomes are limited to those internal to the person, such as cultural metacognition. Thus, it would be inappropriate to ask external raters to speculate on others' cultural identities, because the constructs measured here are expected to work through cognitive mechanisms. Second, I reviewed the development of each scale, and my justification for the scale's fit, in order to illustrate its construct validity. Third, although there may be some conceptual overlap among dependent variables, such as among identity uncertainty, identity stress and feeling overburdened with cultural translation work, these variables are not used to predict one another. All hypothesized relationships relate to the two cultural identity dimensions, with which there is no conceptual overlap with antecedent or outcome variables, because they both refer to the ways identity patterns are organized. Finally, I took three purposeful steps while designing the questionnaires, to minimize common method bias. The identity plurality dimension is computed as a sum of two, three or four scales, depending on the number of cultures each participant specifies, such that the final value of identity plurality will not be highly influenced by common method bias. Antecedent items in study one were separated temporally (participants were asked to think about

their childhood and adolescence, up to the age of 15) and organizational outcome measures in study two were separated contextually (participants were primed to think about their experiences at a specific organization). There was an attempt to include outcomes that were not measured with likert-type response sets, such as feeling overwhelmed with cultural translation work (response set is frequency of occurrence) and cultural composition of social in-group (measured as a ratio of the cultures identified for seven closest friends). Together, these steps do not entirely remove the potential for common method bias, but they may suppress that potential.

Study three was conducted with an employee sample, to test for replication of findings from the first two studies. It includes an objective measure of job performance as an outcome, in another attempt to measure the outcomes of cultural identity plurality patterns beyond any common method bias, and includes both monoculturals and multiculturals in the sample, in order to examine differences between these two groups.

Study Three: Work-related outcomes and organizational context:

Employee sample

Study three was designed to test for work-related outcomes of multicultural identity patterns, and to test for a replication of the moderating effect of organizational identification found in study two. I expected to find that identity plurality was positively related to psychological toll (H4a), structural social capital (H5a), action skills (H6a) and analytical skills (H7a), while identity integration was negatively related to psychological toll (H4b), action skills (H6b) and analytical skills (H7b). I also expected organizational identification to moderate relationships between identity patterns and outcomes (H9), and specifically the relationship found in study two, between identity plurality and cultural metacognition. This study was conducted with employees in a small hotel chain in Western Canada. The hotels in this chain were located in tourist areas or large cities that experience large numbers of international visitors. Both the employee base and the hotel guests were highly culturally diverse, creating an ideal environment to test for skills and abilities within the culture domain.

The sample for study three offered two opportunities to explore relationships not specified in the formal hypotheses, but which might indicate areas for future research. First, access to performance evaluations allowed me to explore relationships between identity dimensions and job performance. I classified job performance as an indicator of task outcomes, so I expected it to increase along with identity plurality and decrease along with identity integration. Second, the sample for this study included both monocultural and multicultural participants, so I conducted exploratory analyses to test for mean differences between these two groups. Although no formal hypotheses were

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developed regarding these differences, I expected the relationships proposed for identity plurality to also hold between monocultural and multicultural employees. That is, I expected multicultural employees to report higher levels of psychological toll, structural social capital, action skills and analytical skills than monocultural employees, and I also expected job performance to be higher among multicultural employees. All of these exploratory predictions are based on the rationale that inconsistent identity patterns are less effective at reducing uncertainty than consistent identity patterns, and thus, inconsistent patterns promote higher levels of intercultural skills and abilities, but also lead to higher psychological toll.

This study was conducted with a paper-based survey combined with copies of the latest supervisor-rated performance appraisals. Paper-based surveys were more appropriate than a web-based survey, because very few employees at this hotel had access to computers while at work. However, it was impossible to tailor questions to each respondent's cultures in a paper-based survey. To compensate for this problem, the paper survey was designed to clearly specify which culture(s) were referenced in each question. For example, respondents were asked to write one of their culture's names at the top of a page, then reference all questions on that page to the culture written at the top. The complete survey instrument is presented in Appendix G.

Study Three Participants and Procedure

Seventy-seven employees across five locations in a hotel chain in western Canada completed this survey. Participants self-identified as either multicultural (N = 40) or monocultural (N = 37), based on the following definition of multiculturalism (identical to study two):

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You're multicultural if you have more than one cultural identity. A cultural identity is a culture that is so familiar to you that it becomes part of who you are. A culture can refer to a region or a country. For example, Chinese, Indian, and French-Canadian are all cultures. You can be a member of a culture even if you've never lived there, but it must be so deeply embedded in you that it influences your values, your behaviours and the way you see the world.

The sample included 44 females and 33 males, with a mean age was 36.8 years (SD = 11.3 years). They rated their English language as 3.5 out of a total of 7 (SD = 0.7), indicating that English language fluency may have been an issue for some respondents. However, there was no statistically significant difference between the monoculturals and the multiculturals, on gender, age or English language fluency. On average, the multicultural respondents had lived in Canada for significantly fewer years than the monocultural group (t = 2.34, $p < .05$), with means of 25.9 years versus 33.2 years, respectively. All multicultural respondents identified with at least two cultures, six respondents identified with three cultures and one identified with four cultures. Thus, 18% of the multicultural respondents identified with more than two cultures.

In total, 26 different cultures were represented. Table 1 presents a comparison of the most common cultures across all three studies and the pilot study. Thirty-nine of the multicultural respondents included Canadian as one of their cultures. The next most common cultures were Chinese (N = 7), British (N = 3), Filipino (N = 3), and Irish (N = 3), indicating that this sample represents a wider range of cultures than studies one or two. Non-country-based cultures included Christian and Jewish. Seven of the

monocultural respondents identified themselves with a culture other than Canada. They identified with Mexican, Filipino, Dutch, Indian, Russian, Somalian and Ukrainian.

Participants were contacted through posters and announcements during weekly meetings from head office, and offered an incentive of the chance to win one of ten $20 gift cards, two $50 gift cards, or an iPod touch. Copies of the latest performance evaluations for respondents were collected from the human resources manager at each hotel as a source of objective outcomes. Head office support encouraged participation from employees and from human resource managers.

Study Three Measures

Identity dimension variables

Identity integration (alpha = .82) was measured as the mean of the nine-item blendedness subscale from Benet-Martínez's revised BII scale (BIIS-2; Benet-Martínez, 2010; Huynh & Benet-Martínez, 2009). This is the same scale used to measure identity integration in study two. The response set was a five-point Likert scale (0 = strongly disagree, 4 = strongly agree), where higher values indicate that individuals perceive their cultural identities as more fused (versus more dissociated for lower values).

Identity plurality was measured with the same protocol as in study two. That is, it was calculated as the sum of identification with each participants' cultures, such that people who identified more strongly with more cultures had higher scores than those who identified strongly with only one culture. Identification with each culture was measured as the mean of Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, Halevy and Eidelson's (2008) four-item importance subscale (alphas of .81, .83 and .67), measuring the centrality of each cultural identity to one's self-concept. The lowest alpha coefficient measured

identification with individuals' third culture, of which there were only seven

respondents. Some analyses included monocultural employees, in order to include the

full logical range of identity plurality. For these analyses, monoculturals' identity

plurality was calculated as the mean of the four-item importance subscale (alpha = 94),

measuring identification with their one culture. I conducted a one-way analysis of

variance in order to examine identity plurality against a straight count of the number of

cultures reported by participants, ranging from 1 (for monoculturals) to 3 (there was

only one participant with four cultural identities, so the three- and four-culture groups

were merged). There was a significant difference in identity plurality across groups in

the expected direction, $F(2, 77) = 80.24$, $p < .01$. Post-hoc comparisons using the

Scheffé criterion for significance indicated that identity plurality was significantly lower

for monoculturals (M = 2.91, SD = 1.08) than it was for the group who identified with

two cultures (M = 5.46, SD = 1.20), and that identity plurality for the two-cultures

group was significantly lower than it was for the group who identified with three to four

cultures (M = 7.47, SD = 1.52). These results indicate that this measure of identity

plurality represents the construct consistently. Yet, this measure also represents the

identity plurality construct more richly than counting cultures alone, because it

differentiates among someone who identifies with only one culture (lowest), someone

who identifies with one primary culture and two secondary (less important) cultures

(middle), and someone who identifies strongly with three cultures (highest). The

response set measured identification with each culture on a five-point Likert scale (0 =

strongly disagree; 4 = strongly agree), such that higher values indicate higher

identification with more cultures. Identity plurality for multicultural participants ranged

from 2 to 10.5, and it ranged from 0 to 10.5 for the complete sample (including monoculturals and multiculturals).

Personal outcome variables

Identity uncertainty (3 items; alpha = .67) and *feeling overburdened with cultural translation work* (3 items; alpha = .84) were measured with the same scales as in studies one and two. The response set for feeling overburdened ranged from 0 "never" to 4 "very often", while identity uncertainty was measured with a five-point Likert scale (0 = strongly disagree; 4 = strongly agree), such that higher values indicate higher levels of the corresponding constructs.

Social outcome variable

In-group cultural composition was calculated as the number of cultures in each respondent's in-group. Participants were asked to list their five closest friends at work, and denote each friend's culture(s). Each friend was coded against the following criteria, representing the number of cultural networks to which respondents have access through their friendship network: 0 for a perfect match between the friend's culture(s) and respondent's culture(s) (e.g. a Chinese-Canadian respondent with a Chinese-Canadian friend); 1 for a part-match (e.g. a Chinese-Canadian respondent with an Israeli-Canadian friend), or for a monocultural friend from another culture (e.g. a Chinese-Canadian respondent with an Israeli friend); 2 for a multicultural friend with no match to respondent's culture(s) (e.g. a Chinese-Canadian respondent with an Israeli-Bulgarian friend). Scores were summed across all five friends to create a measure of the number of cultural networks to which participants have access. This measure of in-group cultural composition, and the ratio of cultural group insiders to total friends

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applied in study one, were both influenced by the in-group cultural composition measure presented by Mok and colleagues (2007). However, the measure in this study more accurately reflects the number of cultural networks to which participants have access, because this represents the outcome of most interest to organizational researchers.

Task outcome variables

Job performance (alpha = .83) was measured as the mean of two items on supervisors' performance evaluations. Together, these items measure the degree to which employees have met or exceeded expectations regarding their performance in the current position. The items were explained on the supervisor's evaluation form as follows: 1) "When performing the job, to what extent does this employee demonstrate the interest / enthusiasm, initiative, productivity, accuracy / quality, and safety and compliance expectations for the role?"; 2) "To what extent does this employee demonstrate the job knowledge, skills and abilities, and work habits expected in this role?" At this hotel, performance evaluations are conducted once a year. Forty-six performance evaluations were collected, but only lower-level employees were rated on job performance and job competence (31 total). Of the 31 quantitative performance evaluations, 19 forms evaluated multicultural employees, and 12 evaluated monoculturals. The response set ranged from one to four, with the following value labels, such that higher values indicate higher performance: 1 = does not meet expectations; 2 = partially meets expectations; 3 = meets expectations; 4 = exceeds expectations. However, no one in this sample received a job performance rating of one,

so the range in this sample is between 2 and 4. Thus, there was limited variability in this measure.

Adaptability (5 items; alpha = .84) and *cultural metacognition* (12 items; alpha = .92) were measured with the same scales as in studies one and two. Both response sets were five-point Likert scales (0 = strongly disagree; 4 = strongly agree), such that higher values indicate higher levels of the corresponding constructs.

Moderator variables

Organizational identification (alpha = .91) was measured as the mean across the four-item importance subscale from the social group identification scale (Roccas, et al., 2008). This scale taps the centrality of a social identity to one's self-concept. It is the same scale as in study two.

D*iversity climate* (alpha = .86) was measured with a six-item scale of intercultural organizational climate (Luijters, et al., 2008), the same scale as in study two. It taps the degree to which employees perceive their organizations as accepting of and valuing cultural diversity. Responses for organizational identification and diversity climate were both scored on five-point likert scales (0 = strongly disagree; 4 = strongly agree), such that higher values indicate higher levels of organizational identification and perception of stronger diversity climate, respectively.

Study Three Analysis and Results

In order to test for presence of common method variance, I loaded all items onto one factor in a confirmatory factor analysis to examine model fit. If common method variance is largely responsible for the relationships among the variables, the one-factor CFA model should fit the data well (Korsgaard & Roberson, 1995; Mossholder, et al.,

1998; Podsakoff, et al., 2003). CFA results showed that the single-factor model did not fit the data well, x^2 (299) = 890.29, p=.00, GFI=.50; CFI=.27; SRMR=.17; RMSEA=.16. While the results of these analyses do not preclude the possibility of common method variance, they suggest that it is not the primary driver of relationships among variables and thus is unlikely to confound interpretation of results.

In order to explore differences between monocultural and multicultural employees, test hypotheses on the outcomes of identity integration and identity plurality, and test the moderating effect of organizational identification, I conducted tests of mean differences, regression analyses and a hierarchical moderated regression, respectively. Study three results are divided into three sections corresponding to these three analyses. Mean, standard deviations and correlations for multicultural employees are presented in Table 11, and the same are presented for the entire sample (including monocultural employees) in Table 12. Identity integration and identity plurality were not significantly correlated in this sample (r = .16, p = ns). Among multicultural respondents, identity integration was significantly negatively correlated with identity uncertainty (r = -.35, p < .05), feeling overburdened with cultural translation work (r = -.45, p < .01) and job performance (r = -.56, p < .05), consistent with hypothesis 4b. Identity plurality was not significantly correlated with any other variable, within the group of multicultural employees.

However, when identity plurality was expanded to include monocultural employees (coding explained in measures section), identity plurality was significantly related with in-group cultural composition (r = .43, p < .01) and cultural metacognition , (r = .25, p < .05). Thus, respondents' in-groups increased in cultural diversity along with

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identity plurality, consistent with hypothesis 5a, and cultural metacognition also increased along with identity integration, consistent with hypothesis 7a. Unexpectedly, identity plurality was also negatively related to identity uncertainty ($r = -.25, p < .05$), indicating that individuals became more certain about their cultural identities as they increased in identity plurality. This finding was contrary to the expected relationship proposed in hypothesis 4a.

Comparing multiculturals and monoculturals. I conducted tests of mean difference to explore differences between multicultural and monocultural employees. No formal hypotheses were developed regarding these differences, but I expected the relationships proposed for identity plurality to also hold between monocultural and multicultural employees, such that multicultural employees were expected to report higher levels of psychological toll, structural social capital, action skills and analytical skills than monocultural employees, and I also expected job performance to be higher among multicultural employees. Results indicate significant differences on four of these variables, all in the expected direction. Multiculturals scored higher than monoculturals on job performance, $t(29) = -2.30, p < .05$, and feeling overburdened with cultural translation work, $t(76) = -2.09, p < .05$, indicating that while multicultural employees may have felt more overburdened with helping colleagues understand other cultures, they were also evaluated higher than monoculturals on performance evaluations. Multiculturals' in-groups were composed of individuals from more cultures than monoculturals, $t(76) = -6.40, p < .01$), indicating that monoculturals' in-groups are composed of more people from their own cultures, while multiculturals' in-groups are composed of more people from other cultures. Means for each group are presented in

the charts in Figure 9. There was no significant difference between monoculturals and

multiculturals on identity uncertainty, adaptability or cultural metacognition.

Table 11: Correlations, means and standard deviations, multicultural employees only. (Study three).

	Mean	s.d.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Identity integration	2.65	.64													
2. Identity plurality	5.83	1.48	.16												
3. Adaptability	2.39	.69	.04	.01											
4. Identity uncertainty	.78	.65	-.35*	-.23	.11										
5. Overburdened	.88	.87	-.45**	-.18	-.12	.16									
6. In-group cultural composition	4.90	.48	-.26	-.06	-.09	-.02	.13								
7. Cultural metacognition	2.57	.47	.05	.00	.19	-.16	-.03	.28							
8. Job performance	3.39	.46	-.56*	-.09	-.21	.50*	.60**	.21	.03						
9. Organizational identification	2.83	.73	.27	.16	.15	-.25	.17	-.06	-.02	-.22					
10. Diversity climate	2.74	.61	.39**	.28	.26	-.24	-.19	-.03	.12	-.22	.33*				
11. Age	36.65	11.24	-.13	.02	-.17	-.17	.07	.21	.17	.14	.22	-.19			
12. Gender (0=male, 1=female)	n/a	n/a	-.05	-.07	-.23	.10	.09	.09	-.20	.48*	-.17	.02	.03		
13. English fluency	3.35	.83	.09	.23	.08	-.14	-.41**	.03	.22	-.26	-.25	.32*	-.17	.14	
14. Years employed at this organization	5.00	5.33	-.01	-.07	-.05	-.17	.25	.16	.11	.20	.17	.01	.41**	.08	.08

N = 41 for all variables except job performance (N= 19). * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

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Table 12: Correlations, means and standard deviations, multicultural and monocultural employees. (Study three).

	Mean	s.d.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Identity integration [a]	2.65	.64														
2. Identity plurality	4.45	1.96	.16													
3. Adaptability	2.25	.83	.04	.14												
4. Identity uncertainty	.85	.71	-.35*	-.25*	.03											
5. Overburdened	.71	.79	-.45**	.14	.07	.07										
6. In-group cultural composition	4.12	1.45	-.26	.43**	-.04	-.19	.15									
7. Cultural metacognition	2.49	.63	.05	.25*	.33**	-.26*	.11	.28								
8. Job performance [b]	3.24	.50	-.56*	.29	-.17	.32	.25	.42*	-.30							
9. Organizational identification	2.74	.86	.27	.29**	.17	-.36**	.24*	-.06	.37**	-.11						
10. Diversity climate	2.73	.65	.39**	.25*	.21	-.28*	-.08	-.03	.34**	-.09	.44*					
11. Age	36.83	11.28	-.13	-.10	-.18	-.15	.11	.21	-.05	.09	.10	-.10				
12. Gender (0=male, 1=female)	n/a	n/a	-.05	-.16	.00	.12	-.03	.09	-.01	.27	.05	-.04	-.20			
13. English fluency	3.47	.74	.09	-.01	.20	-.12	-.38**	-.19	.25*	-.28	-.08	.18	-.20	.15		
14. Years employed at this organization	5.99	6.67	-.01	-.18	-.01	-.17	.08	-.02	-.12	.06	.09	.04	.56**	-.03	.01	
15. Monocultural =0; Multicultural = 1	n/a	n/a	n/a	.75**	.18	-.10	.23*	.59**	.13	.39*	.11	.01	-.02	-.22	-.18	-.16

$*p < .05$; $**p < .01$.   Note: N = 77, except for variables with the following superscripts:
[a] Identity integration was only measured for multicultural employees. N = 41   [b] N = 31.

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Figure 9: Study three exploratory results: Mean differences between multiculturals and monoculturals
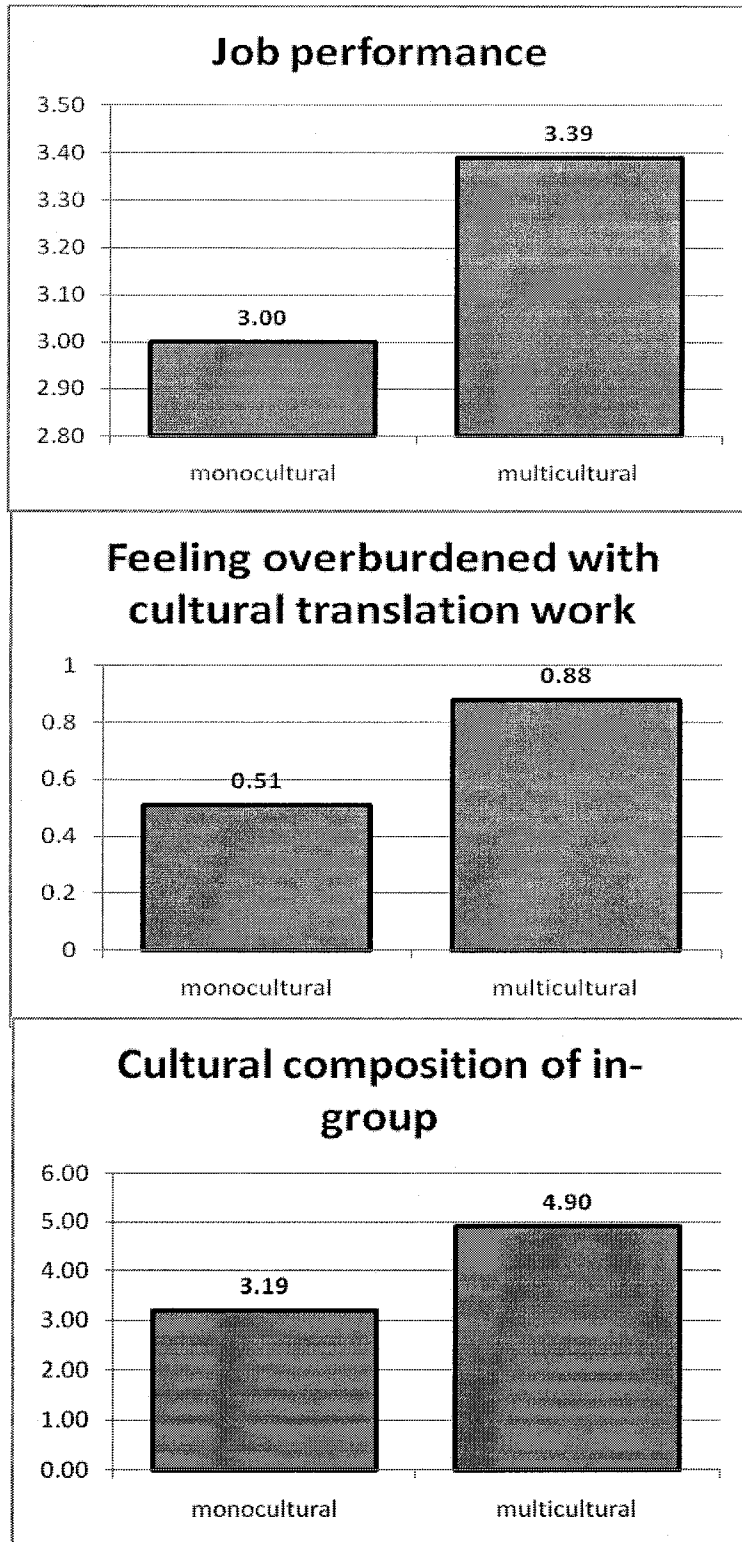
Note: Differences in job performance and feeling overburdened significant at $p < .05$. Difference in cultural composition of in-group significant at $p < .01$.

Means for each group presented as data labels.

Main effects. In order to test outcome hypotheses for multicultural employees only, I conducted a series of regression analyses, as presented in Table 13. Identity plurality and identity integration were not correlated with demographic variables, so demographics were not included as control variables. Identity plurality and identity integration together explained a significant amount of variance in job performance ($F = 4.11, p < .05$), feeling overburdened with cultural translation work ($F = 5.38, p < .01$), and identity uncertainty ($F = 3.61, p < .05$). The dimensions did not predict a significant amount of variance in in-group cultural composition, adaptability or cultural metacognition, so the beta coefficients for these models will not be interpreted. In support of hypothesis 4b, identity integration was negatively related to feeling overburdened with cultural translation work ($\beta = -.44, p < .01$) and identity uncertainty ($\beta = -.33, p < .05$), indicating that psychological toll decreases along with identity integration. Identity integration was also negatively related to job performance ($\beta = -.57, p < .01$), supporting the exploratory prediction that job performance would be related to identity integration in the same direction as other task outcomes. This result indicates that individuals who separated their cultural identities received higher performance evaluations from supervisors than those who integrated their identities. Identity plurality did not significantly predict any of the outcomes.

Table 13: Multiple regression results, multicultural employees only. (Study three)

Independent variables	Personal outcomes		Social outcome	Task outcomes		
	Feeling overburdened β	Identity uncertainty β	In-group cultural composition: Total cultural networks β	Adaptability β	Cultural metacognition β	Job Performance β
Identity plurality	-.13	-.19	-.01	.00	-.01	-.06
Identity integration	-.44**	-.33*	-.25	.04	.05	-.57*
F	5.38**	3.61*	1.36	.03	.05	4.11*
R^2	.22	.16	.07	.00	.00	.34
N	41	41	41	41	41	19

** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$; † $p < .10$; Standardized Betas coefficients reported in columns.

Moderation effect. Although not ideal, it is possible to test for planned

interactions without significant main effects, as long as the interaction was hypothesized

a priori (Bedeian & Mossholder, 1994). Study three was designed to test for replication

of effects found in study two, so I had planned to conduct a hierarchical moderated

regression in order to test for replication of organizational identification's moderating

effect on the relationship between identity plurality and cultural metacognition

(hypothesis 9). Table 14 displays the moderation results, based on the whole sample,

including monocultural and multicultural participants. I included monoculturals in this

analysis because it allowed me to analyze the effect of the full logical range of identity

plurality.

Identity plurality and organizational identification were entered in steps one and

two as control variables. Identity integration was not included as a control variable for

this analysis, because it was not correlated with identity plurality in this study. Identity

plurality and organizational identification were each standardized prior to creating the

interaction term. Results at step three revealed that organizational identification

significantly moderated the relationship between identity plurality and cultural

metacognition ($\Delta R^2 = .11$, $p<.01$; $\beta = -.38$, $p<.01$), explaining an addition 11% of

variance in cultural metacognition beyond identity plurality and organizational

identification. The moderating effect is plotted in Figure 10. An analysis of the simple

slopes presented in the graph indicates that cultural metacognition was only positively

related to identity plurality for individuals who identified weakly with their

organizations (-1 s.d.) (unstandardized β for simple slope $= .13$, $p<.01$). There was no

significant relationship between identity plurality and cultural metacognition for those

who identified strongly (+1 s.d.) with their organizations (unstandardized β for simple slope = -.07 p=ns). Thus, identity plurality was only positively related to cultural metacognition, for individuals who were weakly identified with their organizations, supporting hypothesis 9. Organizational identification did not moderate the other three significant relationships between identity integration and outcomes, and diversity climate did not further moderate the effect of organizational identification, as found in study two (hypothesis 10; not supported).

Table 14: Hierarchical regression examining moderating effect of organizational identification on cultural metacognition. (Study three)

Variables	Step 1 β	Step 2 β	Step 3 β
Identity plurality	.25*	.16	.12
Organizational identification		.32**	.16
Identity plurality X organizational identification			-.38**
R^2	.07	.16	.27
F	5.24*	7.00**	8.95**
df	76	75	74
ΔR^2	.07	.09**	.11**

Standardized Beta coefficients are reported in columns. N = 76. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$
Note: This analysis includes both monocultural and multicultural participants.
Dependent variable: Cultural metacognition

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Figure 10: Study three interaction effect of organizational identification and identity plurality on cultural metacognition.
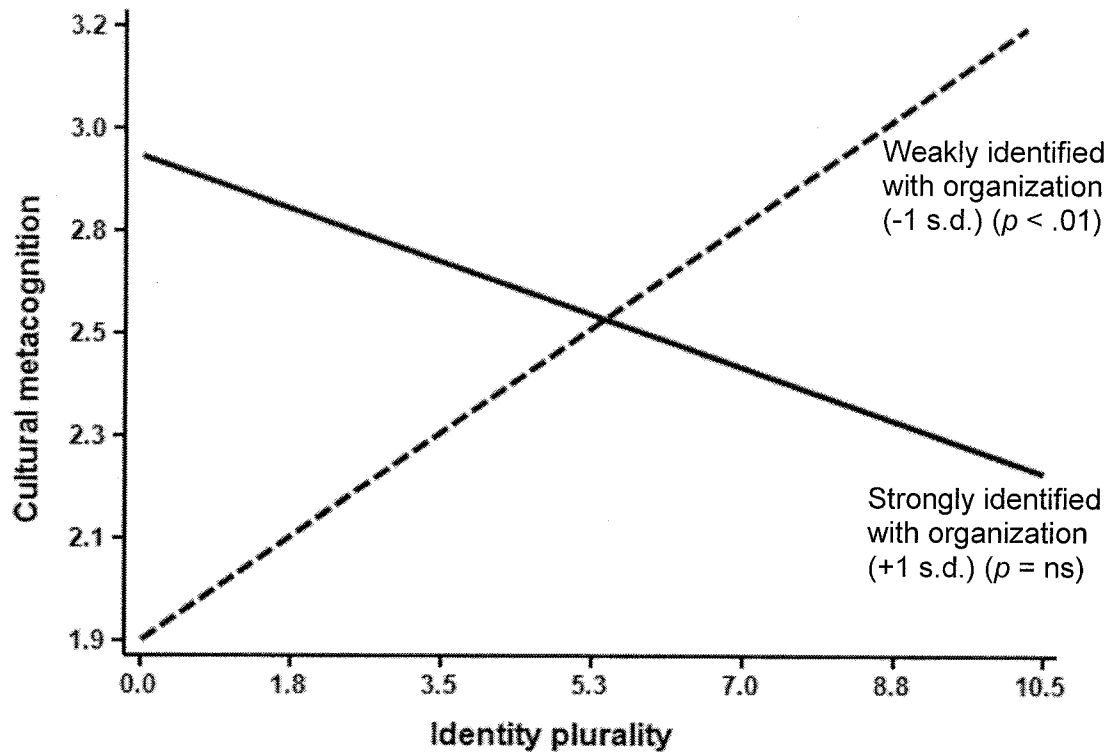
Note: Monoculturals and multiculturals were included in this analysis.

Study Three Discussion

A summary of results from this study is presented in Appendix E. Among multicultural participants, identity plurality was not related to outcomes, so hypotheses 4a, 5a, 6a and 7a were not supported. This could indicate that for multicultural individuals, the number of cultures does not matter as much as the degree to which they are integrated. Alternatively, the lack of significance could also be due to low variation in the independent variable, because the sample only included seven participants who identified with more than two cultures.

Regression results indicated that identity integration was negatively related to psychological toll, supporting hypothesis 4b. That is, employees who separated their identities found the experience more difficult than those who integrated their identities. This effect can be explained by identity pattern consistency, wherein integrated patterns are more internally consistent, and thus, result in less psychological toll than patterns that are more inconsistent. Identity integration was not significantly related to adaptability or cultural metacognition, so hypotheses 6b and 7b were not supported. Within the group of multicultural participants, identity plurality was not significantly related to any of the measured outcomes, so hypotheses 4a to 7a were not supported. However, when monoculturals were included in the sample, to explore the full range of identity plurality, it was positively related to structural social capital and cultural metacognition, indicating marginal support for hypotheses 5a and 7a.

Supporting hypothesis 9, organizational identification was found to significantly moderate the relationship between identity plurality cultural metacognition. That is, identity plurality was only positively related to cultural metacognition for employees who were weakly identified with their organizations. Theoretically, this can be explained by the relative salience of organizational identity versus cultural identities. When individuals are highly identified with their organizations, an organizational context is likely to prime the organizational identity, so that it becomes the primary guide for behaviour. In contrast, when individuals are weakly identified with their organizations, organizational contexts may not prime the organizational identity to the same extent, leaving cognitive space for cultural identities to become primary guides to behaviour. However, the moderation effect was only found to be significant when the

full spectrum of identity plurality was examined, including monoculturals. Again, this could be due to limited variation in identity plurality among the multicultural employees (only seven employees had more than two cultures), or it could indicate that the difference between monocultural and multicultural employees is more predictive than the differences among multiculturals.

Results from this study supported only two of the hypothesized relationships, but exploratory results indicate several promising areas for further research. Specifically, identity integration was negatively related to job performance, as measured by supervisors' ratings, such that employees who separated their identities were rated higher by their supervisors than those who integrated their identities. Other outcomes were not significantly related to identity integration (adaptability, cultural metacognition, and structural social capital), so this finding indicates that something beyond the outcomes tested in this study may be mediating the link between identity integration and job performance. It is particularly surprising that a link was found with job performance *in general*, as opposed to performance on activities *within the culture domain*. When cultural identities are examined from the perspective of the cultural schemas they represent, a link might be expected between cultural identity patterns and performance on culture-related activities, because schemas are assumed to only influence individuals when they are made salient, but the theoretical link does not usually extend to performance on activities in other domains (Markus, 1977; Morris & Mok, 2011). This surprising finding might be explained by the hotel context in which this study took place. It could be argued that in a hotel that caters to tourists from all over the world, and where many of the staff members are culturally diverse, all

activities occur within the cultural domain, because all activities require some level of cross-cultural interaction. In this hotel chain, front desk staff, kitchen staff, managerial staff and housekeeping staff all work among highly diverse co-workers and cater to hotel guests who are even more diverse than the workforce. A future exploratory study could help to advance understanding on the effect of multiple cultural schemas on activities outside of the cultural domain. An alternative explanation for these results could be similarity bias, where supervisors are more likely to give positive evaluations to subordinates who are similar to themselves (Rosen & Jerdee, 1974). Recent studies have found that the effect is stronger for racial similarities than for gender similarities (Goldberg, 2005). Supervisors' racial characteristics were not measured in this study, so this alternative explanation cannot be ruled out.

The other exploratory results were mean differences on outcome variables, between multicultural and monocultural respondents. On average, multiculturals had higher job performance than monoculturals, felt more overburdened with cultural translation work, and had more cultures represented in their in-groups than monoculturals (higher levels of structural social capital). All of these results present interesting opportunities for future research. Most can be understood by extending the mechanisms presented in this dissertation; identity patterns that are more internally *in*consistent (multiculturals) are more psychologically difficult, but also present opportunities for more complex thinking and an expanded social network. Next, I interpret the collective results from all studies in this dissertation.

CHAPTER SIX: OVERALL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

One of the key questions for the future of cross-cultural management is how individuals organize multiple cultural identities, and what the implications are for management (Sackmann & Phillips, 2004). This dissertation proposes a general framework and three empirical research studies in response to that question. Study one tested antecedents and outcomes in a general population, followed by studies two and three testing outcomes specific to two distinct working populations. Across all three studies, it is clear that multicultural individuals vary in their skills, abilities and challenges, depending on their patterns of multicultural identity. It is also clear that the relationships between identity patterns and outcomes can be moderated by the degree of organizational identification and perceived diversity climate. (Appendix E presents a summary of findings). Consistent results across studies indicate three general conclusions: (1) Identity plurality predicts social outcomes; (2) identity plurality and identity integration together predict personal and task outcomes; and (3) strong organizational identification or weak diversity climate weakens relationships between identity patterns and outcomes.

More specifically, individuals with higher levels of identity plurality reported higher levels of psychological toll, higher structural social capital, and higher levels of action and analytical skills than those with low identity plurality. Multiculturals who separated their identities reported higher levels of psychological toll, higher levels of action and analytical skills, and were rated higher on performance evaluations by their supervisors than those who separated their identities. Multiculturals as a group were rated higher on performance evaluations than monoculturals, indicating that

multiculturals may be able to translate their unique skills and abilities into higher performance in their organizations.

The main effects of identity plurality were generally weaker than those for identity integration. This might indicate that once individuals have internalized at least two cultures, little changes with the addition of more cultures. It would help to study more individuals with three or more cultures in the future, as a basis for comparison against those with only two cultures.

Neither antecedent predicting identity plurality was supported. This may have been influenced by the cognitive-oriented measurement of identity plurality. According to Roccas and colleagues (2008), there are four modes of identification: importance, commitment, superiority and deference. Only importance was measured with respect to identity plurality. It may be that the *glorification* modes (superiority, deference) are stronger predictors than the *attachment*-oriented modes (importance, commitment), because the former draw more heavily on affect mechanisms from social identity theory than the latter, while the latter draw primarily from cognitive mechanisms. The commitment mode is expected to be most affected by situations of threat (for example, cultural animosity), while the superiority mode is expected to be most affected by status effects (such as cultural pride) (Roccas, et al., 2008). Cultural animosity and cultural pride antecedents did not predict the importance mode of identity plurality, but theorizing about these four modes suggests they might have had a stronger effect on superiority or commitment modes of identity plurality. Thus, future research on all four modes of identification might help to better understand why individuals develop patterns along the dimensions of identity plurality and identity integration.

Among antecedent hypotheses, only cultural distance and cultural animosity predicted identity integration. Participants' degree of experience and pride in their cultures did not predict the number of cultures they had internalized. This might indicate that something beyond relative cultural experience motivates individuals' identity plurality. For example, there is evidence that lay theories of race influence the degree to which multiracial individuals identify with "other" cultures (Hong, forthcoming; Hong, et al., 2009). Lay theories of cultural identity may influence individuals' propensity to identify with more than one cultural group. This could explain why cultural experience and pride failed to predict multicultural identity patterns.

What is now known about multicultural employees

In the first chapter of this dissertation, I reviewed a few of the important things researchers knew about multicultural employees. The list included the utility of the identity perspective for understanding multicultural individuals, the fact that multiculturals seem to develop particular skills and challenges as a result of multicultural status, and the possibility for cultural identity to include regions, religious or linguistic groups, in addition to nations. Now, at the completion of this dissertation, I can add two points to this list. First, identity plurality is an important dimension that can be useful for making predictions about multiculturals with different numbers of cultures, or for examining monoculturals and multiculturals along a spectrum instead of a dichotomy. It seems especially useful for predicting social outcomes and analytical skills. Second, the organizational context can influence the strength of relationships between identity patterns and outcomes, where strong organizational identification or

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weak diversity climates weaken relationships between multicultural identity patterns and outcomes.

Limitations

Although all of the studies in this dissertation were bound by sample size limitations, this was especially true for the ability to test hypotheses with only multicultural employees in study three. Almost all of the outcome variables were reported by participants on the same survey instrument used to measure independent variables, so common method bias and self-report inaccuracies should both be considered when interpreting results. Confirmatory factor analyses indicated that common method was not the primary driver of relationships among variables, but the one-factor approach to testing for common method variance is insensitive, so results should still be interpreted in light of potential common method biases (Chang, Witteloostuijn, & Eden, 2010). I report the steps I took to limit common method bias in the discussion of study two.

There are two concerns about the way identity plurality was operationalized: inconsistency across studies, and a possible confounding effect. Identity plurality was measured differently in study one, compared to studies two and three. This might have resulted in different meanings of the construct across studies. However, identity plurality was consistently related to the same constructs across studies, supporting the consistency of its meaning. Next, the operationalization of identity plurality in studies two and three could confound effects driven by number of identities, with those driven by strength of identification with each identity. To test this potential confound, I recalculated the regression models in studies two and three, using a straight count of

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number of cultures instead of the current measure of identity plurality. In both studies, variables that were originally significantly related to identity plurality were still related in the same direction, although most were no longer significantly related. Only 18% of participants in each sample had more than two cultures, so variance was severely restricted by measuring identity plurality as a count of number of cultures. This restricted variance may be responsible for the lack of significance. Since the direction of relationships remained consistent with both measures of identity plurality, the original measure of identity plurality is likely driven primarily by the number of identities, and not by the strength of identification with each one.

The cross-sectional design means that causal relationships could only be inferred, not tested longitudinally. Finally, all of the respondents were in Western Canada, so future research in other locations is necessary before these results can be considered generalizable.

Theoretical implications

The framework developed in this dissertation extends theoretical understanding of multiculturalism in three ways. First, it bridges separate research conversations about positive versus negative outcomes of multicultural identity. The acculturation literature reviewed in chapter one primarily examines multiculturalism in terms of mitigation of negative outcomes, such as increased stress, and lower social or performance outcomes (Berry, et al., 2006). In contrast, the literature on bicultural identity integration primarily examines positive outcomes, such as higher levels of creativity or cognitive complexity (Benet-Martínez, 2010). By combining outcomes from both research conversations in one study, this dissertation clarifies how multicultural identity patterns relate to both

research conversations, recognizing that multicultural status confers both benefits and challenges.

Second, the identity plurality dimension identifies a systematic basis for modeling the effect of internalizing two, three or more cultures. Although initially designed to study multicultural individuals only, identity plurality could also be used as a basis for comparison of monocultural and multicultural individuals, along a continuous dimension. This could expand predictions beyond biculturals. For example, results from study two indicate that decision-making latency might represent an inverted-U along the continuous dimension of identity plurality, from monoculturals to multiculturals. This prediction assumes that individuals who are clearly monocultural or clearly multicultural have correspondingly clear culture-domain schemas, so they can respond more quickly to questions within the cultural domain than individuals who are less clearly monocultural or multicultural (for example, individuals who have a primary cultural identity, but also have a secondary, less central cultural identity). Thus, there are possibilities for comparing monoculturals and multiculturals along a continuous dimension, not only by simple dichotomies.

The third theoretical contribution of this dissertation is to examine multiculturals in the context of their organizations. Earlier studies either measured organizationally-relevant outcomes without modelling the effect of organizational context (e.g. Lee, 2010) or examined the power dynamics that can result when the organization is associated with one of an individual's cultures, such as in race-based studies (Nkomo & Cox, 1989). This dissertation extends our understanding of the role that organizational context plays by modelling its effect on relationships between

identity patterns and outcomes. Results indicate a consistent moderating effect of organization identification on the relationship between identity plurality and cultural metacognition at work, where a positive relationship only exists for individuals who are weakly identified with their organizations. These results indicate that the interaction between context and individual differences is important in priming cultural identities. Cultural identities, and their associated cultural schemas, do not influence individuals constantly, nor do they always become salient when individuals are in identity-relevant contexts. Instead, it seems there is an interaction effect, where cultural identities only become salient in a relevant context when that identity is also important or central to the individual. Social identity theory and self-categorization theory research often assume that identities are always salient, or that a relevant context will necessarily prime its associated identity (e.g. when I'm teaching, my professor identity is salient) (Ashforth, et al., 2008). The moderating effect found in this dissertation indicates that this assumption may be overly simplistic. Instead, identities may be primed through the intersection of an identity-relevant context with an identity that is central to the individual. This finding could be important for future studies drawing on social identity theory, because it implies that individuals will vary in the degree to which the same situation primes their identities, depending on the degree to which that identity is central for each individual.

Just as the results presented here answer some questions, they also highlight important questions that have not yet been addressed. The findings reported in this dissertation reveal the importance of two particular questions. First, results indicated that the multicultural individuals who had the most difficult experience (highest

psychological toll) were also the individuals with the highest level of task outcomes (higher adaptability, cultural metacognition and job performance). However, the cross-sectional survey design could not indicate whether one variable causes the other, or whether both outcomes stem from the same underlying mechanism. I hypothesized that identity pattern inconsistency led to both outcomes, but it is possible that identity pattern inconsistency led to psychological toll, and that psychological toll, in turn, led to increased task outcomes. The latter explanation would be consistent with recent theorizing about the process through which biculturalism increases integrative complexity (Tadmor, et al., 2009), wherein multiculturals who experience higher levels of cognitive dissonance must expend more effort coping with the dissonance, and therefore develop more complex responses than those who experience less dissonance.

The second unanswered question also refers to the time-element of multiculturalism. There is a need for empirical evidence about the stability versus malleability of cultural identity patterns over time and across contexts. Research that defines multiculturalism in terms of cultural schemas usually assumes that patterns are reasonably stable over time, or at least that they change slowly, because schemas are assumed to be reasonably stable over time (Markus, 1986). In contrast, studies that define multiculturalism in terms of identity may allow for more frequent changes over time, depending on the form of identification (Roccas, et al., 2008). This is an empirical question, and the field would benefit from a longitudinal study of multicultural patterns over time.

Practical implications for multicultural employees

Multicultural employees can use this identity pattern framework to help them recognize their own contributions and challenges in their workplaces, and also to reassure individuals who experience high levels of psychological toll. I have presented this framework to groups of multicultural individuals, and have found that a common response is one of increased reflexivity. Individuals who suffer from high levels of psychological toll often feel comforted knowing that high levels of psychological toll can be associated with higher task outcomes. Regardless of their levels of psychological toll, many multicultural individuals see themselves in this map of identity patterns, and consequently think more carefully about the skills they can develop as a result of multicultural status. Perhaps as a result of this increased reflection, individuals may further develop their skills, creating a positive feedback loop.

Practical implications for managers

Managers can use the framework in this dissertation to help guide placement decisions, ensuring that multicultural individuals are placed into positions where their skills will be useful. By thinking about how multicultural employees vary along these two dimensions, managers can make more systematic decisions about which roles suit particular multicultural individuals. For example, multicultural employees who prioritize one of their cultural identities have generally lower levels of adaptability than those who identify with several cultures. These prioritizing employees may be especially useful as expatriates in countries where bribery is common, because their multicultural backgrounds may help them relate to colleagues from other cultures, while their tendency to consistently use one primary cultural schema might allow them to

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resist the temptation to adapt to local bribery norms. A second example is that

multicultural employees who have high levels of cultural plurality, such as Carlos

Ghosn, tend to have higher levels of cultural metacognition and social capital, due to

their tendency to befriend people from many different cultures, even from outside their

own cultural groups. This may explain why Ghosn shines as a merger and acquisition

(M&A) facilitator for Nissan and Renault, even though he is not an expert in either

organization's culture. M&A facilitators must be skilled at both attending to

organizational cultures, and working with people from both cultures, to facilitate

integration. These are skills that seem to be especially prevalent among multiculturals

with high identity plurality. Human resource managers may find it difficult to classify

multicultural employees according to this model, so they may prefer to place

multicultural employees strategically once more is known about their particular skill

sets, and to develop multicultural employees in general, recognizing their potential to be

a resource during culture-domain activities.

Practical implications for organizations

        The results in this dissertation can also be used as partial justification for

organizations to use caution when encouraging employees to identify strongly with the

organization, and to develop a diversity climate that allows multicultural employees to

become a strategic resource. It is usually assumed that organizations ought to encourage

employees to become highly identified with their organizations, because of benefits

such as increased effort, intrinsic motivation, organizational citizenship behaviours and

self-sacrifice for the sake of the organization (Ashforth, et al., 2008). However, the

findings from studies two and three indicate that employees who were highly identified

with their organizations were less likely to draw on their multicultural identities than those who were weakly identified with their organizations. This may be problematic for organizations that are specifically attempting to benefit from multicultural employees, because their unique skills, abilities and challenges may be unavailable to their organizations if employees are too highly identified with their organizations. This 'dark side' implication is consistent with findings that organizational identification is related to reduced levels of creativity (Rotondi, 1975) and suppressed dissent (Dukerich, Kramer, & McLean Parks, 1998). Organizations might be prudent to use caution when encouraging employees to identify with the organization, if they want to draw on their multicultural employees' skills and abilities as a valuable resource.

Diversity climate's moderation effect points to several lessons about both benefits and challenges of having a strong organizational culture. The evidence from study two indicates that when individuals perceive their organizations as having low levels of diversity climate, multicultural employees are less likely to use their cultural identities as a primary source for guidance, regardless of the degree to which they identify with the organization. Instead, they are likely using their organizational identities as a primary guiding identity, within the organizational context. This is good news for most organizations, because it is generally helpful for employees to share a guiding set of values (Barney, 1986). However, this shared set of values may come at the expense of a diversity of values stemming from multicultural employees. Given that multinational organizations often fail to take advantage of the knowledge, skills and experiences of their global employees, organizations with the right processes in place may have an opportunity to get ahead of their competitors. A recent study of 3578

employees indicated that the mere presence of diversity programs and initiatives was not enough to develop a diversity climate (Herdman & McMillan-Capehart, 2010). Instead, it was the combination of diversity programs and initiatives, along with managers' endorsement of relational values, and minority representation in management, that predicted whether employees were likely to perceive a diversity climate. As a result, in order to benefit from the skills of their multicultural employees, organizations should take a holistic approach to developing a diversity climate.

Conclusion

The main contribution of this dissertation is a theoretically-driven framework of multiculturalism, including antecedents and outcomes along two dimensions, moderated by the degree to which individuals identify with their organizations, and by diversity climate. It provides a template for future research, in which unique multicultural identity patterns may be studied systematically, relative to other multicultural identity patterns. This puts behavioural outcomes of multicultural identity, such as frame-shifting, into the context of the identity patterns that influence the behaviours. This richer, more complex understanding of multicultural employees may provide a theoretical basis for future discussions on the business implications of multicultural employees.

During a keynote speech on multiculturalism, Wayson Choy, a Chinese-Canadian novelist, described being multicultural as being like a composite material (Choy, 2010 April). Composite materials are used in manufacturing because they are particularly well-suited to their tasks – lighter, stronger, cheaper or more flexible – but they require more work up-front in order to develop them. In the same way, multicultural employees have unique skills that are particularly well-suited to the global

workplace, but organizations may need to put the right conditions in place first, before

they can reap the benefits of their multicultural workforce. In this dissertation, I

proposed a framework that managers and researchers can use to think systematically

about the range of contributions and challenges multicultural employees bring to their

organizations. Organizations with diversity climates, that avoid encouraging employees

to become overly identified with the organization, may set themselves up to benefit

from the unique skills of their "composite materials": their bicultural and multicultural

employees.

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APPENDICES

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Appendix A: Hypotheses and their Associated Mechanisms

Hypotheses	**Mechanism**

How antecedents influence multicultural identity patterns

Personal history

| H1a: The number of cultures with which individuals perceived high levels of cultural group prestige as a child will be positively related to identity plurality.
H1b: Generational status will have a curvilinear relationship with identity plurality. | Motivated to increase self-esteem by identifying with higher-prestige groups. |

Current context

| H2: The degree to which regional policies promote multiculturalsim will predict identity integration among residents. | Cognitive desire to reduce uncertainty by relying on the context as a guide. |

Cultural content

| H3a: Cultural tightness will be negatively related to identity integration.
H3b: Cultural distance will be negatively related to identity integration.
H3c: Cultural animosity will be negatively related to identity integration | Cognitive desire to reduce uncertainty by maintaining internal consistency. |

How multicultural identity patterns influence outcomes

Personal outcomes

| H4a: Identity plurality will be positively related to psychological toll.
H4b: Identity integration will be negatively related to psychological toll. | Inconsistent patterns reduce uncertainty less effectively than consistent patterns, resulting in higher psychological toll. |

Social outcomes

| H5a: Identity plurality will be positively related to structural social capital.
H5b: Identity plurality will be positively related to relational social capital. | Motivation to increase self-esteem by positively differentiating in-groups from comparison out-groups. |

Hypotheses	Mechanism
Task outcomes H6a: Identity plurality will be positively related to action skills. H6b: Identity integration will be negatively related to action skills. H7a: Identity plurality will be positively related to analytical skills. H7b: Identity integration will be negatively related to analytical skills. H8a: Identity plurality will be negatively related to culture-domain decision-making speed. H8b: Identity integration will be positively related to culture-domain decision-making speed.	Inconsistent patterns reduce uncertainty less effectively than consistent patterns, resulting in higher levels of skills, but longer times required to process decision.

How organizational identification moderates the relationships among identity dimensions and outcomes

H9: The strength of organizational identification will moderate the relationships between multicultural identity patterns and outcomes, such that the relationships will be strongest when organizational identification is weak.	Identities only guide behavior when salient.
H10: Diversity climate will moderate the effect of the interaction between identity patterns and organizational identification on outcomes, such that in strong diversity climates, the interaction effect will be more pronounced than in weak diversity climates.	Identities only guide behavior when salient. It is possible for more than one identity to be salient simultaneously.

Appendix B: Pilot Study Questionnaire

What is your Cultural Identity?

Do you have more than one culture?

Do you see yourself as a member of more than one cultural group?

A culture can refer to a region or country, or the combination of two, for example Chinese, East Indian, Chinese-Canadian, etc. You can see yourself as a member of a culture even if you've never lived there.

If so, you are invited to complete a short questionnaire to explore your own cultural identity. Your responses will help researchers better understand the many ways to be bicultural (or multicultural). This is very important in today's world and I hope you will help me by filling out this survey.

Completion of the questionnaire implies consent. Your responses will be treated in confidence, and the results of individuals will not be identifiable. Please return the completed surveys to me (Stacey Fitzsimmons) directly. If you have any questions or concerns, please don't hesitate to contact me: sfitzsim@sfu.ca / 778-786-2101.

Section A: Please do this section FIRST
What cultures do you identify with? That is, what cultures do you think you belong to?

How important is each of these cultures to your identity, or how you see yourself? Why?

Use the following scale to answer these two questions.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
They all share the same culture		They are from several different cultures, but the majority share the same culture		Most have different cultures, but a small number share the same culture		They all have different cultures from each other

Think of people who are like you. Circle the number that best describes them.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Think of people who are like you, culturally. Circle the number.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

A bicultural person is anyone who has more than one culture, or who belongs to more than one culture. There are many ways to be bicultural. How would you describe your own form of biculturalism? For example, you might see your culture as hybrid, bi-polar, integrated, conflicted, confused or dominated by one primary group or something else entirely.

The following questions have to do with how you feel about *Canadian culture* and another culture with which you identify, referred to here as *"my other culture"*. Please mentally substitute the other culture you identify with for the phrase *"my other culture"* in the questions below.

The other culture with which I identify is _____

Please circle the number representing the response most true about you.

Strongly disagree		Disagree		Neutral / Depends		Agree		Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

I feel *my other culture*-Canadian (for example Chinese-Canadian)   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

I feel part of a combined culture   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

I keep *my other culture* and Canadian cultures separate   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

I am simply a person of *my other culture* who lives in Canada   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

I feel neither Canadian nor *my other culture*   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

I am a member of many cultures (as compared to being a member of one or two cultures)   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

I am primarily a member of one culture   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

There is a single culture that influences who I am   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

There are multiple cultures that influence who I am   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Section B: Fill out this section AFTER filling out the first section

Please use the following scale to rate how well each of the following items describes you, in general. If you have more than two cultures, then think about your two most important cultures.

Strongly disagree		Disagree		Neutral / Depends		Agree		Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
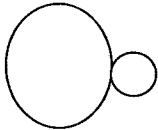
One of my cultures is more important to how I see myself than the other.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
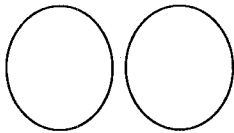
I have two, separate cultures, with separate groups of friends for each culture.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
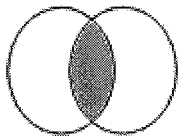
I am part of a hybrid culture, where 'my' culture is the combination of both my cultures.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

I am part of a broader culture that includes both my cultures and many other cultures too.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

If none of these diagrams represents you, then draw your own diagram below. Label your circles and explain why you drew it that way.

Answer the following questions about one of your cultures.

My first culture is _____.

Think about your childhood and teenage years when answering the following questions:
During my childhood and my teenage years ...

Strongly disagree		Disagree		Neutral / Depends		Agree		Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

1. This culture was considered to be prestigious.　1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

2. People from this culture were considered to be successful.　1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

3. I was familiar with this culture's practices and customs.　1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

4. I was exposed to this culture.　1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

5. I listened to this culture's music.　1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

6. I played this culture's sports.　1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

7. My values were from this culture.　1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

8. My friends were from this culture.　1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

9. I was part of this culture.　1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

10. I was proud of this culture.　1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

11. I criticized this culture.　1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

12. I was ashamed of this culture.　1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

13. I wished to be accepted by people from this culture.　1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

14. Compared to how much I criticized other cultures, I criticized this culture less.　1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

15. I had warm feelings for this culture.　1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

16. I was proud to be a member of this culture.　1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

17. In general, people from this culture were wonderful people.　1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

18. It was important to me to live in places belonging to this culture.　1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Answer the following questions about your other culture.

My other culture is _____.

Think about your childhood and teenage years when answering the following questions:
*During my childhood and my teenage years ...*

Strongly disagree		Disagree		Neutral / Depends		Agree		Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

1. This culture was considered to be prestigious.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

2. People from this culture were considered to be successful.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

3. I was familiar with this culture's practices and customs.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

4. I was exposed to this culture.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

5. I listened to this culture's music.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

6. I played this culture's sports.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

7. My values were from this culture.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

8. My friends were from this culture.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

9. I was part of this culture.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

10. I was proud of this culture.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

11. I criticized this culture.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

12. I was ashamed of this culture.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

13. I wished to be accepted by people from this culture.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

14. Compared to how much I criticized other cultures, I criticized this culture less.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

15. I had warm feelings for this culture.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

16. I was proud to be a member of this culture.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

17. In general, people from this culture were wonderful people.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

18. It was important to me to live in places belonging to this culture.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

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Section D: Demographics

Age: _____   How many years have you lived in Canada? _____

(Please circle one)   Male   /   Female

In which country were you born? _____   Raised? _____

In what country was your mother born? _____   Raised? _____

In what country was your father born? _____   Raised? _____

What languages do you speak fluently? Rate each one according to the following scale
1 = know some words 2 = competent but not fluent 3 = fluent 4 = native

	Reading & writing ability	Speaking ability
1.	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4
2.	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4
3.	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4
4.	1 2 3 4	1 2 3 4

If you have more than four languages, list the rest here:

What language(s) do (did) you speak:
with your family?   at work or school?   with your friends?   when growing up?

_____ _____ _____ _____

On your mother's side, how many generations has your family been in Canada? _____

On your father's side, how many generations has your family been in Canada? _____

Please show where you lived on this timeline of your life by age.
For example, a 40-year-old who moved to Canada from Britain at age 10 would fill it out like this

0   5   10   15   20   25   30   35   40   45   50   55   60
   Britain   Canada

0   5   10   15   20   25   30   35   40   45   50   55   60
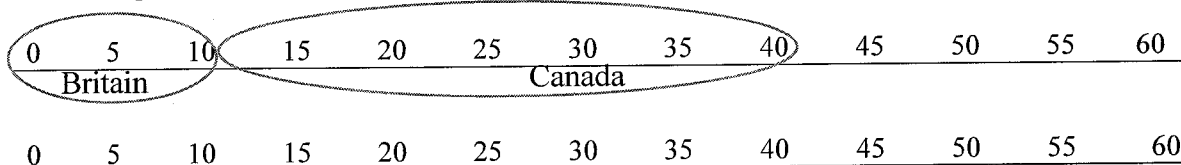
If you would like to write more about your own cultural identity, or if you think there's something that I should have asked about, please attach an extra page here, or contact me directly at sfitzsim@sfu.ca / 778-786-2101.

## I really appreciate your feedback!

Appendix C: Screenshots of survey instrument, study one

What are the two cultures that are most important to your own identity? That is, what two cultures are most important to who you are?

A culture can refer to a region or a country, or the combination of two, for example Chinese, East Indian, Chinese-Canadian, etc. You can see yourself as a member of a culture even if you've never lived there. If you have more than two, you will have a chance to list the others later in the survey.

Canadian ▼

Canadian
Albanian
Algerian
American
Angolan
Argentine
Armenian
Australian
Austrian
Azerbaijani
Bahraini
Barbadian
Belarusian
Belgian
Beninese

i. Identifying one's cultures at the beginning of the survey. The last option is "other" and allows participants to write in a culture not identified on the list.

I feel Canadian-Bangladeshi.

I am conflicted between the Canadian and the Bangladeshi way of doing things.

I feel part of a combined culture.

I feel like someone moving between two cultures.

I keep Canadian and Bangladeshi cultures separate.

I feel caught between my Canadian and my Bangladeshi cultures.

I am simply a Canadian person who lives in a Bangladeshi place OR I am simply a Bangladeshi person who lives in a Canadian place.

I DON'T feel trapped between my Canadian and my Bangladeshi cultures.

ii. Piping culture names into survey questions.

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iii.   In-group cultural composition measure, part one.

iv.   In-group cultural composition measure, part two.

Appendix D: Questionnaire for Study One: Student sample

What is a culture?

A culture can refer to a region or a country, or the combination of two, for example Chinese, East Indian, Chinese-Canadian, etc. You can see yourself as a member of a culture even if you've never lived there.

You will be asked to answer short-answer questions about your bicultural identity, your experiences during cross-cultural interactions, and demographic questions. Some people may find it uncomfortable to think about their identity as a bicultural person.

Statement of confidentiality:
The data of this study will maintain confidentiality of your name and the contributions you have made to the extent allowed by the law.
Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained by putting a code number on all questionnaires. Access to online questionnaire data is restricted to the principal researcher. The responses of individuals will be treated in confidence, and the results of individuals will not be identifiable. Only aggregated results will be presented.

Contact of participants at a future time:
At the end of the survey, you will be given the opportunity to enter your email address. This will give the researcher (Stacey Fitzsimmons) permission to contact you again in the future, and is voluntary. The purpose of future contact is to study whether bicultural identity changes over time. If you choose not to enter your email address, then your data will only be identifiable by your anonymous ID code, and the only time you may be contacted is if you win one of the ten gift certificate prizes.

The University and those conducting this research study subscribe to the ethical conduct of research and to the protection at all times of the interests, comfort, and safety of participants. This research is being conducted under permission of the Simon Fraser Research Ethics Board. The chief concern of the Board is for the health, safety and psychological well-being of research participants.

If you have any questions, concerns or complaints about the manner in which you were treated in this study, please contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics using the contact information provided below. You may withdraw your participation at any time. You may obtain copies of the results of this study, upon its completion by contacting Stacey Fitzsimmons (sfitzsim@sfu.ca).
Dr. Hal Weinberg. Director, Office of Research Ethics
Office of Research Ethics. Simon Fraser University
8888 University Drive. Burnaby, B.C. V5A 1S6
hal_weinberg@sfu.ca

I have read and understand the personal risks and contributions of the study as described above, and agree to participate in this study.

○ "I agree to participate in this study"

○ "I do not agree to participate in this study"

Q1. What are the two cultures that are most important to your own identity? That is, what two cultures are most important to who you are?

A culture can refer to a region or a country, or the combination of two, for example Chinese, East Indian, Chinese-Canadian, etc. You can see yourself as a member of a culture even if you've never lived there. If you have more than two, you will have a chance to list the others later in the survey.

1. _____X_____   2. _____Y_____

Response set: a drop-down menu of countries, with an option to write in a culture if not on the list.

Part I

Please use the following scale to rate how well each of the following items describes you, in general. If you have more than two cultures, then think about your two most important cultures.

Strongly disagree		Disagree		Neutral / Depends		Agree		Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
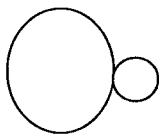
I have one primary culture, and a second, less influential culture. Eg I am mostly X, with a little bit of Y influence.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
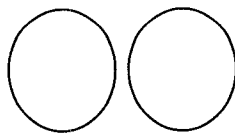
I have two cultures, and I keep them separate. E.g. In some situations I am X, while in other situations I am Y.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
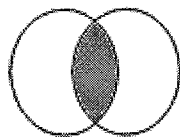
I am part of a hybrid culture, where 'my' culture is the combination of both my cultures. E.g. I am X-Y all the time.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

I am part of a broader culture that includes both my cultures and many other cultures too. E.g. I am a global citizen, I have internalized many different cultures.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

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Part II

Strongly disagree		Disagree		Neutral		Agree		Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Think about your childhood and teenage years when answering the following questions:

During my childhood and my teenage years ...

X culture was considered to be prestigious (high status or reputation).	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Y culture was considered to be prestigious (high status or reputation).	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
X-Y culture was considered to be prestigious (high status or reputation).	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Xs were considered to be successful.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Ys were considered to be successful.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
X-Ys were considered to be successful.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Think about your childhood and teenage years when answering the following questions:
During my childhood and my teenage years ...

I was familiar with X cultural practices and customs.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
I was familiar with Y cultural practices and customs.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
I was familiar with X-Y cultural practices and customs.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
My friends were from X culture.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
My friends were from Y culture.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
My friends were from X-Y culture.	
I wished to be accepted by people from X.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
I wished to be accepted by people from Y.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
I wished to be accepted by people from X-Y.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

For the next two questions, think about the present.

X and Y cultures are friendly towards each other.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
X and Y cultures are enemies.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Considering all the cultures in the world, how similar are X and Y cultures? Think about the values, beliefs, norms and typical behaviours of each culture when answering this question.

Very different		Different		Neutral		Similar		Very similar
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Use the following scale to answer the next set of questions:

Strongly disagree		Disagree		Neutral		Agree		Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

I feel X-Y.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
I am conflicted between the X and the Y way of doing things.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
I feel part of a combined culture.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
I feel like someone moving between two cultures.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
I keep X and Y cultures separate.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
I feel caught between my X and my Y cultures.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
I am simply a X person who lives in a Y place **OR** I am simply a Y person who lives in a Y place.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
I DON'T feel trapped between my X and my Y cultures.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Please check the number that best represents you.

I see myself as a member of one culture	-4 -3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3 4	I see myself as a member of many cultures
There is a single culture that influences who I am.	-4 -3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3 4	There are multiple cultures that influence who I am.

Think of people who are like you (people who are similar to you in many different ways. Check the number that best describes them.

They all share the same culture.	-4 -3 -2 -1 0 1 2 3 4	They all have different cultures from one another.

Part III

Thanks! You're almost there. Use the following scale to answer the next set of questions.

Never		Almost never		Sometimes		Fairly often		Very often
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

In the past four months, how often have you felt like you were spending too much time helping others understand one of your cultures?	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
In the past four months, how often have you felt like explaining different cultures to people is a burden?	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
In the past four months, how often has your schoolwork suffered because you had to help other people understand a different culture?	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Strongly disagree		Disagree		Neutral		Agree		Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

I feel that there are **not** enough people of my own cultural group in my living environment.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
I feel that the environment where I live is **not** multicultural enough; it doesn't have enough cultural richness.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
My cultural orientation is **not** clear to me.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
When I am in a place or room where I am the only person of my cultural group, I often feel different or isolated.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
I sometimes feel uncertain about my cultural orientation.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Depending on the impression I wish to give people who are culturally different to me, I have the ability to adapt my behaviour.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
I tend to show different sides of myself to people from different cultures.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
My cultural orientation is clear to me.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
In different cultural situations and with culturally different people, I can change my behaviour.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Different cultural situations make me change my behaviour according to their requirements.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
My behaviour in intercultural interactions	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

often depends on how I feel the people from the other culture wish me to behave.

For the following items, think about situations when you have interacted with people who are culturally different from you.

I really enjoy analyzing the reasons or causes for their behavior.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
I am very interested in how my own thinking works when I make judgments about them.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
To understand them, I have found it important to know how their values, attitudes, and beliefs fit together.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
I think a lot about the influence that culture has on me and on them.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
I am aware of the cultural knowledge that I use.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
I am aware that I need to plan my course of action.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
I select and organize the cultural knowledge I need to use.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
I ask myself how their behavior fits with what I already know about them.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
I try to understand exactly what I am trying to accomplish.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
I try to understand how my behavior will be perceived.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
I check on the accuracy of what I think I know about them.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
I ask myself how I am feeling.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Please type the initials of your 7 closest friends:

___   ___   ___   ___   ___   ___   ___

For each friend, indicate that person's primary culture.

Response set for each person was a drop-down menu with the following four options:
    X culture
    Y culture
    X-Y culture
    Other culture

Part IV: Demographics

Age: _____   How many years have you lived in Canada? _____

Male   /   Female

In which country were you born? _____   Raised? _____

In what country was your mother born? _____   Raised? _____

In what country was your father born? _____   Raised? _____

How many languages do you speak fluently (including English)? _____

Rate each one according to the following scale. Think about both your written and oral skills.

0 = no ability in this language; 1 = know some words; 2 = competent but not fluent;
3 = fluent 4 = native

1. Culture X's language	0 1 2 3 4
2. Culture Y's language	0 1 2 3 4
3. English	0 1 2 3 4

On your mother's side, how many generations has your family been in Canada? (answer zero if your mother is not in Canada) _____

On your father's side, how many generations has your family been in Canada? (answer zero if your father is not in Canada)_____

Do you have a third culture that is important to your identity?   Yes / No

Based on your appearance, can people usually guess your cultures?

Never		Almost never		Sometimes		Fairly often		Very often
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

THANK-YOU for sharing your bicultural experiences!
This study will be conducted again in two to three years, to find out if bicultural identity changes over time. If you have found this interesting, and would like to be contacted again in the future, please fill out your email address here. If you choose to do this, I will be able to show you how your bicultural identity has changed during those years.

Please use an email address that will still be active three years in the future. This is optional. If you do not fill out your email address here, no identifying information is attached to your responses.

Appendix E: Summary of Hypotheses Tested with Studies One, Two and Three

Proposed relationships	Study One	Study Two	Study Three
How antecedents influence multicultural identity patterns			
H1a: The number of cultures with which individuals perceived high levels of cultural group prestige as a child will be positively related to identity plurality.	✗	n/a	n/a
H1b: Generational status will have a curvilinear relationship with identity plurality.	✗	n/a	n/a
H3b: Cultural distance will be negatively related to identity integration.	✓	n/a	n/a
H3c: Cultural animosity will be negatively related to identity integration.	✓	n/a	n/a
How multicultural identity patterns influence outcomes			
H4a: Identity plurality will be positively related to psychological toll.	~✓	✗	✗
H4b: Identity integration will be negatively related to psychological toll.	✓	✓	✓
H5a: Identity plurality will be positively related to structural social capital.	✓	n/a	✗*
H6a: Identity plurality will be positively related to action skills.	✓	✗	✗
H6b: Identity integration will be negatively related to action skills.	✓	✗	✗
H7a: Identity plurality will be positively related to analytical skills.	✓	✓	✗*
H7b: Identity integration will be negatively related to analytical skills.	✓	✗	✗
H8a: Identity plurality will be negatively related to culture-domain decision-making speed.	n/a	✗	n/a

Proposed relationships	Study One	Study Two	Study Three
H8b: Identity integration will be positively related to culture-domain decision-making speed.	n/a	✘	n/a

How organizational identification moderates the relationships among identity dimensions and outcomes

H9: The strength of organizational identification will moderate the relationships between multicultural identity patterns and outcomes, such that the relationships will be strongest when organizational identification is weak.	n/a	~✓	~✓
H10: Diversity climate will moderate the effect of the interaction between identity patterns and organizational identification on outcomes, such that in strong diversity climates, the interaction effect will be more pronounced than in weak diversity climates.	n/a	✓	✘

Note: n/a = not tested. ✘ = not supported. ✓ = supported. ~✓ = marginally supported.

The following hypotheses were not tested in this dissertation, due to location constraints (H2) and length concerns in the questionnaires (H3a and H5b):
H2: The degree to which regional policies promote multiculturalism will predict identity integration among residents.
H3a: Cultural tightness will be negatively related to identity integration.
H5b: Identity plurality will be positively related to relational social capital.

* A significant correlation was found, consistent with these relationships, when monoculturals were included in the sample measuring identity plurality.

Appendix F: Questionnaire for Study Two: Working students

Welcome!
Your experiences as a multicultural person can help managers and educators understand what skills multicultural employees can bring to the global workplace. My name is Stacey Fitzsimmons, and as the principal researcher, I sincerely thank-you for your interest in sharing your bicultural experiences. I am a PhD Candidate at SFU.

What is a culture?
There are many sources of culture (religion, ethnicity, organizations, etc). This study is interested in cultures based on regions or countries, for example Canadian, Chinese, Indian, French-Canadian, etc. You can see yourself as a member of a culture even if you've never lived there, **as long as you use that culture as a basis for your values, the way you behave and the way you see the world.**

You will be asked questions about your multicultural identity, your experiences during cross-cultural interactions, and demographic questions. Some people may find it uncomfortable to think about their identity as a multicultural person.

Consent Form
Confidentiality of your identity will be guaranteed to the full extent permitted by law. You will not be asked to report any identifying information. Access to online questionnaire data is restricted to the principal researcher. The responses of individuals will be treated in confidence, and the results of individuals will not be identifiable. Only aggregated results will be presented. You will not be contacted in the future about this survey.

The University and those conducting this research study subscribe to the ethical conduct of research and to the protection at all times of the interests, comfort, and safety of participants. This research is being conducted under permission of the Simon Fraser Research Ethics Board. The chief concern of the Board is for the health, safety and psychological well-being of research participants. If you have any questions, concerns or complaints about the manner in which you were treated in this study, please contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics using the contact information provided below. You may withdraw your participation at any time. You may obtain copies of the results of this study, upon its completion by contacting Stacey Fitzsimmons (sfitzsim@sfu.ca).

Dr. Hal Weinberg. Director, Office of Research Ethics
Simon Fraser University. Burnaby, B.C. V5A 1S6
hal_weinberg@sfu.ca. Re: Project #[20010s0269]

I have read and understand the personal risks and contributions of the study as described above, and agree to participate in this study. Refusal to participate or withdrawal after participation will have no adverse effects on your evaluation in this class.

        □ I agree to participate in this study
        □ I do not agree to participate in this study

Part 1 of 4 - Your cultures

What is a cultural identity?
A cultural identity is a culture that is so familiar to you that it becomes part of who you are. A culture can refer to a region or a country. For example, Chinese, East Indian and Canadian are all cultures. You can be a member of a culture even if you've never lived there, but it must be so deeply embedded in you that it influences your values, your behaviours and the way you see the world.

What is the culture that most influences who you are? (culture1)
What is your next most influential culture? (culture2)

Do you have a third culture that is deeply embedded in who you are? (3cultures)
     Yes   No

You picked "Other" for one of your cultures. Please list that culture here: (OtherCulture)
Note: for the rest of this survey, please think of this culture whenever a question asks about your "Other" culture.

_____

What is your next most influential culture? (culture3)

Do you have a fourth culture that is deeply embedded in who you are? (4cultures)
     Yes   No

What is your next most influential culture? (culture4)

How old are you? (age)

How many years have you lived in Canada? (yrsinCanada)

Gender (sex)
     Male   Female

Where were you born? (born)
Note: The responses for this question sound weird. Sorry about that. It's a limitation of this survey software.
     << culture1 >> country
     << culture2 >> country
     OTHER Country

How many languages do you speak fluently, including English? (languages)
You're fluent in a language if you can easily have conversations in the language, and you can read and write in the language.

How fluent are you in English? (englishskill)
     Native
     Fluent
     Competent but not fluent
     Know some words
     Very little ability in the English language

On your MOTHER'S side what was the earliest generation to come to Canada?
(generationMOM)

   My mother does not live in Canada

   Mother

   My grandparents (my Mom's parents)

   My great-grandparents (my Mom's grandparents)

   My great-great-grandparents or earlier

On your FATHER'S side what was the earliest generation to come to Canada?

   My father does not live in Canada

   Father

   My grandparents (my Dad's parents)

   My great-grandparents (my Dad's grandparents)

   My great-great-grandparents or earlier

Up until you were 15, how many years did you live in << culture1 >> country?
(raisedculture1)

   All

   9-12 years

   6-9 years

   3-6 years

   fewer than 3 years

   None

Up until you were 15, how many years did you live in << culture2 >> country?
(raisedculture2)

   All

   9-12 years

   6-9 years

   3-6 years

   fewer than 3 years

   None

Up until you were 15, how many years did you live in << culture3 >> country?
(raisedculture3)

   All

   9-12 years

   6-9 years

   3-6 years

   fewer than 3 years

   None

Up until you were 15, how many years did you live in << culture4 >> country?
(raisedculture4)

   All

   9-12 years

   6-9 years

   3-6 years

   fewer than 3 years

   None

Part 2 of 4. Please rate how influential each of your cultures is on your life. That is, to what degree does it influence your values, your behaviours, and the way you see the world?

Not influential	Influential	Moderately influential	Influential	Very influential
1	2	3	4	5

Please rate how influential << culture1 >> culture is in your life: (influential1)	1 2 3 4 5
Please rate how influential << culture2 >> culture is in your life: (influential2)	1 2 3 4 5
Please rate how influential << culture3 >> culture is in your life: (influential3)	1 2 3 4 5
Please rate how influential << culture4 >> culture is in your life: (influential4)	1 2 3 4 5

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

Belonging to the << culture1 >> cultural group is an important part of my identity (culture1importance1)	1 2 3 4 5
It is important to me that I view myself as << culture1 >>. (culture1importance2)	1 2 3 4 5
It is important to me that others see me as << culture1 >>. (culture1importance3)	1 2 3 4 5
When I talk about << culture1 >> people, I usually say "we" rather than "they". (culture1importance4)	1 2 3 4 5
Belonging to the << culture2 >> cultural group is an important part of my identity (culture2importance1)	1 2 3 4 5
It is important to me that I view myself as << culture2 >>. (culture2importance2)	1 2 3 4 5
It is important to me that others see me as << culture2 >>. (culture2importance3)	1 2 3 4 5
When I talk about << culture2 >> people, I usually say "we" rather than "they". (culture2importance4)	1 2 3 4 5
Belonging to the << culture3 >> cultural group is an important part of my identity (culture3importance1)	1 2 3 4 5
It is important to me that I view myself as << culture3 >>. (culture3importance2)	1 2 3 4 5
It is important to me that others see me as << culture3 >>. (culture3importance3)	1 2 3 4 5
When I talk about << culture3 >> people, I usually say "we" rather than "they". (culture3importance4)	1 2 3 4 5
Belonging to the << culture4 >> cultural group is an important part of my identity (culture4importance1)	1 2 3 4 5

It is important to me that I view myself as << culture4 >>. (culture4importance2)	1 2 3 4 5	
It is important to me that others see me as << culture4 >>. (culture4importance3)	1 2 3 4 5	
When I talk about << culture4 >> people, I usually say "we" rather than "they". (culture4importance4)	1 2 3 4 5	

The following questions will ask about your two primary cultures.

I feel << culture1 >> and << culture2 >> at the same time. (BIIblend1)	1 2 3 4 5
I relate better to a combined << culture1 >>-<< culture2 >> culture than to << culture1 >> or << culture2 >> culture alone. (BIIblend2)	1 2 3 4 5
I cannot ignore the << culture1 >> or << culture2 >> side of me. (BIIblend3)	1 2 3 4 5
I feel << culture1 >>-<< culture2 >>. (BIIblend4)	1 2 3 4 5
I feel part of a combined culture. (BIIblend5)	1 2 3 4 5
I find it difficult to combine << culture1 >> and << culture2 >> cultures. (BIIblend6-R)	1 2 3 4 5
I do not blend my << culture1 >> and << culture2 >> cultures. (BIIblend7-R)	1 2 3 4 5
I am simply a << culture1 >> who lives in a << culture2 >> country.ORI am simply a << culture2 >> who lives in a << culture1 >> country. (BIIblend8-R)	1 2 3 4 5
I keep << culture1 >> and << culture2 >> cultures separate. (BIIblend9-R)	1 2 3 4 5

Part 3 of 4. The next set of questions asks about SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY. Think about how SFU compares to other organizations you know (For example, compare SFU to companies you've worked for, your parents' companies, or companies you know from the news).

Strongly disagree 1	Disagree 2	Neutral 3	Agree 4	Strongly agree 5
Professors, staff and students at SFU commonly speak of SFU's style or way of doing things. (SFUstrength1)	1 2 3 4 5			
SFU has made its values known through a creed or credo and has made a serious attempt to get professors, staff and students to follow them. (SFUstrength2)	1 2 3 4 5			
SFU has been managed according to long-standing policies and practices other than those just of the current University Administration (staff, faculty). (SFUstrength3)	1 2 3 4 5			
At SFU, people think positively about cultural differences of classmates. (diversityclimate1)	1 2 3 4 5			
At SFU, people understand and accept different cultures.	1 2 3 4 5			

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(diversityclimate2)

At SFU, people recommend working with people with different cultural backgrounds. (diversityclimate3)	1 2 3 4 5
Differences in cultural backgrounds are discussed openly at SFU. (diversityclimate4)	1 2 3 4 5
At SFU people take differences in traditions and habits (like religion, celebrations) into account. (diversityclimate5)	1 2 3 4 5
At SFU people see the advantage of differences in cultural backgrounds of students and staff. (diversityclimate6)	1 2 3 4 5
When I'm at SFU, my SFU student identity is (SFUinfluential)	1 2 3 4 5
Belonging to SFU is an important part of my identity (importanceSFU1)	1 2 3 4 5
It is important to me that I view myself as a student at SFU. (importanceSFU2)	1 2 3 4 5
It is important to me that others see me as a student at SFU. (importanceSFU3)	1 2 3 4 5
When I talk about SFU students, I usually say "we" rather than "they". (importanceSFU4)	1 2 3 4 5

WHEN I'M AT SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY ... (outcomes)

My cultural orientation is not clear to me.	1 2 3 4 5
In different situations, and with different people, I can change my behavior.	1 2 3 4 5
I sometimes feel uncertain about my cultural orientation.	1 2 3 4 5
Depending on the impression I wish to give people who are culturally different to me, I have the ability to adapt my behavior.	1 2 3 4 5
I tend to show different sides of myself to people from different cultures.	1 2 3 4 5
My cultural orientation is clear to me.	1 2 3 4 5
Different cultural situations make me change my behavior according to their requirements.	1 2 3 4 5
My behavior in intercultural interactions often depends on how I feel the people from the other culture wish me to behave.	1 2 3 4 5

Never	Almost never	Sometimes	Fairly often	Very often
1	2	3	4	5

In the past four months, WHEN YOU WERE AT SFU, (overburdened)

How often have you felt like you were spending too much	1 2 3 4 5

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time helping others understand one of your cultures?

| How often have you felt like explaining different cultures to people is a burden? | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| How often has your schoolwork suffered because you had to help other people understand a different culture? | 1 2 3 4 5 |

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

Think about situations when you interacted with people who are culturally different from you. For example, you might have a group project with people from different cultures, or have friends from different cultures.

WHEN I'M AT SFU... (metacognition)

I really enjoy analyzing the reasons or causes for their behavior.	1 2 3 4 5
I am very interested in how my own thinking works when I make judgements about them.	1 2 3 4 5
To understand them, I have found it important to know how their values, attitudes, and beliefs fit together.	1 2 3 4 5
I think a lot about the influence that culture has had on me and on them.	1 2 3 4 5
I am aware of the cultural knowledge that I use.	1 2 3 4 5
I am aware that I need to plan my course of action.	1 2 3 4 5
I select and organize the cultural knowledge that I need to use.	1 2 3 4 5
I ask myself how their behavior fits with what I already know about them.	1 2 3 4 5
I try to understand exactly what I am trying to accomplish.	1 2 3 4 5
I check on the accuracy of what I think I know about them.	1 2 3 4 5
I ask myself how I am feeling.	1 2 3 4 5
I try to understand how my behaviour will be perceived.	1 2 3 4 5

Please answer the questions on the next page QUICKLY and ACCURATELY. Think about your answers to these questions AS AN SFU STUDENT. Click next when you're ready.

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

At SFU, there are no ethical principles so important that they should be part of EVERY ethical code.	1 2 3 4 5
At SFU, what is ethical varies from one situation and society to another.	1 2 3 4 5
At SFU, moral standards should be individualistic. What one	1 2 3 4 5

person
considers moral may be immoral to another.

At SFU, different moralities cannot be compared to a universal "rightness".	1 2 3 4 5
At SFU, questions about what is ethical for EVERYONE can never be answered because what is immoral or moral is up to the individual.	1 2 3 4 5
At SFU, moral standards are simply PERSONAL RULES about how a person should behave. They should not be used to judge others.	1 2 3 4 5
At SFU, ethics in interpersonal relationships are so complex that individuals should be allowed to create their own INDIVIDUAL codes.	1 2 3 4 5
At SFU, rigid ethical rules that prevent certain actions could stand in the way of better human relations and adjustment.	1 2 3 4 5

FINAL SECTION. Have you ever had a job or a volunteer position? (worked)
    Yes   No

Think about your most recent job or volunteer position. Type the initials of the company you worked for. (company)

_____

The next set of questions ask will ask about << company >>. Think about how << company >> compares to other organizations you know.

Strongly disagree 1	Disagree 2	Neutral 3	Agree 4	Strongly agree 5
Employees at << company >> commonly speak of << company >>'s style or way of doing things. (JOBstrength1)		1 2 3 4 5		
<< company >> has made its values known through a creed or credo and has made a serious attempt to get managers and employees to follow them. (JOBstrength2)		1 2 3 4 5		
<< company >> has been managed according to long-standing policies and practices other than those just of the current CEO (JOBstrength3)		1 2 3 4 5		
At << company >>, people think positively about cultural differences of colleagues. (jobdiversityclimate1)		1 2 3 4 5		
At << company >>, people understand and accept different cultures. (jobdiversityclimate2)		1 2 3 4 5		
At << company >>, people recommend working with people with different cultural backgrounds. (jobdiversityclimate3)		1 2 3 4 5		

Differences in cultural backgrounds are discussed openly at << company >>. (jobdiversityclimate4)	1	2	3	4	5
At << company >> people take differences in traditions and habits (like religion, celebrations) into account. (jobdiversityclimate5)	1	2	3	4	5
At << company >> people see the advantage of differences in cultural backgrounds of employees. (jobdiversityclimate6)	1	2	3	4	5
When I'm at << company >>, my << company >> employee identity is (JOBinfluential)	1	2	3	4	5
Belonging to << company >> is an important part of my identity (importanceJOB1)	1	2	3	4	5
It is important to me that I view myself as an employee of << company >>. (importanceJOB2)	1	2	3	4	5
It is important to me that others see me as an employee at << company >>. (importanceJOB3)	1	2	3	4	5
When I talk about << company >> employees, I usually say "we" rather than "they". (importanceJOB4)	1	2	3	4	5

WHEN I'M AT << company >> ... (outcomesJOB)

My cultural orientation is not clear to me.	1	2	3	4	5
In different situations, and with different people, I can change my behavior.	1	2	3	4	5
I sometimes feel uncertain about my cultural orientation.	1	2	3	4	5
Depending on the impression I wish to give people who are culturally different to me, I have the ability to adapt my behavior.	1	2	3	4	5
I tend to show different sides of myself to people from different cultures.	1	2	3	4	5
My cultural orientation is clear to me.	1	2	3	4	5
Different cultural situations make me change my behavior according to their requirements.	1	2	3	4	5
My behavior in intercultural interactions often depends on how I feel the people from the other culture wish me to behave.	1	2	3	4	5

Never	Almost never	Sometimes	Fairly often	Very often
1	2	3	4	5

Think about your most recent four months at << company >>.
(overburdenedJOB)

How often did you feel like you were spending too much time helping others understand one of your cultures?	1	2	3	4	5
How often did you feel like explaining different cultures to people was a burden?	1	2	3	4	5

How often did your work suffer because you had to help   1 2 3 4 5
other people understand a different culture?

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

Think about situations when you interacted with people who are culturally different from you. For example, you might work on a team with people from different cultures, or have colleagues from different cultures.

WHEN I'M AT << company >>... (metacognition)

I really enjoy analyzing the reasons or causes for their behavior.	1 2 3 4 5
I am very interested in how my own thinking works when I make judgements about them.	1 2 3 4 5
To understand them, I have found it important to know how their values, attitudes, and beliefs fit together.	1 2 3 4 5
I think a lot about the influence that culture has had on me and on them.	1 2 3 4 5
I am aware of the cultural knowledge that I use.	1 2 3 4 5
I am aware that I need to plan my course of action.	1 2 3 4 5
I select and organize the cultural knowledge that I need to use.	1 2 3 4 5
I ask myself how their behavior fits with what I already know about them.	1 2 3 4 5
I try to understand exactly what I am trying to accomplish.	1 2 3 4 5
I check on the accuracy of what I think I know about them.	1 2 3 4 5
I ask myself how I am feeling.	1 2 3 4 5
I try to understand how my behaviour will be perceived.	1 2 3 4 5

Please answer the questions on the next page QUICKLY and ACCURATELY. Think about your answers to these questions AS AN EMPLOYEE AT << company >>.

Click next when you're ready.

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

At << company >>, there are no ethical principles so important that they should be part of EVERY ethical code.	1 2 3 4 5
At << company >>, what is ethical varies from one situation and society to another.	1 2 3 4 5
At << company >>, moral standards should be individualistic. What one person considers moral may be immoral to another.	1 2 3 4 5
At << company >>, different moralities cannot be compared to a universal "rightness".	1 2 3 4 5
At << company >>, questions about what is ethical for	1 2 3 4 5

EVERYONE can never be answered because what is immoral
or moral is up to the individual.

At << company >>, moral standards are simply PERSONAL RULES about how a person should behave. They should not be used to judge others.	1 2 3 4 5
At << company >>, ethics in interpersonal relationships are so complex that individuals should be allowed to create their own INDIVIDUAL codes.	1 2 3 4 5
At << company >>, rigid ethical rules that prevent certain actions could stand in the way of better human relations and adjustment.	1 2 3 4 5

Multiculturalism at HOTEL X

Your experiences can help managers understand how multicultural employees contribute to Hotel X. My name is Stacey Fitzsimmons, and as the principal researcher, I sincerely thank-you for your interest in sharing your experiences. I am a PhD Candidate at Simon Fraser University.

Consent Form

Confidentiality of your identity will be guaranteed to the full extent permitted by law, and data is stored on a secured server in Canada. By filling out this survey, you agree to grant Stacey Fitzsimmons access to your most recent Living the Values form. Access to online questionnaire data is restricted to Stacey Fitzsimmons and one research assistant. The responses of individuals will be treated in confidence, and the results of individuals will not be identifiable. Only aggregated results will be presented to Hotel X.

The University and those conducting this research study subscribe to the ethical conduct of research and to the protection at all times of the interests, comfort, and safety of participants. This research is being conducted under permission of the Simon Fraser Research Ethics Board. The chief concern of the Board is for the health, safety and psychological well-being of research participants. If you have any questions, concerns or complaints about the manner in which you were treated in this study, please contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics using the contact information provided below. You may withdraw your participation at any time. You may obtain copies of the results of this study, upon its completion by contacting Stacey Fitzsimmons (sfitzsim@sfu.ca).

Dr. Hal Weinberg. Director, Office of Research Ethics
Simon Fraser University. Burnaby, B.C. V5A 1S6
hal_weinberg@sfu.ca. Re: Project #[2010s]

I have read and understand the personal risks and contributions of the study as described above, and agree to participate in this study. Refusal to participate or withdrawal after participation will have no adverse effects on your standing at Hotel X.
- ☐ I agree to participate in the study
- ☐ I do not agree to participate in the study

Are you multicultural?

A cultural identity is a culture that is so familiar to you that it becomes part of who you are. This study is interested in cultures based on regions or countries, for example Canadian, Chinese, Indian, French-Canadian, etc. You can be a member of a culture even if you've never lived there, but the culture must be so deeply embedded in you that it influences your values, your behaviours and the way you see the world.

Based on this definition, do you have more than one cultural identity?

- o **I have more than one cultural identity**. Examples:
  I was born in Canada, but my parents were born in another country
  I was born in another country, but moved to Canada several years ago.
  I am married to someone from another culture, and have become part of their culture
  I have more than one regional, religious or country culture that are part of who I am.

- o **I have one cultural identity.** Examples:
  I have lived in Canada for all of my live, and my parents are also from Canada
  I was born and raised in another country, and moved to Canada recently (within the last four years)

Your cultures

What is a cultural identity?

A cultural identity is a culture that is so familiar to you that it becomes part of who you are. A culture can refer to a region or a country. For example, Chinese, East Indian and Canadian are all cultures. You can be a member of a culture even if you've never lived there, but it must be so deeply embedded in you that it influences your values, your behaviours and the way you see the world.

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What is the culture that *most* influences who you are?
X = _____

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Belonging to the X cultural group is an important part of my identity					
It is important to me that I see myself as X.					
It is important to me that others see me as X.					
When I talk about X people, I usually say "we" rather than "they".					

What is your *next most influential* culture?
Y = _____

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Belonging to the Y cultural group is an important part of my identity					
It is important to me that I see myself as Y.					
It is important to me that others see me as Y.					
When I talk about Y people, I usually say "we" rather than "they".					

Do you have a third culture?   Yes / No
If yes, what is your third most influential culture?
Z = _____

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Belonging to the Z cultural group is an important part of my identity					
It is important to me that I see myself as Z.					
It is important to me that others see me as Z.					
When I talk about Z people, I usually say "we" rather than "they".					

Do you have a fourth culture?   Yes / No
If yes, what is your fourth most influential culture?
W =_____

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Belonging to the W cultural group is an important part of my identity					
It is important to me that I see myself as W.					
It is important to me that others see me as W.					
When I talk about W people, I usually say "we" rather than "they".					

The following questions ask about your two primary cultures.

Culture X = _____   Culture Y = _____

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
I feel X and Y at the same time.					
I relate better to a combined X-Y culture than to X or Y cultures alone.					
I cannot ignore the X or Y side of me.					
I feel X-Y.					
I feel part of a combined culture.					
I find it difficult to combine X and Y cultures.					
I do not blend my X and Y cultures.					
I am simply a X who lives in a Y country. OR I am simply a Y who lives in a X country.					
I keep X and Y cultures separate.					
I feel neither X nor Y.					

Now think about how you identify yourself WHEN YOU'RE AT WORK.

An identity is influential when it affects how you do things.
For example, if your culture affects the way you relate to your coworkers, then your cultural identity is influential. If it doesn't matter very much when you're at work, then it is not very influential.

	Not very influential	Somewhat influential	Neutral	Influential	Very Influential
When I'm at work, my Hotel X Employee identity is					
When I'm at work, my X identity is					
When I'm at work, my Y identity is					
When I'm at work, my Z identity is					
When I'm at work, my W identity is					

The next set of questions asks about Hotel X. Think about how Hotel X compares to other organizations you know (For example, compare Hotel X to other companies you've worked for, or companies you know from the news).

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
Employees at Hotel X commonly speak of Hotel X' style or way of doing things.					
Hotel X has made its values known through a creed or values statement and has made a serious attempt to get all employees to follow them.					
Hotel X has been managed according to long-standing policies and practices other than those just of the current Managers.					
At Hotel X, people think positively about cultural differences of coworkers.					
At Hotel X, people understand and accept different cultures.					
At Hotel X, people recommend working with people with different cultural backgrounds.					
Differences in cultural backgrounds are discussed openly at Hotel X.					
At Hotel X people take differences in traditions and habits (like religion, celebrations) into account.					
At Hotel X people see the advantage of differences in cultural backgrounds of fellow employees.					
Belonging to Hotel X is an important part of my identity					
It is important to me that I see myself as an employee of Hotel X.					
It is important to me that others see me as an employee of Hotel X.					
When I talk about Hotel X employees, I usually say "we" rather than "they".					

Think about the FIVE people you feel closest to at Hotel X. If it helps you remember, try writing their names on a piece of paper. Please list each person's department and culture(s), below.

The purpose of this question is to examine how social networks can help Hotel X. It will not be used to identify you or your friends.

	Person A	Person B	Person C	Person D	Person E
Culture(s)					
Does this person work at your site? (yes/no)					
Department. Choose one from the list below.					

A. Front Office
B. Housekeeping
C. Maintenance
D. Food and Beverage

E. Hotel Administration and Finance
F. Hotel Sales and Marketing
G. Central Reservations

H. Corporate Administration and Finance
I. Corporate Sales and Marketing
J. Corporate Leadership

WHEN I'M AT WORK....	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
My cultural orientation is not clear to me. e.g. I'm not sure who I am, culturally.					
In different situations, and with different people, I can change my behavior.					
I sometimes feel uncertain about my cultural orientation.					
Depending on the impression I wish to give people who are culturally different to me, I have the ability to adapt my behavior.					
I tend to show different sides of myself to people from different cultures.					
My cultural orientation is clear to me. e.g. I know who I am, culturally.					
Different cultural situations make me change my behavior according to their requirements.					
My behavior in intercultural interactions often depends on how I feel the people from the other culture wish me to behave.					

In the past four months, WHEN YOU WERE AT WORK,

	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Fairly Often	Very Often
How often have you felt like you were spending too much time helping others understand one of your cultures?					
How often have you felt like explaining different cultures to people is a burden?					
How often has your work suffered because you had to help other people understand a different culture?					

Think about situations when you interacted with people who are culturally different from you. For example, work team that includes people from several cultures, hotel guests or colleagues from different cultures.

WHEN I'M AT WORK....	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
I really enjoy analyzing the reasons or causes for their behavior.					
I am very interested in how my own thinking works when I make judgments about them.					
To understand them, I have found it important to know how their values, attitudes, and beliefs fit together.					
I think a lot about the influence that culture has had on me and on them.					
I am aware of the cultural knowledge that I use.					
I am aware that I need to plan my course of action.					
I select and organize the cultural knowledge that I need to use.					
I ask myself how their behavior fits with what I already know about them.					
I try to understand exactly what I am trying to accomplish.					
I check on the accuracy of what I think I know about them.					
I ask myself how I am feeling.					
I try to understand how my behavior will be perceived.					

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Demographics

Up until you were 15, how many years did you live in ...

	None	Fewer than three years	3-6 years	6-9 years	9-12 years	All 15 years
X country?						
Y country?						
Z country?						
W country?						

How old are you? _____

How many years have you lived in Canada? _____

How many years have you worked for Hotel X? _____

Which location do you work at? (circle one)

- o Edmonton
- o Victoria
- o Vancouver Airport
- o Corporate Office
- o Chilliwack

What is your current department? (circle one)

- o Front office
- o Housekeeping
- o Maintenance
- o Food & Beverage
- o Hotel administration and finance
- o Hotel sales and marketing
- o Central reservations
- o Corporate administration and finance
- o Corporate sales and marketing
- o Corporate leadership

Gender: Male / Female

How many languages do you know well enough to use at work, including English?

1	2	3	4	5
English only	English and one other language	English and two other languages	English and three other languages	English and four or more languages

List your languages. **Include only languages you know well enough that you could work effectively in that language.**

Rate your English language skills

Very Poor	Poor	Moderate	Good	Excellent