

**Identity and Tolerance: How Integrating Multiple Selves Can Be Beneficial for
Interpersonal and Intergroup Relations**

by

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DEDICATION

To my husband, Steve Tompson, for always being there, to my parents, Stuart Pons and Kent Huff, for creating a life that made following my dreams possible, even when that meant moving too far away, and to my other parents, Susan and Steve Tompson, for taking a genuine interest in my work and providing endless support.

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ABSTRACT

We live in a society that experiences increasing levels of diversity in multiple domains, including ethnicities, opinions, and values. As a result, individuals are more likely to encounter others who are different than they are, which can lead to intolerance. Tolerance can be defined as acceptance of others who have different opinions, backgrounds, or values. Previous work has largely focused on societal or contextual interventions targeted at increasing tolerance. The goal of this dissertation is to delve into the relationship among identities *within* individuals and tolerance *between* individuals. Specifically, I test the hypothesis that individuals with higher levels of identity integration—or those who perceive their different social identities as more blended and harmonious—will exhibit greater tolerance towards others holding different values and norms than their own. Chapter II examines this hypothesis using generalized identity integration (GII)—or perceived blendedness and harmony among one’s social identities, in general—as a predictor for increased interpersonal tolerance towards individuals who share contrasting opinions. In these studies, tolerance is measured as positive trait inferences of someone with a contrasting opinion. Chapter III uses a dyadic negotiation paradigm, where tolerance is measured using both positive trait inferences and points gained in the negotiation scenario. Finally, Chapter IV examines how bicultural identity integration (BII)—or perceived blendedness and harmony between one’s cultural identities—predicts intergroup tolerance when tolerance is measured by willingness to engage with outgroup members. In all three chapters, identity integration is measured using self-report scales. Results from Chapter II suggest that higher GII does in fact relate to greater interpersonal tolerance towards individuals with

opposing opinions. In Chapter III, I find a positive relationship between GII and both individual and joint gains. Higher gains may signal greater trust and willingness to take the perspective of their negotiation partner. Finally, results from the studies in Chapter IV demonstrate a positive relationship between bicultural identity integration (BII) and intergroup tolerance, as well as provide evidence for a moderating effect of BII, such that having higher BII relates to more positive intergroup relations even in the presence of negative intergroup attitudes. In this dissertation, I have tested the relationship between identity integration and tolerance in multiple contexts. The results of this dissertation could have far-reaching implications for understanding how the psychological management of different identities can be leveraged to improve both interpersonal and intergroup relations. These studies provide a framework for interventions that aim to increase identity integration within individuals to promote greater tolerance in diverse situations, including more intractable conflicts, such as political orientation or religious beliefs.

CHAPTER I

Introduction

*Our world is changing rapidly. And it is changing in unpredictable ways.
We are growing more connected -- through migration, trade and technology.
Yet in some ways, we are also becoming more apart.
Not only are countries coming into more frequent contact with each other, many countries are themselves becoming more multicultural and diverse.
To many this enrichment is a matter of celebration. Yet to others, it can be confusing and intimidating.*

-Ban Ki-moon, UN Secretary General, May 26, 2010

In the quote above, the former United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-moon highlights the complexities of understanding ourselves and others in an increasingly multicultural world. In the United States alone, 40 million inhabitants are foreign-born (US Census Bureau, 2010). As the Secretary General states, this is an international phenomenon affecting many countries and all individuals. For example, the migrant population in the Middle East has more than doubled from 25 million to 54 million since 2005 (Connor, 2016). Importantly, globalization increases the possibility of contact between people who share different cultural backgrounds, beliefs, and values. Some have argued that this increased contact would lead to decreases in prejudice—or increases in acceptance and tolerance—between individuals in different cultural groups (Allport, 1954); however, research shows that contact effectively increases tolerance only under very specific conditions, including equal status between groups, common goals, cooperation between groups, and support from authorities, customs, or laws (Barlow, Louis, & Hewstone, 2009; Paolini, Hewstone, & Cairns, 2007; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Because these four conditions rarely co-exist naturally, contact in and of itself seldom leads to increased tolerance. In this

dissertation, I will show that how people manage their social and ethnic identities can improve the likelihood of interpersonal and intergroup tolerance.

This is illustrated in recent relationships between the U.S. and Mexico. Despite the proximity between the U.S. and Mexico and frequent contact between Americans and Mexicans, Donald Trump proclaimed that "... you have people coming in and I'm not just saying Mexicans, I'm talking about people that are from all over that are killers and rapists and they're coming into this country" (Moreno, 2015). Trump's remark was widely seen as incendiary because he inferred highly negative traits to individuals in a cultural group. These negative trait inferences were used to justify the creation of permanent distance between the two cultural groups—in this case, to build a wall between U.S. and Mexico. Trump is not alone; as many as 39% of Americans agree that building the wall is an important national agenda (Suls, 2017). Indeed, not only is the link between contact and tolerance tenuous, in some cases contact can actually decrease tolerance. For example, contact that confirms negative stereotypes can have a stronger impact than contact that disconfirms negative stereotypes (Ayers, Hofstetter, Schnakenberg, & Kolody, 2009; Barlow et al., 2009; Cernat, 2010).

In addition to contact between individuals, structural interventions have been used to increase tolerance between diverse groups, such as introducing superordinate goals (Sherif, 1958) and making salient a superordinate identity (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993). Based on early research, this would suggest that in order to improve relations between Americans and Mexicans, it might be helpful to highlight a superordinate identity as North Americans (Gaertner et al., 1993). Recent research has taken the multicultural nature of our society into consideration and highlighted the fact that people are now even more likely to identify with multiple social groups (Crisp & Hewstone, 2007). In other words, individuals are

not only Mexican or only American; in addition to those identities, they could also be Catholic, soccer players, engineers, and jazz musicians. Consequently, it might be easier to find a superordinate identity in common with others if one can draw from their multiple identities. However, extensive research suggests that there are individual differences in how individuals manage their multiple identities (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Linville, 1985; Ramarajan, 2014; Roccas & Brewer, 2002). In this dissertation, I examine whether individual differences in the psychological management of multiple identities—as measured by identity integration (II)—impacts people’s tolerance of individuals and groups whose values and opinions differ from their own. In other words, I am interested in focusing on an individual, not structural factor, to understand how the relationship among identities *within* individuals impacts tolerance *between* individuals.

What is Tolerance?

I do not like the word tolerance, but I could not think of a better one. -Gandhi

Many scholars agree with Gandhi that the word tolerance is problematic (e.g., Brown & Forst, 2014; Creppell, 2013). However, many argue for the importance of tolerance, despite the limitations of its definition.

Tolerance is a very dull virtue. It is boring. Unlike love, it has always had a bad press. It is negative. It merely means putting up with people, being able to stand things. No one has ever written an ode to tolerance or raised a statue to her. Yet this is the quality which will be most needed after the war. This is the sound state of mind which we are looking for. This is the only force which will enable different races and classes and interests to settle down together to the work of reconstruction (Forster, 1951).

As Forster mentions, the conceptualization of tolerance as putting up with someone is problematic for at least two reasons. First, putting up with and having the ability to stand something is intertwined with an asymmetry of power (Brown & Forst, 2014). In other words, whereas groups in power have the opportunity to tolerate others, less powerful groups do not have this option because they do not have the power to restrain the beliefs of others. Second, this definition is not synonymous with acceptance or willingness to see different viewpoints.

Nevertheless, tolerance remains a virtue that is valued by individuals, international institutions, such as UNESCO, and national organizations, such as the Southern Poverty Law Center. UNESCO assembled a taskforce of international scholars to define tolerance because the directors believed that tolerance is essential to a culture of peace in an era of globalization (UNESCO, 1997). Additionally, they made a declaration on the principles of tolerance that arose from a fear of the rise xenophobia, hate, intolerance, and other factors that stand in the way of peace (UNESCO, 1995). In this document, they provide a comprehensive definition of tolerance that is as follows:

Tolerance is respect, acceptance and appreciation of the rich diversity of our world's cultures, our forms of expression and ways of being human. It is fostered by knowledge, openness, communication, and freedom of thought, conscience and belief. Tolerance is harmony in difference (p.9).

This definition of tolerance is consistent with the operationalizations used in this dissertation and captures the importance of going beyond putting up with something or someone, but also accepting and appreciating difference in order to maintain future harmonious relationships (Creppell, 2003).

Other researchers have attempted to develop more comprehensive frameworks to understand tolerance. One valuable framework for tolerance comes from van Leeuwen (2010) who describes types of citizenship that can promote greater tolerance in the presence of intercultural contact. The first type is ‘cosmopolitanism,’ which is not only an openness to diversity, but a sincere love for cultural differences and desire to capitalize on the differences. This type of citizenship is more similar to the unattainable virtue of love that Forster describes. The second type of citizenship is ‘agonistic citizenship’ wherein, “the point is not to get everybody interested in, or in harmony with, everybody, but to find a way of living together that establishes the position of “them” as a legitimate one within a common symbolic space” (p. 636). In this type of citizenship, the focus is on understanding and valuing other perspectives and actively engaging with others, without blindly appreciating or accepting, but focusing on the exchange of ideas. The final type of citizenship that van Leeuwen discusses is termed ‘side-by-side citizenship.’ In his definition, tolerance and indifference are the benchmarks of side-by-side citizenship and they are synonymous concepts. Specifically, cultural differences are not discussed or engaged with and are generally considered not important. Among these three types, agnostic citizenship is the closest to the conceptualization of tolerance that I aim to capture in this dissertation.

Viewing tolerance in the way described above is consistent with others who argue that definitions of tolerance should go a step further to include ways of sustaining positive relationships (Creppell, 2003). In other words, being truly tolerant of someone with a different cultural background or contrasting value/position means that you not only accept them in that moment, but also that you create opportunity for lasting relationships (Creppell, 2003). Another component of Creppell’s argument that is particularly relevant to this dissertation is the

following: “If toleration is about what connects persons to one another in a significant way despite differences and conflict, then toleration must pay attention to who we are” (p. 6). Across three separate papers and five studies, I aim to provide evidence that tolerance can be enhanced through understanding how our different identities interact with one another.

Types of Tolerance

In the current dissertation, I will measure both intergroup and interpersonal tolerance. It is important to measure both concepts because some have argued that they are psychologically distinct (e.g., Kobayashi, 2010). Intergroup tolerance, which focuses on tolerance for individuals from a different group, is similar to, but distinct from interpersonal tolerance, which focuses on tolerance for individuals with a different opinion. Intergroup tolerance is relevant when two *groups* with different values interact with one another. For example, intergroup tolerance, or lack thereof, can be illustrated by Donald Trump’s negative statements about individuals in a cultural outgroup (Mexicans). Interpersonal tolerance occurs when *individuals* with different opinions, values, or preferences interact with one another (Kobayashi, 2010). For example, Roccas and Amit (2011) examined tolerance of others who share the same group membership but different personal values. Specifically, they measured Israeli participants’ tolerance of other Israelis with non-prototypical values (e.g., an Israeli who marries outside her ethnic/religious group, or an Israeli who refuses to serve in the military). Donald Trump also exhibited interpersonal intolerance by making negative trait inferences about individuals with whom he did not see eye-to-eye, despite being members of the same group. For example, he called John McCain—who is in Trump’s in-group with regards to gender, race, nationality and political affiliation—a “loser” for being captured as a prisoner of war in Vietnam, inferring that McCain is dispositionally cowardly and incompetent.

Intergroup tolerance focuses on perceptions of others that are based on their group membership. In this context, intolerance has been defined as low acceptance of, negative stereotypes about, and discrimination against outgroup members (Berry, 2006; Verkuyten, 2010). Intergroup tolerance has been measured as generalized positive feelings towards outgroup members (Kteily, Hodson, & Bruneau, 2016), support of viewpoints endorsed by the outgroup (Brewer & Pierce, 2005; Gries, Crowson, & Cai, 2011), and willingness to interact with outgroup members (Saleem, Dubow, Lee, & Huesmann, 2018). As illustrated by Donald Trump's quote about Mexicans, intergroup tolerance has also been measured using spontaneous dispositional trait inferences people make about others (Greenberg, Simon, Pyszczynski, Solomon, & Chatel, 1992; Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002). In an intergroup context, people tend to make positive trait inferences about in-group members, and negative trait inferences about outgroup members (Gaertner, Mann, Murrell, & Dovidio, 1989; Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000). Outgroup members are seen as less warm, less friendly, less trustworthy, less moral, less intelligent, and even less clean (Byrne, 1961). These different measures of tolerance may capture different or overlapping psychological processes and because the goal of this dissertation is to understand the relationship between identity and tolerance across different levels of tolerance, I have drawn from these multiple perspectives. If consistent relationships between identity and tolerance are found across these various measures, this may inform a more complete model representing individual factors that promote more positive interpersonal and intergroup relations. If the relationship between identity and tolerance differs across multiple measures of tolerance, this will also inform a model, but it may be more difficult to ascertain whether one unifying psychological mechanism explains this relationship.

Research on intergroup tolerance has been used to inform operationalizations of interpersonal tolerance. Roccas and Amit (2011) measured interpersonal tolerance using people's willingness to have social contact with in-group members holding views different from their own; this includes having intermittent social relations, work or business relations, intimate friendships, having them as guests at their home, letting their children play together, and having them as next-door neighbors. Similarly, Haidt, Rosenberg, and Hom (2003) operationalized tolerance as willingness to interact with individuals holding morally divergent attitudes. Along the same vein, interpersonal tolerance has been operationalized as willingness to sit closer to dissimilar others (Skitka, Bauman, & Sargis, 2005). Interpersonal tolerance has also been operationalized as a tendency to favor rather than disadvantage dissimilar others. In a study on moral attitudes, tolerance was operationalized as the number of raffle tickets participants distributed to another person with a divergent moral attitude (Wright, Cullum, & Schwab, 2008). In the examples above, group membership is not made salient, and tolerance is studied within the context of interpersonal differences. Again, these conceptualizations of tolerance in the interpersonal context represent very different manifestations of tolerance; however, by using multiple measures we may be able to better understand both the construct of tolerance—especially as something that goes beyond “putting up with” someone—and its relationship to identity.

Studying interpersonal tolerance can be valuable because groups with divergent values (e.g., pro-life and pro-choice groups) do not frequently have contact with one another, and thus the members of these groups rarely interact (Kobayashi, 2010). In contrast, individuals who differ on values and opinions that are not associated with membership in different groups are more likely to encounter each other, largely because there are no clear group boundaries

separating these individuals. In these contexts, it may be especially important to focus on everyday social interactions that allow for tolerance. In fact, some argue that cultivating interpersonal tolerance—or a norm of accepting differences among people with whom you frequently interact—may lead to more long-term relationships with dissimilar others (Kobayashi, 2010). On the other hand, increasing intergroup tolerance could also improve interpersonal tolerance by weakening the boundaries between groups and improving relations between individuals. If this is the case, the relationship between interpersonal and intergroup tolerance is bidirectional. In other words, increasing one type of tolerance may positively influence the other type of tolerance. As I have I mentioned previously, the goal of this dissertation is to understand how individual differences in identity management may influence different types of tolerance.

Managing Multiple Identities

We all have multiple identities. For example, one person could be a scientist, female, Jewish, and a first-generation college student. The ways in which this individual manages her different selves may differ from others who also have multiple selves. Many constructs exist to capture individual differences in identity management. First, self-complexity focuses on the cognitive structure of multiple aspects of the self (Linville, 1987). Self-aspects can be characteristics, social roles, abilities, physical features, preferences, and specific events or behaviors. Highly complex representations are defined by distinct, non-overlapping self-aspects, whereas greater overlap would be representative of lower self-complexity (Linville, 1987). For example, if the woman described above perceives greater overlap in her traits as a scientist and female, she would be lower in self-complexity. Alternatively, if she perceives less overlap in the traits that are most relevant to her identities as a scientist and female, she would be higher in self-complexity. According to self-complexity theory, less overlap between selves buffers against

stress and self-threat (Linville, 1987; Linville, 1985; Rafaeli-Mor & Steinberg, 2002). From the example above, if this woman keeps her female and scientist identities separate, she may be buffered against stressors that target either one of these identities. Early work on self-complexity operationalized it by first having people define different self-aspects (e.g., roles, behaviors, preferences) and then sorting predefined traits into these different self-aspects. High self-complexity would be defined by little overlap between these traits across self-aspects, whereas low self-complexity would be defined by greater overlap between traits. Within self-complexity theory, the primary focus is on maintenance of positive self-worth and this theory does not make strong predictions about other-focused outcomes, such as interpersonal tolerance. To my knowledge, self-complexity has only been studied in relation to self-focused outcomes, so I have little reason to believe that it would be related to tolerance.

Second, the Multiple SELF-Aspects Framework (McConnell, 2011) investigates how multiple, context-dependent self-aspects come together to form the self-concept. In this theory, context is central to the understanding of which self-aspects will be activated, and how they will be organized. Similar to self-complexity, the outcomes measured tend to focus on how the individual understands the self, and apart from how they incorporate others into their self-concept; it cannot speak to outcomes related to interpersonal or intergroup relations.

Third, the Social Identity Complexity (SIC) theory addresses subjective representation of social groups to which an individual simultaneously belongs (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). SIC has been linked to intergroup tolerance, such that individuals with high SIC—or individuals who see themselves as being represented by many rather than few groups—tend to be more tolerant of others with opposing viewpoints (Brewer & Pierce, 2005; Miller et al., 2009; Roccas & Brewer, 2002; Roccas & Amit, 2011; Schmid et al., 2009). Additionally, experimental manipulations of

SIC—by asking individuals to conceptualize their identities in more or less complex ways—directly affects interpersonal tolerance (Gresky, Eyck, Lord, & McIntyre, 2005). This literature suggests that individuals who are more capable of detecting similarities and common ground between distinct groups hold more positive perceptions of dissimilar others. As such, SIC might be related to the measures of interpersonal and intergroup tolerance; however, this construct only addresses membership in groups and not the affective experience of having multiple memberships (e.g., feelings of conflict between selves) or an individual’s sense of identity as a member of these groups (Syed & McLean, 2016). Therefore, in the current studies, I will measure identity management using a construct that captures both overlap between selves and the affective experience of managing these different selves, namely identity integration (or II). By using the construct of II, I can address two gaps from this previous research: (1) the relationship between identity management and both interpersonal and intergroup tolerance, and (2) whether the more affective components of identity management are also predictive of interpersonal tolerance.

Identity Integration

Identity Integration (II) is defined as people’s perceptions of compatibility versus conflict between their multiple social identities (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002). The earliest conceptualizations of II measured bicultural II (BII) which captures both the *blendedness*—or lack of distance—and *harmony*—or lack of conflict—between two cultural identities (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). An individual who is high in blendedness would be more likely to agree with the statement, “I feel part of a combined culture” (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Blendedness is representative of overlap between identities and has been described as the more cognitive or perceptual component of BII (Miramontez, Benet-Martínez, & Nguyen, 2008).

Having higher blendedness is related to greater cultural and linguistic competence, higher creativity, and trait openness (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Cheng, Sanchez-Burks, & Lee, 2008). An individual high in harmony would be less likely to agree with the statement, “I am conflicted with the American and Chinese way of doing things” (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Harmony has been described as the more affective factor, measuring feelings of tension or conflict (Cheng, Lee, Benet-Martínez, & Huynh, 2014; Miramontez et al., 2008). Antecedents of lower harmony include experiences of discrimination and trait neuroticism; and an outcome related to harmony is social anxiety (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Lee & Church, 2017). These two facets of identity integration are distinct constructs that relate to different parts of the bicultural experience; however, the two facets are often moderately correlated up to about 0.40 (Cheng, et al., 2014). In other words, biculturals can be high on one facet and low on the other, high on both, or low on both. When individuals have higher levels of II, they are more likely to see their identities as overlapping and integrated. They think of the conflicting demands associated with their identities as different but compatible. They also believe that possessing multiple social identities affords them an advantage in life. In contrast, when individuals have lower levels of II, they are more likely to perceive their identities as incompatible and disassociated from one another (Brannen & Lee, 2014; Cheng, Benet-Martínez, & Lee, 2014; Huynh, Nguyen, & Benet-Martínez, 2011). They feel that conflicting identities cannot coexist, and that they can only exhibit one such identity at a time (Huynh et al., 2011).

II self-report scales vary in terms of whether they characterize a person’s perception of compatibility between (1) *specific* social identities or (2) their social identities in general. For example, with regard to the former, Bicultural II (BII) measures an Asian-American person’s perception of compatibility between their Asian and American cultural identities (Benet-

Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Cheng, Sanchez-Burks, & Lee, 2008); multiracial II (MII) measures how multiracial individuals navigate their different racial identities (Cheng & Lee, 2009); and Gender-Professional II (GP-II) measures compatibility between gender and work identities (Cheng et al., 2008; Sacharin, Lee, & Gonzalez, 2009). With regard to the latter, Generalized II (GII) measures a person's perception of compatibility versus conflict between *all* their multiple identities, without reference to any specific identity groups (Hanek, Arieli, Huff, & Lee, under review). I will measure both bicultural and generalized II in this dissertation to understand how individuals manage multiple identities in an increasingly diverse world. Whereas bicultural II is useful for understanding tolerance among bicultural individuals, generalized II allows us to extend this research to monocultural individuals who are undoubtedly affected by globalization, though they may not necessarily possess multiple cultural identities themselves.

Identity Integration and Tolerance

High II has been linked to positive outcomes that may relate to tolerance in numerous contexts. First, those with high II engage in more fluid “cultural frame switching”, which involves assimilating to different cultural contexts (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000). For example, Asian-Americans with high II switch more flexibly between Western and Eastern styles of attribution, respectively, when they are primed with American and Asian cues (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002). This ability to switch flexibly might also be linked to greater tolerance because the process underlying frame switching may also allow them to more flexibly understand the mindset of others with different opinions or values.

Second, high II individuals are more likely to co-activate competing identity schemas during creativity tasks than to suppress one identity schema in favor of another (Cheng et al., 2008). As I will discuss later, this may be particularly relevant in Chapter III, where tolerance

will be measured by willingness to share information and create joint gains. To create joint gains, participants need to incorporate information from both sides of the negotiation, they also need to exhibit enough tolerance towards their negotiation counterpart to understand their perspective. In the type of negotiation scenario used in this dissertation, the best way to achieve higher joint gains is to work with your negotiation partner to find mutually beneficial outcomes.

Third, high II individuals participate in larger, more interconnected, and more diverse social networks (Mok, Morris, Benet-Martinez, & Karakitapoglu-Aygun, 2007). A recent survey of Muslim-American youth found that those with high II are more likely to approach and less likely to avoid and confront individuals who do not share their cultural values and practices (usually Anglo-Americans; Saleem et al., 2018). In other words, those with higher II are more likely to be socially connected to members of multiple groups to which they belong, even if these groups have conflicting values. Again, this research supports the idea that identity integration may encourage tolerance of dissimilar others. These findings inform my hypothesis about the relationship between II and intergroup tolerance in Chapter IV, where tolerance is measured by willingness to interact with outgroup members. Fourth, high II individuals exhibit greater motivation to achieve in settings where they are under-represented (Darling, Molina, Sanders, Lee, & Zhao, 2008). This finding may also relate to tolerance in Chapter IV, where participants are members of minority groups and asked about intentions to interact with dominant group members. I build upon these previous findings by working with a broader sample of biculturals and incorporating experimental methods.

As previously mentioned, one of the advantages of II over some of these other constructs of multiple identity management is that two separate constructs can be measured: blendedness and harmony. Though I will test the independent effect of both factors, it is possible that the

blendedness construct will be more predictive of tolerance than harmony. This supposition is primarily predicated on the fact that the blendedness component of II is most similar to SIC, which has been linked to intergroup tolerance in previous research (Roccas & Amit, 2011). However, because harmony has not been independently measured in relation to interpersonal or intergroup tolerance, it may be the case that both blendedness and harmony are related to tolerance. Of the studies described above, only the Cheng et al. (2008) study used the blendedness items separately, instead of combining all items for a unidimensional II score that includes blendedness and harmony. In this study, co-activation of discrepant knowledge systems was predicted by the blendedness component of II. Intergroup tolerance, or positive perceptions of outgroup members, is associated with psychological processes similar to the blendedness component of II, including incorporating culturally-discrepant identities into the self, seeing connections between contrasting social identities, and being able to simultaneously identify with multiple identities (Amiot, de la Sablonnière, Terry, & Smith, 2007). Other related work on intergroup relations has demonstrated a link between bicultural II and greater diversity of social networks using a combined scale including both blendedness and harmony (Mok et al., 2007). Therefore, it is difficult to conclude whether the effects were only based on blendedness, or also influenced by harmony. Hence, a key contribution of the current dissertation will be to measure the independent effects of the blendedness and harmony subscales in relation to tolerance. I propose that interpersonal and intergroup tolerance may be related to both blendedness and harmony, while also arguing for the importance of testing the components separately.

Summary

In this work, I hope to provide substantive evidence that perceptions of integration between one's own identities will be linked to interpersonal and intergroup tolerance. The goal

of these studies is to understand the relationship between identity integration (II) and tolerance across different measures of interpersonal and intergroup tolerance. The studies in Chapter II examine how individual differences in identity integration lead to interpersonal tolerance. In Chapter III, I examine a behavioral outcome of tolerance, by looking at how identity integration affects negotiation outcomes. Finally, the studies in Chapter IV extend beyond interpersonal tolerance to examine whether identity integration can also foster intergroup tolerance.

CHAPTER II

Identity Integration and Interpersonal Tolerance

Across two studies¹, I investigate the link between identity integration (II) and interpersonal tolerance using trait inferences of someone who holds a different opinion. I measure interpersonal tolerance as positive trait inferences of others with dissimilar values or opinions—or the extent people perceive another person as likable, resourceful, competent, or warm even though they do not share their views (Byrnes & Kiger, 1988; Crandall, 1991; Roccas & Amit, 2011). It is important to note that here tolerance is not necessarily reflected in positive perceptions about others' *positions*; rather, tolerance is reflected in positive perceptions about others' *dispositions*, even though they hold positions or values that differ from one's own (Halevy, Sagiv, Roccas, & Bornstein, 2006; Roccas & Amit, 2011; Skitka et al., 2005). As I discussed in Chapter I, individuals with more integrated identities should exhibit more interpersonal tolerance because of an ability to detect similarities and find common ground with others with contrasting opinions (Brewer & Pierce, 2005; Miller et al., 2009; Roccas & Brewer, 2002; Roccas & Amit, 2011; Schmid et al., 2009). The goal of Study 1 is to determine whether the relationship between identity integration and tolerance exists in the current context. In Study 2, I aim to test the causal relationship between II and tolerance using an experimental manipulation of II. While II clearly varies across individuals, it also varies within individuals (Cheng et al., 2014; Mok & Morris, 2012). In previous work, recalling positive and negative

¹ This chapter has been adapted from a previous publication (Huff, Lee, & Hong, 2017).

experiences with managing multiple social identities, respectively, episodically cues high and low II immediately afterward (Cheng & Lee, 2013; Cheng & Lee, 2009). I expect that this same manipulation will be successful in increasing interpersonal tolerance, by first increasing II.

Hypothesis 1: Individuals who show higher levels of blendedness and harmony will also make more positive trait inferences of people who endorse opposing positions from their own.

Hypothesis 2: There will be a direct, causal relationship between II and positive trait inferences, such that increasing II will lead to higher levels of tolerance.

Study 1

Study 1 examines generalized II (GII) or perceived II between social identities generally, without specifying the exact type of identity group (Brannen & Lee, 2014). As I explain in more detail below, GII allows participants to define, for themselves, which of their social identities they consider as self-relevant. In this study, I predict that GII will be positively related to interpersonal tolerance (Hypothesis 1).

Method

Participants

Participants were recruited from Introductory Psychology and Marketing courses at a large Midwestern University in the U.S. A total of 124 participants (74 females, 50 males; $M_{age} = 18.91$, $SD = 1.097$) were recruited. These studies were conducted in 2012 and 2013 and no power analyses were conducted before data collection (Kung et al., 2018). I aimed to get as many

participants as possible considering class size and eligibility requirements. All participants were born in U.S., and had never lived outside of the U.S. The sample was comprised of 58.9% Caucasians, 25.8% East Asians, 3.2% African Americans, 1.6% Middle Easterners, .8% Latino/as, and the remaining participants either selected more than one ethnic group or did not respond. Participants were given partial course credit upon completion of the study.

Procedure

The procedure used a typical paradigm for examining tolerance (Brewer & Pierce, 2005; Miller et al., 2009; Schmid et al., 2009). Participants were brought into a lab individually and read a vignette about a student whose friend became ill during exam period. The protagonist was torn between two options: staying at school for an important exam review session or taking the sick friend to the hospital (see Appendix A for the full vignette). Participants were asked to imagine themselves as the protagonist, and then choose one of these two options. Participants were then told that they would meet another participant, and that he/she had chosen the other, opposite option. Importantly, I had conversations with a subset of participants after the study and they did talk about how this was a difficult decision where they did feel quite a bit of conflict.

Measures

Before the meeting, participants completed several scales (see below for more detail). Upon completion of the scales, the experimenter told the participant that she/he would not actually be interacting with another person. Participants were then debriefed. No participant demonstrated concern about the deception. The study was approved by the Institutional Review Board.

Measures

Generalized identity integration. This scale measures how individuals generally manage their different identities or groups to which they belong (Hanek et al., under review). The literature on II has shown that items from the original BII scale can be reliably modified to include many different types of social identities by changing the wording within specific items, and this same approach was taken to generate the GII scale (Cheng et al., 2014). Participants were first asked to think about social groups to which they belong that are important to how they define themselves. With these groups in mind, participants filled out a 10-item GII scale using a Likert-type scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Sample items include: “I feel comfortable having many selves,” and “I am best described by a blend of all my different selves.” See Table 1 for all items (Hanek et al., under review).

Tolerance. As mentioned, participants were led to believe that they would meet another person who chose the alternative option that they had chosen. Before the meeting, participants were asked to rate this individual along 14 dimensions on a bipolar scale: accepting, inattentive, loyal, anxious, moral, unsupportive, selfish, careless, reliable, likable, unintelligent, positive, not loving, and professional. This method is commonly used in previous research to measure people’s evaluations of the trait characteristics of others (see Ambady & Rosenthal, 1992; Lee & Hallahan, 2001). After reverse scoring negative traits, the ratings were averaged to form a single composite, where higher ratings indicated more positive trait inferences or higher levels of tolerance (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .871$).

Control variables. The following measures were included as control variables. Due to time constraints in the study, I was not able to include all potential control variables, and therefore chose a few of the most promising based on previous literature. These variables were included as controls because they have been linked to both interpersonal tolerance and identity

integration in previous research. I will describe these relationships in the descriptions of each of the measures below.

Need for cognitive closure. Need for cognitive closure is an individual difference variable that measures desire for consistency and certainty (Roets & Van Hiel, 2011). Need for cognitive closure lowers individuals' ability to integrate conflicting and discrepant ideas, and may be related to both II and tolerance (Webster & Kruglanski, 1994). Additionally, multicultural exposure can reduce need for cognitive closure, which can in turn lead to higher tolerance (Tadmor, Hong, Chao, Wiruchnipawan, & Wang, 2012). Need for cognitive closure was measured using a 15-item scale. Items include: "I don't like situations that are uncertain" and "When I have made a decision, I feel relieved" (for all items see Roets & Van Hiel, 2011). Each item was rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). The 15 items were averaged to form a composite score measuring need for cognitive closure (Cronbach's $\alpha = .845$).

Big-five inventory-10 (BFI-10). The BFI-10 measures the Big 5 personality dimensions of openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness, and neuroticism (Rammstedt & John, 2007). II has been shown to be positively related to openness and negatively related to neuroticism (Cheng et al., 2014). Tolerance is also related to openness, agreeableness, and extraversion (Roccas, Sagiv, Schwartz, & Knafo, 2002). The 11-item version of this scale includes three items to measure agreeableness and two items to measure each of the remaining dimensions. Agreeableness has been shown to correlate with tolerance and including an additional item for agreeableness is recommended when this dimension is especially relevant. Participants rated the items in the BFI-10 on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) (for all items see Rammstedt & John, 2007).

Results

Preliminary Considerations

Although the BII scale has been extensively studied, the GII scale is newer and its psychometrics properties are less well understood. Thus, I first examined whether items in the GII scale can be meaningfully grouped into blendedness and harmony subscales. I used a step-by-step principal components analysis procedure to examine the factor loadings of the 10 items on a single factor. Table 1 shows the factor loadings. Three items had factor loadings with absolute values that were .4 or lower, and they were excluded in the subsequent analysis. The remaining items map well with the theoretically validated subcomponents of blendedness and harmony. The items with positive factor loadings measure blendedness and include: “My different selves blend together seamlessly,” “I can be described by all my different selves,” “I feel comfortable having many selves,” and “I am best described by a blend of all my different selves.” Ratings on these items were averaged to form a blendedness subscale (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .739$). The items with negative factor loadings measure harmony and include: “I am often conflicted between my different selves” (R), “I am often torn between my different selves” (R), and “Having different selves creates tension” (R). Ratings on these items were averaged to form a harmony subscale (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .826$).

Hypothesis Testing

Table 2 lists intercorrelations between the blendedness subscale of GII, the harmony subscale of GII, tolerance, and the control variables. As Table 2 shows, blendedness and harmony were positively correlated. Consistent with my hypotheses, tolerance was positively correlated with blendedness, but not correlated with harmony or any of the control variables.

I first conducted a multiple regression, where tolerance was regressed on the control variables, blendedness, and harmony. The regression shows that the blendedness subscale significantly predicted tolerance, but there was no significant relationship with harmony. Next, I conducted a hierarchical multiple regression. Hierarchical regression was conducted so that I could test the independent effect of each BII subscale, while controlling for the other variables. By looking at the change in R^2 , I can determine whether each subscale significantly explains more variance in the outcome variable, above and beyond the other variables. I would not be able to measure change in R^2 using a standard multiple linear regression. The results are shown in Table 3. The first model included the control variables. The harmony subscale was entered in the second model, and the blendedness subscale was entered in the third model. There was a significant increase in R^2 in the third model only, $F_{change}(1, 115) = 4.674, p = .033$. The blendedness subscale significantly predicted tolerance, $B_{standardized} = .244, t = 2.162, p = .033$. With the exception of neuroticism, no other variable significantly predicted tolerance in any of the three models. The full model explained 6.9% of the variance. A similar hierarchical multiple regression was conducted where the control variables were entered in model 1, blendedness entered in model 2, and harmony entered in model 3. The results remain the same, such that only blendedness predicted tolerance in model 2, $B_{standardized} = .154, t = 2.085, p = .039$. In this analysis, only the second model had a significant increase in R^2 , $F_{change}(1, 116) = 4.349, p = .039$.

Discussion

Study 1 supports my first hypothesis that II is positively related to interpersonal tolerance. Interestingly, this effect is only present for the blendedness component of II, even when holding constant harmony and control variables. As I mentioned in the first chapter,

previous research points to the potential for a slight advantage of blendedness in predicting interpersonal tolerance. Specifically, blendedness has been linked to more cognitive or behavioral outcomes, such as linguistic and cultural competence, creativity, openness, and ability to see different viewpoints (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Cheng, Benet-Martínez, et al., 2014; Miramontez et al., 2008). Though these are not exactly the same as tolerance, they may be more similar psychologically to outcomes specifically related to harmony, such as neuroticism and anxiety (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005).

Although Study 1 found the predicted relationship between II and tolerance, these data are correlational. While I suggested that higher II leads to higher tolerance, it is also feasible that tolerance for others engenders more interactions with people who hold different perspectives than one's own, which in turn leads to higher levels of integration between identities. Or, a third variable—such as living in highly diverse settings—may lead to higher levels of tolerance for others, as well as perceptions of one's identities as integrated and blended (Woodward, Skrbis, & Bean, 2008). For example, we know from previous work that bicultural individuals with higher II have more diverse social networks (Mok et al., 2007) and the findings from this study may support an argument that these people have more diverse social networks because they are more tolerant of other viewpoints. Alternatively, it could be the case that people with higher II are more tolerant because they are exposed to more diverse beliefs and values. Nonetheless, having more diverse networks may improve both II and tolerance. Observing this third variable of network structure is outside of the scope of the current research; however, I will investigate the causal relationship between II and tolerance in the next study.

Study 2

Study 2 was conducted to examine the third proposition mentioned above, namely whether people with higher II are more tolerant. In other words, I used an experimental design to test the directionality in the relationship between II and tolerance by experimentally manipulating II. Previously, II has been predominantly considered a stable individual difference variable, but recent research has shown that II can be experimentally manipulated as well. For example, Cheng and Lee (2013) asked people to recall positive or negative experiences with having multiple social identities, and found that II increased when they recalled positive experiences, and decreased when they recalled negative experiences. In the current research, I experimentally manipulated both components of II by asking people to conceptualize their identities as either high or low blendedness, and high or low harmony (see Methods section below for details). I expect individuals who conceptualize themselves as high in blendedness and high in harmony to exhibit higher levels of tolerance than individuals who conceptualize themselves as low in blendedness and low in harmony. Given that II typically comprises of both blendedness and harmony, I expect participants in the “mixed” conditions—high blendedness and low harmony, or low blendedness and high harmony—to exhibit an intermediate level of tolerance. However, based on the previous study showing that blendedness is a stronger predictor of tolerance than harmony, I expect those in the high blendedness conditions to exhibit higher interpersonal tolerance than those in the low blendedness conditions. In short, I expect to find a linear relationship between II and tolerance, where tolerance is highest in the high blendedness/high harmony condition, followed by high blendedness/low harmony, low blendedness/high harmony, and lowest in the low blendedness/low harmony condition.

Method

I conducted a between-subjects experiment where participants were randomly assigned into one of the following conditions: high blendedness/high harmony, mixed (high blendedness/low harmony or low blendedness/high harmony), and low blendedness/low harmony.

Participants

One hundred five undergraduate students ($M_{age} = 18.86$, $SD = 1.020$; 53 females, 50 males, 2 did not report gender) were recruited from an Introductory Psychology course at a large Midwestern University in the U.S. Like Study 1, power analyses were not conducted, but we aimed to recruit as many participants as possible within the sample size restrictions from the subject pool. The ethnicity of the participants was as follows: 62.9% Caucasian, 15.2% East Asian, 8.6% African American, 6.7% South Asian, and 3.8% Latino/a. Participants were given partial course credit upon completion of the study.

Procedure

Participants were asked to draw a “self-map”, which consisted of circles representing their different social identities, and complete a chart depicting whether the identities from the self-map are positively or negatively related to one another. In the instructions, participants were randomly presented with one of four examples representing the four conditions. Blendedness was manipulated by showing an example of a self-map with either overlapping or non-overlapping circles (representing high versus low blendedness, respectively). Harmony was manipulated by showing an example of a chart which either depicted all positive relationships between identities or all negative relationships between identities (representing high versus low harmony, respectively). See Appendix B for experimental manipulation materials.

After seeing the examples, participants were asked to create their own self-map using circles and charting whether the identities from the map were positively (+) or negatively (-) related to one another.² Next, participants read the same vignette as Study 1, and selected whether to study for an exam or take the friend to the hospital. Tolerance was operationalized in the same way as Study 1 (Cronbach's $\alpha = .869$). They also completed scales measuring need for cognitive closure, BFI-10, GII, and demographic variables.

Results

I first conducted a one-way analysis of variance with tolerance as the dependent variable, and the four levels of II as the independent variable—high blendedness/high harmony ($n = 27$), high blendedness/low harmony ($n = 28$), low blendedness/high harmony ($n = 26$), and low blendedness/low harmony ($n = 24$). The ANOVA was marginally significant, $F(3, 101) = 2.339$, $p = .078$, $partial\ eta^2 = .063$. To test the hypothesized linear relationship between II and tolerance, I conducted a linear contrast with the following contrast weights: low blendedness/low harmony condition (-3), low blendedness/high harmony condition (-1), high blendedness/low harmony (1), and high blendedness/high harmony (3). There was a significant linear effect, $F(1, 101) = 4.019$, $p = .048$, $partial\ eta^2 = .038$ (See Figure 1). Simple contrasts showed a significant difference between the high blendedness/high harmony and low blendedness/low harmony conditions ($p = .026$) and no other significant differences between conditions ($p > .250$).

Next, I conducted a one-way ANCOVA with the II manipulation as the independent variable and tolerance as the dependent variable, while adding NFC, BFI-10, self-reported GII blendedness, and self-reported GII harmony as covariates, to be consistent with Study 1.

² As a manipulation check, I conducted one-way ANOVAs with each of the GII subscales as the dependent variable, and the four levels of II as the independent variable—high blendedness/high harmony, high blendedness/low harmony, low blendedness/high harmony, and low blendedness/low harmony. The ANOVAs and post-hoc pairwise comparisons were not significant, suggesting that the GII prime did not influence self-reported GII.

Consistent with Study 1, higher levels of self-reported GII blendedness was related to higher tolerance across all four conditions, $F(1, 93) = 4.166, p = .044, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .043$. The same effect was not evident for self-reported GII harmony. The main effect of condition remained marginally significant, $F(3, 93) = 2.229, p = .090, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .067$. The predicted linear relationship was significant, $F(1, 93) = 4.616, p = .034, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .047$.

Discussion

Study 2 provides evidence that a manipulation targeting II influences interpersonal tolerance, such that higher blendedness and higher harmony led to higher levels of tolerance. These results suggest that blendedness and harmony have an additive effect on tolerance, such that high levels of both produced the highest level of tolerance, whereas being high on one or the other, but not both, produced an intermediate level of tolerance. As far as I know, this is the first study to simultaneously manipulate blendedness and harmony as separate variables. These results also provide a novel method for manipulating II. Specifically, asking people to create self-maps of their social identities—with examples of overlapping circles representing blendedness, and examples of positive relationships between the identities representing harmony—may alter people's perceptions of compatibility between their own social identities.

Study 2 also raised some questions. Because both blendedness and harmony were manipulated, I was not able to test whether manipulating blendedness or harmony alone can increase tolerance. Further, although Study 1 found that blendedness was more strongly predictive of tolerance than harmony, I did not see a significant difference in tolerance between the mixed (i.e., high blendedness/low harmony and high harmony/low blendedness) conditions in Study 2. This finding suggests that being high on both blendedness and harmony may be best for encouraging higher interpersonal tolerance, but also warrants future research including measures

of both blendedness and harmony. An important finding from the current study was that the manipulations did not affect self-reported II. Though these manipulations were based on previous work, this was the first research to use these manipulations in conjunction with *generalized* identity integration. Because there were no differences in self-reported II across conditions, we cannot be sure whether the manipulation influenced II or some other factor related to II. Moreover, because self-reported II did not differ depending on experimental condition, I cannot determine whether blendedness, harmony, or both were successfully manipulated. There was a discrepancy in the findings related to the specific subscales across the two studies that may be partially explained by this unsuccessful manipulation. Whereas, the findings from Study 1 suggest that only blendedness predicts interpersonal tolerance, the findings from Study 2 suggest that both blendedness and harmony are related to interpersonal tolerance—assuming that the manipulation did in fact influence harmony and blendedness. Alternatively, the experimental manipulation may have targeted both blendedness and harmony, or only blendedness. Future research is needed to refine the manipulation of generalized identity integration and to further understand whether a causal relationship exists between II and tolerance.

General Discussion

Interacting with others with different values and opinions can be a highly negative experience (Moscovici & Zavalloni, 1969; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Tyler & Blader, 2003). For instance, such interactions are associated with experiences of rejection, discrimination, anxiety, and self-threat (Doerr, Plant, Kunstman, & Buck, 2011; Jasinskaja-Lahti, Mähönen, & Ketokivi, 2012; Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, & Pietrzak, 2002). This creates a host of negative attitudes towards dissimilar others, including distrust, rejection, and avoidance (e.g.,

Mähönen, Jasinskaja-Lahti, & Ketokivi, 2014; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002; Shelton & Richeson, 2005; Tropp, 2003). To the extent that interpersonal tolerance facilitates positive inferences about dissimilar others, it can attenuate these negative experiences and attitudes.

In this chapter, I find that identity integration (or perceived blendedness and harmony between one's multiple social identities) is linked to interpersonal tolerance (or positive trait inferences of others whose opinions are different from one's own). Study 1 found that perceptions of blendedness were positively related to tolerance. Study 2, an experiment, found that increasing perceptions of blendedness and harmony between one's identities increased tolerance.

These findings dovetail nicely with previous research showing that II may be related to flexible thinking that enables more openness to and acceptance of alternative perspectives (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Past studies have shown that those with higher II are better able to simultaneously activate discrepant knowledge sets and have more overlapping network connections across groups that endorse different cultural perspectives (Cheng et al., 2008; Mok et al., 2007). These findings are also consistent with previous findings that greater perceived overlap between identities leads to greater tolerance (Brewer & Pierce, 2005; Miller et al., 2009; Roccas & Brewer, 2002; Sonia Roccas & Amit, 2011; Schmid et al., 2009).

In addition, these findings extend previous research in several ways. By treating the II subcomponents of blendedness and harmony as separate variables, we could shed light on how blendedness and harmony impact psychological processes in different ways, as well as how each of these processes facilitate the other (Amiot et al., 2007). For instance, research on the relationship between II and creativity has shown that blendedness, rather than harmony, predicts accessibility of multiple knowledge systems (Cheng et al., 2008). However, studies on II and

ingroup favoritism found the opposite, showing that harmony predicts ingroup favoritism, but not blendedness (Cheng, Hanek, Odom, & Lee, in prep). This further bolsters the argument for studying both factors. In relation to the current work, Study 1 found that blendedness is a stronger predictor of tolerance than harmony, though Study 2 found that blendedness and harmony have additive effects on tolerance. Together, these studies show that even though blendedness is more strongly related to tolerance, harmony can nevertheless boost tolerance when blendedness is already high. Additionally, the relationship between each of the subscales and the Big-Five factors provide further support for psychological distinction in the different facets of II. Across both studies, only blendedness was positively associated with both agreeableness and conscientiousness. Interestingly, conscientiousness and agreeableness were not related to tolerance in either of these two studies. Taken together, these findings suggest that while related to agreeableness and conscientiousness—two traits that may predict tolerance—the impact of blendedness on tolerance is unique to the characteristics of this construct, despite sharing psychological qualities with agreeableness and conscientiousness. Both blendedness and harmony were negatively associated with neuroticism. No other relationships were observed with Big-Five factors and neither facet was associated with need for cognitive closure. More broadly, these findings lend support to previous research showing that blendedness and harmony are distinct psychological processes that often relate to different outcomes.

In this chapter, I operationalized interpersonal tolerance as positive trait inferences people make of individuals holding an opinion different from their own. Interpersonal intolerance has similarities with intergroup intolerance (which focuses on tolerance for individuals from a different group), but these are distinct concepts. Intergroup intolerance is relevant when two *groups* with different values interact with one another, while interpersonal intolerance occur

when *individuals* with different opinions, values, or preferences interact with one another. Studying interpersonal tolerance may be more globally applicable than studying intergroup tolerance because not all societies have the same prevalence of social divides along categories such as race and ideology (Kobayashi, 2010). In these contexts, it may be especially important to focus on everyday social interactions that allow for tolerance. Some argue that cultivating interpersonal tolerance—or a norm of accepting differences among people with whom you frequently interact—may actually lead to more long-term relationships with dissimilar others (Kobayashi, 2010). These long-term relationships can in turn cultivate greater intergroup tolerance. That being said, extending these findings to intergroup contexts could be informative and I will do this in Chapter IV.

These studies suggest several lines of future research. It will be valuable to test whether these findings extend beyond implicit measures of interpersonal tolerance (i.e., trait inferences) to other more explicit measures of interpersonal tolerance, such as the extent to which individuals proactively interact with, cooperate with, or give resources to others (e.g., Wright et al., 2008). Future research should also test how tolerance, in the form of positive trait inferences, may mediate the relationship between II and specific stereotyping processes (such as categorization versus individuation, levels of processing, or self-regulation) (Crisp & Turner, 2009). I aim to extend these findings to two additional contexts in the following chapters of this dissertation.

Table 2.1. *Factor analysis for the GII scale for Study 1.*

My different selves blend together seamlessly	0.804
I am often conflicted between my different selves	-0.756
I feel comfortable having many selves	0.739
I am often torn between my different selves	-0.734
Having different selves creates tension	-0.660
I can be described by all my different selves	0.534
I am best described by a blend of all my different selves	0.456
I keep my different selves separate	-0.403
My different selves give me an edge in life	0.277
In any given situation, I only have one dominant self	-0.204

Table 2.2. *Intercorrelations between key variables for Study 1.*

	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Need for Cognitive Closure	3.928	0.676								
2. Extraversion	3.226	0.920	-0.205*							
3. Agreeableness	3.855	0.694	-0.302**	0.192*						
4. Conscientiousness	3.621	0.766	-0.035	0.056	0.329**					
5. Neuroticism	3.036	0.920	0.249**	-0.091	-0.238**	-0.127				
6. Openness	3.302	0.947	0.005	0.173	0.038	0.086	0.186*			
7. GII: Harmony	4.562	1.384	-0.102	-0.047	0.023	0.010	-0.338**	-0.124		
8. GII: Blendedness	5.238	0.958	-0.064	-0.083	0.259**	0.267**	-0.360**	0.003	0.465**	
9. Tolerance	3.224	0.697	-0.092	-0.060	0.076	0.034	-0.008	-0.109	0.036	0.184*

Note. ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$

Table 2.3. Hierarchical linear regression predicting tolerance for Study 1.

Predictor	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	B (se)	B (se)	B (se)
Intercept	3.590** (0.722)	3.483** (0.814)	3.020** (0.830)
Need for Cognitive Closure	-0.100 (0.102)	-0.098 (0.102)	-0.114 (0.101)
Extraversion	-0.054 (0.072)	-0.052 (0.073)	-0.028 (0.073)
Agreeableness	0.068 (0.104)	0.070 (0.104)	0.024 (0.105)
Conscientiousness	0.025 (0.089)	0.026 (0.089)	-0.014 (0.089)
Neuroticism	0.038 (0.074)	0.045 (0.079)	0.082 (0.143)
Openness	-0.080 (0.070)	-0.080 (0.070)	-0.097 (0.070)
GII: Harmony		0.014 (0.049)	-0.035 (0.054)
GII: Blendedness			0.177* (0.082)
<i>Model Fit Statistics</i>			
R ²	0.031	0.032	0.069
F Change (df1, df2)	0.622 (6, 117)	0.082 (1, 116)	4.674* (1, 115)

Note. ** $p < .001$ * $p < .05$

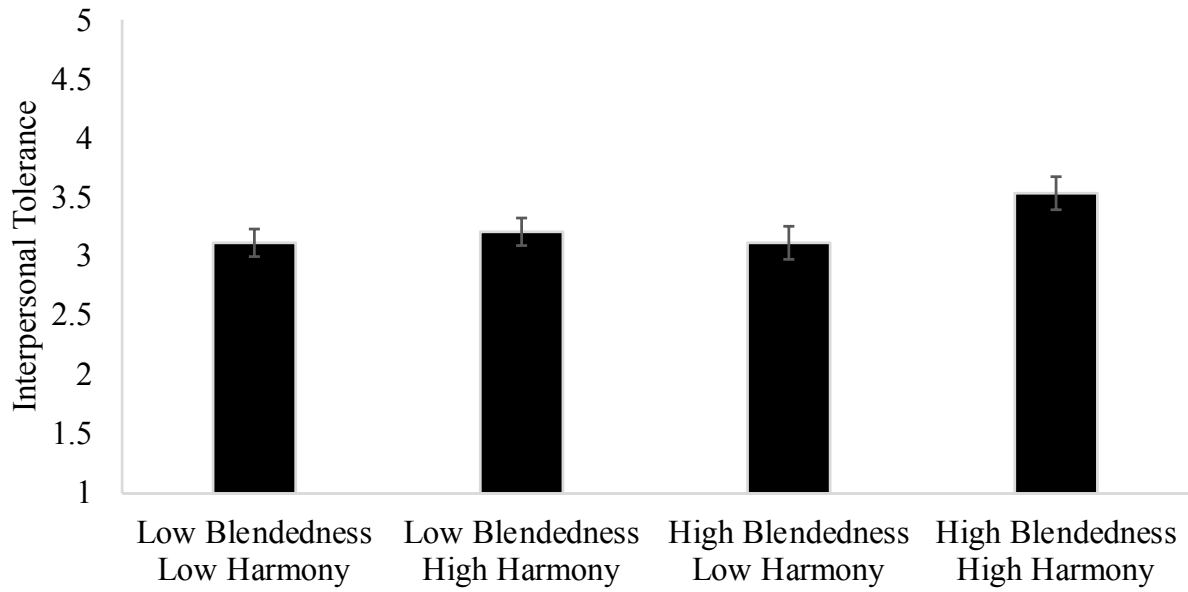


Figure 2.1. The linear effect of GII on tolerance from Study 2.

CHAPTER III

Identity Integration and Negotiation

Overview

The goal of the current study is to extend the findings from the previous chapter to a behavioral setting using a different measure of tolerance. In this study, participants engaged in an actual in-person negotiation. Whereas some argue that hypothetical vignettes are an effective way to understand how individuals would behave in situations that do not frequently occur (Hughes, 1998), others argue that they do not capture the many nuances of a real-world situation (Parkinson & Manstead, 1993). Additionally, Roberts and colleagues (2006) suggested that personality psychologists should be using multiple methods to better understand their constructs of interest. Finally, extensive research in social psychology points to the limitations of self-report measures. For example, people are not very accurate when describing why they like a given person or why they made a specific choice (Nisbett & Wilson, 1977). This is especially true when the concept is abstract, as is the case in Chapter II where people are making judgments of a hypothetical person. Another potential bias that could have occurred in the previous studies was social desirability (Fisher, 1993). These participants may have rated their counterparts more favorably because they did not want to be viewed negatively by the experimenter. This should not necessarily influence the relationship between identity integration and tolerance, unless it restricts the range of responses to the tolerance items. Consequently, Chapter III addresses the limitations of our tolerance measure in Chapter II by extending tolerance to a behavioral measure in a real-world context.

Literature Review

Negotiations are a unique type of interpersonal interaction wherein two (or more) parties are competing for a limited amount of resources. This can create anxiety and distrust between negotiation partners, especially because people tend to hold “fixed-pie perceptions,” assuming that their negotiation counterpart has opposing priorities on all issues (De Dreu et al., 2000; Thompson & Hastie, 1990). Not only do people assume that their partners have opposing priorities, but also that they place the same relative weight on each of the issues (Neale & Bazerman, 1983). Some negotiations are inherently fixed-pie wherein if one person gains, the other loses; however in many cases negotiations can be integrative where negotiators can work together to expand the resources (Walton & McKersie, 1965). If negotiators are able to find integrative solutions, each individual can have higher gains, and the dyad can have higher joint gains (Brett & Thompson, 2016). Unfortunately, negotiators often fail to find integrative solutions because most people go into negotiation contexts assuming that the other party has opposing interests on all issues and, because of these beliefs, they end up with worse negotiation outcomes (Thompson & Hastie, 1990). Decades of research have been devoted to understanding why people have these biases that prevent them from using integrative strategies (Pruitt & Rubin, 1986; Thompson & Hastie, 1990).

Expressing greater interpersonal tolerance towards your negotiation partner is key to interrupting the biases about your partner’s interests and to finding integrative solutions. For example, in order to find mutually beneficial outcomes and to create more opportunity for gains, it is important to understand the priorities and values of the negotiation partner (Thompson & Hastie, 1990). Recognizing the goals of your negotiation partner requires both problem-solving and trust (Pruitt, 1983). For a negotiation to go well, it is necessary for the partners to establish

trust and be willing to share honest information about their priorities with their counterparts (Kong, Dirks, & Ferrin, 2014; Thompson & Hastie, 1990). Researchers have also highlighted the importance of taking the perspective of the other person in improving negotiation outcomes (Galinsky, Maddux, Gilin, & White, 2008). Early conceptualizations of perspective taking define it as an ability to acknowledge that there are multiple viewpoints on a given issue, and people who are high in perspective taking tend to more easily adopt the viewpoint of others (Davis, 1983). In their seminal work on how to improve negotiation outcomes, Fisher, Ury, and Patton (2011), argue for the importance of focusing on discussing the issues and not attacking the other person. Taken together, the strategies described above all require expressing tolerance towards your negotiation partner. In Chapter II, I discussed the importance of tolerating another person even despite opposing opinions on an issue. A negotiation context is very similar, wherein each member of the dyad may have some differing interests, but by separating the issues from the person, they may be able to create more individual and joint gains.

To create joint gains in a negotiation, it is necessary to exhibit tolerance towards the other person by understanding their needs and working together. One way this can be understood is through the strategies people can take in negotiations. In negotiation, people tend to take either a prosocial strategy where they focus on joint (dyadic) gains, or an egoistic strategy where they focus more on individual gains (De Dreu et al., 2000). Whereas egoistic negotiators tend to develop negative perceptions of negotiation partners, prosocial negotiators tend to develop positive perceptions of their negotiation partners and try to understand their partner's perspective (De Dreu et al., 2000). These positive perceptions about the negotiation partner can be measured using the positive trait inferences (i.e., tolerance) measure from Chapter II. Tolerance can also be measured by looking at how much the individual and the pair gains in the negotiation. This can

be defined a proxy for tolerance because it may show whether people have been willing to work together. In the context of negotiations, prosocial negotiators are demonstrating greater tolerance towards their negotiation partners because they are willing to take their perspective into consideration (Galinsky et al., 2008). Additionally, prosocial negotiators tend to have greater joint gains because they can leverage their perspective-taking skills to uncover more tradeoffs and potential (De Dreu et al., 2000). Taken together, these findings suggest that negotiation outcomes are most beneficial to the individual and group when people trust their negotiation partner, when they are willing to share information with them, and when they are able to engage in greater perspective-taking (Kong et al., 2014).

A parallel explanation for the link between II and negotiation could be a cognitive ability that underlies both higher II and more favorable negotiation outcomes. The underlying cognitive explanation may be that people who have higher II tend to engage in more flexible thinking, increased creativity, and idea integration (Cheng et al., 2008; Hong et al., 2000) and that this encourages more integrative solutions in negotiations. For example, previous work finds that bicultural individuals with high II are more creative, as demonstrated by an ability to incorporate information from multiple identity-relevant schemas (Cheng et al., 2008). Namely, biculturals with more integrated cultural identities are more likely to combine ingredients from both cultural groups to develop a more creative recipe (Cheng et al., 2008). This suggests an ability to bring together discrepant things to ultimately create something better. Flexible thinking, creativity, and idea integration are characteristics that underlie integrative strategies, and ultimately lead to the creation of more potential for individual and joint gains (Maddux & Galinsky, 2009). These findings provide further rationale for the hypothesis that individuals with higher II will demonstrate higher individual and joint gains.

Taken together, individuals with higher II should achieve greater individual gains and dyads with higher mean II should achieve greater joint gains. These outcomes may occur because people with higher II take a more prosocial approach and therefore understand their partner's values and interests; or because people with higher II are able to integrate multiple ideas, including their own interests and the interests of their partner, to ultimately find more integrative solutions. Whether the process that leads to higher joint gains is more prosocial or more cognitive, both processes require understanding the perspective of the negotiation partner. Therefore, higher negotiation gains may be indicative of an interaction that is focused on building trust, taking the perspective of the other person, willingness to share information, and an ability to separate opposing interests from the person. These four behaviors share many qualities with the construct of tolerance that I defined in Chapter II of this dissertation, wherein tolerance is a willingness to accept and value another person despite opposing viewpoints. Consequently, I would hypothesize that, consistent with the findings of Chapter II, people who perceive more blendedness and harmony between their social identities should demonstrate more positive negotiation outcomes.

Current study

The goal of the current study is to extend the findings from the previous chapter to a behavioral setting using a different measure of tolerance. This is primarily an exploratory study that tests whether the personality trait of identity integration (II) can be linked to negotiation outcomes. Though I mentioned a mechanistic relationship between II and negotiation outcomes (e.g., building trust, sharing information), I do not directly test this mechanism in this study because this study represents the first step in determining whether II and negotiation outcomes are related. In this study, participants participated in an in-person dyadic (one-on-one)

negotiation. They were asked to assume the role of a business owner and then negotiated a deal with the other participant who was acting as another business owner. Given that negotiations occur between two individuals, the outcomes for one individual are not independent from the outcomes of the other individual (Kenny, 1996). Additionally, personality variables of one individual—for example, identity integration—may not only influence their own outcomes in a negotiation, but also the outcomes of their negotiation partner. Here, I use dyadic analytic techniques to examine the effects of an individual’s identity integration on their own outcomes, the effect of the partner’s identity integration on their outcomes, and the combined effects on joint gains.

Hypothesis 1: Individuals with higher identity integration, both blendedness and harmony, should attain higher individual gains for themselves.

Hypothesis 2: Dyads with higher average identity integration should achieve greater joint gains.

Method

Participants

The goal was to recruit at least 60 dyads, which is comparable or slightly more than recent negotiation studies that used the same negotiation paradigm (Aslani et al., 2016; Semnani-Azad, Adair, Sycara, & Lewis, 2012). Participants were recruited through emails and flyers posted around campus. The sample included 108 participants or 54 dyads ($M_{age} = 20.36$, $SD = 3.97$, 83 females, 23 males, 1 other, 1 no response).³ Eighty-seven percent of the sample was born in the US and identified with the following ethnicities: 54.6% White/Caucasian, 13.0% East

³ A total of 62 dyads were recruited, but unfortunately through data loss and one repeat participant, I excluded 8 dyads.

Asian, 3.7% Middle Eastern, 3.7% Latinx, 10.2% Black/African American, 13% South Asian, and 6.5% selected other.⁴

Procedure

In this study, participants were placed in an interpersonal conflict by assuming the role of a business owner and asked to negotiate a business deal with the other participant who is acting as another business owner. Participants were randomly assigned to one of two business roles and asked to spend up to 15 minutes reading their role and preparing for the negotiation. Next, the negotiation took place between the two participants for approximately 35 minutes. During this time, the experimenters were in an adjacent room and available for questions. The negotiation was videotaped to later code for language usage and non-verbal communication (e.g., leaning towards or away from the interaction partner). After the negotiation, participants signed a contract with their agreed upon deal. If they did not come to an agreement, they indicated this on the contract. All of the dyads in this study reached an agreement. Finally, participants filled out a packet of post-negotiation surveys and completed a survey on the computer that measured GII blendedness and GII harmony, interpersonal tolerance (perceived traits), control variables that have been previously linked to negotiation outcomes, and demographics.

Measures

Negotiation. The Sweet Shop Negotiation (negotiationexercises.com; Aslani et al., 2016) was used. This negotiation was chosen because it is a multi-issue negotiation wherein some issues are distributive, meaning for one person to gain points, the other must lose points; some issues are integrative meaning both parties can gain if they engage in tradeoffs; and one issue is shared, meaning they have the same priority. By including integrative issues, dyads are able to

⁴ This number adds to more than 100% because participants were given the option to select more than one ethnicity.

engage in trade-offs, which allows for “expanding the pie” or creating more potential for gains (Pruitt, 1983). In this simulation participants are assigned to be the owner of a bakery or an ice cream shop. The negotiation consists of four core issues (staffing, temperature, maintenance, design) and two optional issues (website and delivery). Staffing and design are both integrative issues that can lead to joint gains if participants engage in trading off, maintenance is completely distributive, and temperature is compatible, meaning both parties have the same interest. See Appendix C for an example of the role description given to participants.

Self-report measures. Generalized Identity Integration (GII) and tolerance measures were identical to those used in Chapter II.⁵ Psychometric properties of the GII scale are described in the Preliminary Considerations section of the Results below. Reliability for the positive trait inferences measure used in Chapter II to capture tolerance was good (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .86$).

Data Analysis

Negotiation gains. The outcome of the negotiation can be measured with two metrics. The first is individuals gains, or the number of points obtained by each individual. The second is joint gains, which is the sum of the individual gains of each member in the dyad.

Individual gains. The Actor Partner Interdependence Model (APIM; Kenny, 1996; Kenny, Kashy, & Cook, 2006) was used to assess the influence of GII on individual gains. The advantage of this model is that it can simultaneously estimate the effect of the actor’s GII on their own gains (actor effect), as well as the effect of the partner’s GII on the actor’s gains (partner effect). Additionally, because the individual gains of each actor are interdependent with the gains of their partner, it is necessary to take this interdependence into account in the analyses

⁵ Other control variables included: racial essentialism (No et al., 2008), need for closure (Roets & Van Hiel, 2011), big five inventory (BFI-10; Rammstedt & John, 2007), social perspective taking, cognitive flexibility, affect, self-concept clarity, tolerance of ambiguity, and attitudinal and behavioral openness (attitudes and cultural behaviors).

to avoid bias in the determination of statistical significance that may lead to misinterpretation of the results (Kenny et al., 2006). I ran these models separately for the blendedness and harmony subscales of GII. I also ran this model for GII total. Because there was no theoretical reason to distinguish between actors and partners (e.g., husband and wife), I treated these roles as indistinguishable in all analyses, but including role as a covariate in the model did not alter the results described below. I ran these analyses using linear mixed-effects modeling in SPSS and using the “nlme” function in R (Pinheiro, Bates, DebRoy, Sarkar, & R Core Team, 2018) to test for equivalence across statistical packages. Results were equivalent across packages, with some slight variation likely due to rounding; the results presented here are the values from R.

Joint gains. Joint gains is a between-dyads variable and can therefore be analyzed using regular linear regression (Curhan & Pentland, 2007). As previously mentioned, joint gains are the sum of each dyad member’s individual gains. Predictor variables were averaged between the members of the dyads. The outcome measure in these analyses was joint gains. Predictor variables included the dyad average of GII blendedness and GII harmony.

Results

Preliminary Considerations

Before testing the primary hypotheses, it was important to explore the factor structure of the GII scale. The scale used in this chapter was the same as the one used in Chapter II; however, it is relatively new, and the subscales have not yet been validated across multiple samples. Therefore, I conducted an exploratory factor analysis where I forced a two-factor solution and used varimax rotation. These decisions were modeled after the validation of the BII scale, from which the items in the GII scale were adapted (BIIS-1; Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Additionally, a recent review of bicultural identity integration described blendedness and

harmony as two independent dimensions of the same construct, but also noted that the correlation between these subscales ranges from 0.02 to 0.40 (Cheng et al., 2014). To be consistent with the original validation of the BII scale and because of the noted correlations between these subscales, I used varimax rotation.

The two factors had eigenvalues greater than 1.00 and cumulatively explained 50.07% of the variance. See Table 4 for the items and their factor loadings. Of the ten items, 4 loaded clearly on either the harmony (items 1, 2, 7, 9) or blendedness factors (items 3, 5, 8, 10). Two items cross-loaded on both factors (items 4 and 6). Item 6, “I feel comfortable having many selves”, was dropped from the scale because it did not appear in the BIIS-1 and I did not have a strong theoretical reason for placing it in either scale. Despite having a slightly stronger loading on the harmony subscale, item 4, “I keep my different selves separate”, was put in the blendedness subscale because it was one of the original items from the BIIS-1 and has strong face validity for the blendedness subscale. Reliability was good for the harmony subscale ($\alpha = .83$) and lower for the blendedness subscale ($\alpha = .51$). Lower reliability on the blendedness subscale is not uncommon in previous research (Cheng, Sanchez-Burks, & Lee, 2008; Mok & Morris, 2012).

Hypothesis Testing

Means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations between all relevant variables are listed in Table 5.

Generalized identity integration and individual gains. Results from the APIM analyses are presented in Table 6. I first tested the hypothesis that higher GII blendedness and harmony would be related to greater individual gains. Dyadic intraclass correlations (ICC) were as follows: individual gains was $-.70$ ($p < .001$), GII blendedness was $-.35$ ($p = .004$), and GII

harmony was .18 ($p = .166$). Models were run separately for GII blendedness and GII harmony. The GII blendedness and GII harmony models explained 14.9% of the variance ($Pseudo R^2 = 0.149$) and 8.0% of the variance ($Pseudo R^2 = 0.080$) in individual gains, respectively. In both models, actor scores and partner scores were the primary predictors. The outcome measure was individual gains. For both GII blendedness and GII harmony, there was a significant actor effect. Actors who had higher GII also had higher individual gains (blendedness: $\beta_{standardized} = 0.33$, $t = 3.92$, $p < .001$; harmony: $\beta_{standardized} = 0.22$, $t = 2.26$, $p = .026$). There was a marginally significant partner effect for GII blendedness and a significant partner effect for GII harmony. When partners had higher GII, actors had lower individual gains, (blendedness: $\beta_{standardized} = -0.15$, $t = -1.85$, $p = .068$; harmony: $\beta_{standardized} = -0.26$, $t = -2.63$, $p = .001$). I also ran these models using the total GII scale combining both blendedness and harmony. Both actor and partner effects were significant in this model (See Table 6).

Generalized identity integration and joint gains. Dyads that had higher mean GII blendedness also had higher joint gains, $\beta = .30$, $t = 2.13$, $p = .038$. The effect was not significant from GII harmony. The model explained 5% of the variance in joint gains, $F(2, 53) = 2.42$, $p = .099$. The combined GII total scale was not a significant predictor of joint gains. See Table 7 for the results for the regression with blendedness and harmony.

Supplementary Analyses: Interpersonal Tolerance

I first tested whether the relationship between GII and interpersonal tolerance—as measured by perceived traits—was replicated in this sample. There was a marginally significant relationship between GII harmony and tolerance, such that dyads who had higher GII harmony rated their interaction partners more positively, $r(52) = .22$, $p = .104$. There was also a marginal relationship between tolerance and joint gains; dyads who rated their interaction partners more

positively on average had lower joint gains, $r(52) = -.22, p = .113$. I ran the APIM models to determine whether actor and partner tolerance predicted individual gains. Neither of these effects were significant. I also ran the APIM models to determine whether actor and partner GII predicted tolerance towards interaction partner. Consistent with the analyses above, I ran separate models for GII harmony and GII blendedness. There was a marginal actor effect of GII harmony on tolerance towards the interaction partner, $\beta = .08, t = 1.73, p = .088$. There were no other significant results from these models.

Discussion

By testing a different operationalization of tolerance, I found further evidence for the importance of identity integration in encouraging tolerance. Consistent with the first hypothesis, individuals with higher II had higher individual gains. In line with the second hypothesis, dyads who had higher II, on average, demonstrated greater joint gains. This research is in line with a recent review that argued for the importance of measuring the impact of individual difference variables on negotiation outcomes (Elfenbein, 2015). It also represents the first study, to my knowledge, that links a personality trait related to identity management to negotiation outcomes.

To the extent that negotiation outcomes reflect tolerance, this study bolsters the support for a relationship between identity integration and tolerance. Interestingly, the pattern of results when negotiation gains are the outcome is consistent for both the blendedness and harmony subscales. Extensive research exists to suggest that blendedness and harmony are distinct factors with unique predictive power (Cheng et al., 2014). However, in the current study, I found similar results for both blendedness and harmony. It may be that the constructs of blendedness and harmony do not have the same psychological distinction for generalized II as has been seen in

previous work using other conceptualizations of II that focus on two specific identities (e.g., Asian and American). See Chapter V for further discussion of this point.

One surprising finding from the current study was the that relationship between II and interpersonal tolerance, as measured by positive trait inferences, was weaker than in the previous chapter. In this study, I observed a marginally significant relationship between GII harmony and interpersonal tolerance when perceived traits were the measure of tolerance. Across two studies in Chapter II, I found that people who perceive their own identities as more integrated rate another person with an opposing opinion more favorably. Previous work would suggest that participants should expect their negotiation counterparts to have opposing opinions (De Dreu et al., 2000; Thompson & Hastie, 1990) and as such one may expect to replicate the findings from Chapter II. However, in the current study, perceived traits were measured after the negotiation scenario when the pairs had already come to a negotiated solution and may no longer have believed that their negotiation partner had opposing opinions on all issues. In future research, it would be interesting to measure perceived traits before the negotiation scenario when they may be assuming that their negotiation partner will have opposing interests. I would hypothesize that the relationship between II and interpersonal tolerance would be consistent with the findings from Chapter II if measured prior to the negotiation scenario when people likely believe that their counterpart has opposing values.

Beyond the hypothesized effects, there were some additional findings worth discussing. First, in addition to the association between an individual's II and negotiation gains (actor effect), I also observed a significant partner effect. Interestingly, the pattern of this effect was the opposite of the actor effect in that participants actually had lower gains if their partner had higher II. This result suggests that whereas higher II is best for own gain, it is actually harmful for their

partner's gain. A possible interpretation of this finding is that having higher II makes a person more able to understand their partner's perspective and then use that against them to gain more for themselves. However, I also found that dyads with higher mean II (blendedness) had higher joint gains, so it seems unlikely that all participants with higher II are taking advantage of the partner to gain more for the self. It may be the case that the dyadic findings are driven by the one partner with higher II, or it could be that joint gains are higher when both members of the dyad have higher II. We cannot disentangle these mechanisms using with the current analyses. One way to answer the question of whether one or both partner's needs to have higher II to achieve greater joint gains could be to do a median split on II and place individuals into a category as either high or low II. Then, I could determine whether both members are high in II, only one is high in II, or both are low in II. This would separate dyads into the following three groups: high/high, low/high, and low/low. Measuring the difference in joint gains between these groups would answer the question of whether the joint effects are driven by one or both members of the dyad. If the high/high group is higher than the high/low group in joint gains, it would suggest that both members need to have higher II for the pair to have higher gains. To have adequate power to detect a medium effect using this analysis, there would need to be at least 29 dyads per group, which is not possible in the current study. Future studies with a larger sample size could test this proposition.

Second, in addition to the models discussed above, I also ran the Actor-Partner Interdependence Models with the dyadic interactive effect. The value of including the interactive effect is based on the person x situation model (Elfenbein, Curhan, Eisenkraft, & DiLalla, 2017). In other words, the same person may have different negotiation outcomes depending on the characteristics of their negotiation partner. By measuring the dyadic interactive effect, one can

determine whether the impact of an individual's personality trait (e.g., II) is dependent on that personality trait in their counterpart (Elfenbein et al., 2017). In the current study, there is no significant interactive effect. Moreover, when the interactive effect is included in the models, the results remain the same such that there is a significant actor effect for both blendedness and harmony, a significant partner effect for harmony, and a marginally significant partner effect for blendedness. The absence of an interactive effect here suggests that the impact of an individual's own II is not dependent on the II of their negotiation counterpart. This is not to be confused with the actor and partner effects which show the impact of own II on gains and the impact of the partner's II on gains.

This study is not without limitations. The first limitation worth noting is the low internal consistency in the blendedness subscale. As I mentioned above, this is not uncommon with the blendedness subscale (Cheng, Sanchez-Burks, & Lee, 2008; Mok & Morris, 2012). However, the results with the subscale should be interpreted with caution. The low reliability of this subscale is informative for guiding future research. One large gap in the current literature on identity integration—especially generalized identity integration—is a lack of understanding about how the participants understand these concepts of blendedness and harmony. Conducting a qualitative study where individuals are interviewed about their strategies for managing different identities could be very informative. One potential outcome of these interviews could be to better understand the concept of blendedness, which is a bit more abstruse. Additionally, the difficulty in defining this concept may explain the low internal consistency in the blendedness subscale. I will further discuss the merits of this proposed qualitative study in Chapter V.

Perhaps the largest limitation of the current study is that I cannot determine the mechanism through which II was influencing negotiation outcomes. As I mentioned in the

literature review of this chapter, building trust, being willing to share information, creativity, and working together to create integrative solutions are all potential mechanisms that link II to more positive negotiation outcomes. Although it is beyond the scope of the current paper, in future work I plan to test these mechanisms using qualitative analysis of video recordings from the negotiation scenarios. Hopefully these qualitative analyses can shed light on this mechanistic question and if so, they will be reported in a separate manuscript. Another limitation of this research is the correlational design. It is possible that having a more positive negotiation outcome actually led people to perceive more integration between their identities. In this case, having a positive interpersonal interaction during the negotiation could have acted as a prime to increase identity integration. Though the process may not be exactly the same, bicultural II has been manipulated by encouraging people to think about positive experiences of having multiple identities (Cheng & Lee, 2013). Future research could explore whether having positive interactions with others who you believe may have opposing opinions can be used as a manipulation to increase identity integration. This could be a promising direction for future research and would represent an actionable step towards increasing identity integration and fostering tolerance.

Another limitation of the current study is that because it was a convenience sample of volunteers and the data collection period was time-limited, I was not selective about gender, and consequently the sample primarily consists of women. This may challenge the external generalizability of this study because gender has been shown to be a reliable predictor of negotiation outcomes (Adair et al., 2004; Adair, Brett, & Okumura, 2001; Kray & Thompson, 2004; Kray, Thompson, & Galinsky, 2001). In these previous studies, mixed-gender dyads have different outcomes than same-gender dyads, depending on the manipulation and target variables.

For example, when gender stereotypes about negotiation styles (e.g., women are more cooperative and men are more competitive) are activated, women do worse in mixed-gender dyads (Kray et al., 2001). Activating gender stereotypes does not affect negotiation outcomes in same-sex dyads. In the current study, I did not have enough power to examine differences between mixed-gender and same-gender dyads, but I do not believe these gender differences would affect the relationship between II and negotiation outcomes. Nevertheless, I will aim to recruit a larger and more gender-balanced sample in future studies.

A promising conclusion from this study is that personality characteristics that are more susceptible to change (e.g., expectations) also seem to be the characteristics with the most reliable connection to negotiation outcomes (Elfenbein, 2015). I mentioned in the literature review that people often have negative expectations about their negotiation partner's interests and values and only through sharing information and building trust are they able to understand that they may actually share some interests through which they can find more mutually beneficial outcomes. In addition to changing expectations about your negotiation partner, another personality characteristic that is malleable and can be increased through experimental manipulation is II (Cheng & Lee, 2013; Huff, Lee, & Hong, 2017; Mok & Morris, 2012). In the current research, I find evidence for the importance of II in influencing both individual and joint outcomes. A logical next step in this line of research would be to examine whether experimentally manipulating II will lead to increases in positive negotiation outcomes.

Conclusion

This research is the first to examine the relationship between identity integration and negotiation outcomes. In the context of this dissertation, I argue that positive negotiation outcomes are a proxy for greater tolerance towards the interaction partner. Further, I find some

support, albeit marginal, for a positive relationship between II (harmony) and more positive trait inferences. The fact that this relationship between II and trait inferences is weaker may be a promising result from this study because it may suggest that after the negotiation people no longer view the other person as having an opposing opinion. Whereas, in Chapter II, participants report perceptions of positive trait inferences immediately after being explicitly told that the other person has an opposing opinion, in this study the positive trait inferences measure comes after participants have come to a negotiated solution and built a relationship with their negotiation partner. The findings from this current study advance our understanding of how the relationship among identities within individuals may encourage more positive relations between individuals in actual in-person interactions.

Table 3.1. *Factor loadings for the Generalized Identity Integration scale.*

Item Number	Item	Factor	
		Harmony	Blendedness
7	I am often torn between my different selves	0.86	-0.17
2	My different selves blend together seamlessly	-0.82	0.05
9	Having different selves creates tension	0.77	0.08
1	I am often conflicted between my different selves	0.75	-0.09
6	I feel comfortable having many selves	-0.58	0.43
10	I am best described by a blend of all of my different selves	-0.25	0.69
3	I can be described by all of my different selves	-0.10	0.64
5	In any given situation, I only have one dominant self	0.02	-0.58
8	My different selves give me an edge in life	-0.01	0.49
4	I keep my different selves separate	0.48	-0.30

Note. Bolded items were included in the final subscales.

Table 3.2. Means, standard deviations, and correlations for key variables.

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Ind_A	8292.59	1689.02													
2. Ind_P	8118.52	1626.33	-.71**												
3. Joint	16411.11	1273.04	.43**	.34*											
4. GII Tot_A	4.68	0.74	.28*	-.34*	-.06										
5. GII Tot_P	4.58	1.01	-.20	.28*	.09	-.15									
6. Blend_A	4.74	0.66	.43**	-.35**	.12	.59**	-.21								
7. Blend_P	4.66	0.67	-.18	.32*	.17	-.31*	.69**	-.35**							
8. Harmony_A	4.22	1.10	.04	-.14	-.13	.73**	.08	.11	-.06						
9. Harmony_P	4.13	1.50	-.28*	.28*	-.00	-.09	.90**	-.21	.59**	.18					
10. Tolerance_A	4.17	0.45	.10	-.26	-.21	.16	-.12	.23	-.20	.09	-.09				
11. Tolerance_P	4.26	0.49	.12	-.24	-.15	.24	.08	-.01	-.01	.34*	.24	.30*			
12. Blend_D	4.70	0.38	.22	-.03	.26	.24	.42**	.57**	.57**	.04	.33*	.02	-.02		
13. Harmony_D	4.18	1.01	-.18	.13	-.07	.33*	.72**	-.10	.40**	.68**	.84**	-.02	.36**	.27	
14. Tolerance_D	4.21	0.38	.13	-.31*	-.22	.25	-.02	.13	-.13	.27*	.10	.79**	.83**	-.00	.22

Note. *M* and *SD* are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. Actor effects are noted as _A; Partner effects are _P; and dyad mean are _D. *N* = 54 dyads * indicates *p* < .05. ** indicates *p* < .01.

Table 3.3. *Actor-Partner Interdependence Model results for individual gains.*

Predictor	Standardized Estimate	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Model 1				
Intercept	0.00	0.05	0.00	1.000
GII: Blendedness (Actor)	0.33	0.08	3.92	<.001
GII: Blendedness (Partner)	-0.15	0.08	-1.85	.078
<i>Pseudo R</i> ² = 0.15				
Model 2				
Intercept	0.00	0.05	0.00	1.000
GII: Harmony (Actor)	0.22	0.10	2.26	.026
GII: Harmony (Partner)	-0.26	0.10	-2.59	.010
<i>Pseudo R</i> ² = 0.080				
Model 3				
Intercept	0.00	0.05	0.00	1.000
GII: Total (Actor)	0.24	0.09	2.79	.006
GII: Total (Partner)	-0.22	0.09	-2.51	.014
<i>Pseudo R</i> ² = 0.107				

Table 3.4. *Multiple linear regression results for joint gains.*

Predictor	B	SE	β	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Intercept	12526.21	2131.56		5.88	<.001
GII: Blendedness (Dyad Mean)	997.20	468.15	0.30	2.13	.038
GII: Harmony (Dyad Mean)	-191.93	174.93	-0.15	-1.10	.278
<i>Model Fit Statistics</i>					
Adjusted R ²	0.05				
<i>F</i> (df1, df2)	2.42 ^a (2, 105)				

^a $p < .10$

CHAPTER IV

Identity Integration and Intergroup Tolerance

Overview

The goal of this chapter was to extend the findings from the first three studies to an intergroup context. As this is a bicultural sample and I am specifically interested in how the management between cultural identities impacts relationships with others who share one of those identities, I will measure bicultural, instead of generalized II. Consistent with prior work (Haidt et al., 2003; Roccas & Amit, 2011), I operationalize tolerance as willingness to engage with outgroup members. We know from previous research that individuals with higher II have more positive, inclusive attitudes towards outgroup members (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Brewer & Pierce, 2005; Saleem et al., 2018). We also know that greater perceptions of discrimination among Muslim-Americans leads to lower intentions to approach White Americans and greater intentions to avoid White Americans (Saleem et al., 2018). Interestingly, this relationship is also moderated by bicultural identity integration, such that higher BII acts as a buffer against perceptions of discrimination (Saleem et al., 2018). In these studies, I aim to replicate the finding that increased BII is predictive of greater willingness to interact with outgroup members among a broader sample of bicultural students. I also aim to build upon this work by including an experimental manipulation of majority group attitudes. Additionally, I test whether BII moderates the relationship between negative majority group attitudes and tolerance towards majority group members. In sum, I will simultaneously measure both the unique and interactive effects of BII and majority group attitudes on intergroup relations.

Literature Review

Globalization brings about increasing diversity that changes our demographic landscape and affords opportunities for greater intercultural contact. As we have seen in recent political outcomes in both Europe and North America, increased globalization can create tension among immigrants and majority group members. Concerns about immigration have been cited as a primary motivator in Britain's vote to leave the European Union (i.e., Brexit), with recent evidence from the British Social Attitudes Survey showing that 73% of those who were worried about immigration voted in favor of Brexit (Curtice, 2016). Similarly, in the United States, people who feared cultural displacement by immigrants and supported deporting immigrants living in the country illegally were more than 3 times more likely to support Trump in the 2016 Presidential election (Cox, Lienesch, & Jones, 2017). These majority group attitudes have implications for how bicultural individuals view their own cultural identities, as well as how they may interact with majority group members (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Brewer & Pierce, 2005; Saleem, Dubow, Lee, & Huesmann, 2018).

Much of existing work on bicultural minorities tends to focus on identity negotiation and acculturative processes (Berry, 2001; Schalk-Soekar, van de Vijver, & Hoogsteder, 2004) rather than understanding how bicultural individuals relate to and are affected by majority members' perceptions (Brown & Zagefka, 2011). In the present two studies, I examine how *individual* variables, such as the relationship between your ethnic and national identity (i.e., identity integration), interact with *contextual* variables, such as majority group perceptions (both measured and manipulated), to ultimately influence biculturals' behavioral responses towards majority members. Although hostile social contexts perpetuated by majority members are usually associated with detrimental consequences for minorities, including distancing self from majority

members (Kteily et al., 2016; Saleem et al., 2018), I suggest that perceptions of identity integration may be influential in biculturals' relations with majority members, even in more hostile contexts. Rather than examining attitudinal outcomes which are more susceptible to biases and less likely to predict actual behaviors (Eagly & Chaiken, 1998), I examine behavioral intentions to approach and avoid majority members as an outcome. Intentions tend to more strongly relate to actual behaviors across many contexts (Ajzen, 1991). I derive my theoretical predictions from research on bicultural identities and intergroup relations discussed in detail in the next sections.

Individual: Bicultural Identity Integration and Intergroup Relations

In the year 2010, approximately 9 million people in the U.S. identified with more than one racial group (US Census Bureau, 2010). This represents an increase of over 2 million people since the previous census and points to the importance of understanding how these individuals are managing their multiple identities (Gaither, 2015). Bicultural Identity Integration or BII is one psychological construct that has been used extensively to measure identity management between multiple racial, ethnic, or cultural identities (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Cheng & Lee, 2009; Huynh, Nguyen, & Benet-Martínez, 2011). Specifically, BII taps into people's perceptions of compatibility versus conflict between their multiple cultural identities (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Assessments of BII capture both the *blendedness* – or overlap – and *harmony* – or lack of conflict/tension – between two cultural identities. These two facets of identity integration are distinct constructs that relate to different parts of the bicultural experience (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Whereas *blendedness* has been described as the more perceptual factor, relating to the more behavioral aspects of acculturation, such as competence with language or social skills, *harmony* has been described as the more affective factor, relating

to not feeling torn between cultural identities (Miramontez et al., 2008). This measure has also been adapted to measure multiracial identity integration (II) (Cheng & Lee, 2009), gender-professional II (Cheng, Sanchez-Burks, & Lee, 2008; Sacharin, Lee, & Gonzalez, 2009), and generalized II (Hanek, Arieli, Huff, & Lee, under review; Huff, Lee, & Hong, 2017).

Previous work across the different measures of II suggests that people who perceive their cultural identities as more integrated (i.e., higher identity integration) tend to experience more positive interpersonal and intergroup relationships (Huff et al., 2017; Mok et al., 2007). This is because individuals with high identity integration consider each of their identity groups as an ingroup which reduces the importance of any *one* social identity for satisfying one's need for belonging, thereby reducing the motivational basis for displaying biases that favor the ingroup over the outgroup (Cheng et al., 2014; Roccas & Brewer, 2002). Previous research suggests that individuals who perceive more overlap between their different identities have more positive attitudes towards people who share at least one of these identities (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Brewer & Pierce, 2005; Wiley & Deaux, 2010). In the case of bicultural individuals living in the United States, perceiving overlap between their ethnic and American identity may improve relations with majority group Americans because of a shared membership in the social identity group of American (Brewer & Pierce, 2005; Crisp & Hewstone, 2007; Roccas & Brewer, 2002).

In the interpersonal context for instance, research suggests that bicultural individuals who perceive more blendedness and harmony between their two cultural identities are more tolerant of others with opposing opinions. More specifically, when given false feedback that another person made an opposing choice on an issue, individuals with higher BII blendedness and harmony made more positive trait inferences about this other person (Chapter II; Huff et al.,

2017). Others have shown a positive relationship between the composite BII (including both blendedness and harmony) and intergroup relations (Mok et al., 2007). In one investigation, first-generation bicultural Chinese American participants with higher bicultural II had more non-Chinese friends and their network was denser than individuals with lower bicultural II (Mok et al., 2007). Additionally, in a survey of Muslim-American high school students, Saleem and colleagues (2018) found a positive relationship between higher perceptions of integration between the Muslim and American identities (i.e., higher BII) and positive behavioral intentions towards non-Muslims, as measured by increased intentions to approach and decreased intentions to avoid non-Muslims. Taken together these findings inform my first hypothesis.

Hypothesis 1a: There will be a positive relationship between bicultural identity integration and intentions to approach majority group members.

Hypothesis 1b: There will be a negative relationship between bicultural identity integration and intentions to avoid majority group members.

Context: Majority Group Attitudes and Intergroup Relations

The above review highlights a positive role of identity integration in improving biculturals' relation with the majority group. Beyond the individual, research emphasizes the importance of context in facilitating minorities' positive relations with the majority group (Rattan & Ambady, 2013). Specifically, when minorities perceive that their in-group is valued and held in high esteem by the majority group, they are more likely to have positive relations with majority members (Bikmen, 2011), as well as identify with the superordinate national ingroup (e.g., American) (Huo & Molina, 2006; Huo, Molina, Binning, & Funge, 2010). For minorities, these positive experiences reflect a high public regard, or perception that the majority views one's in-group positively (Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997) and

ultimately serve to improve their positive distinctiveness within the larger society (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Conversely, when minorities perceive that their in-group identity is viewed negatively by the majority, they are more likely to have negative attitudes and interactions with majority members, as well as distance themselves from the common national ingroup (Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2012; Saleem & Ramasubramanian, 2017). Indeed, such experiences not only threaten minority members' identities but reflect that their in-group is not held in high esteem vis-à-vis the majority group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Important in understanding intergroup relations between bicultural individuals and majority group members are beliefs about how the majority group perceives the minority group (i.e., biculturals). The extent to which others view your ethnic or racial group positively has been defined as public esteem (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992).⁶ Public esteem can develop through direct experiences of positive or negative intergroup interactions (e.g., discrimination), or through indirect exposure to information about the beliefs of other groups (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Previous work suggests that expectations about the beliefs of outgroup members may, in fact, influence intergroup relations between bicultural individuals and majority group members. When people expect outgroup members to have more negative perceptions about their group, they are more likely to avoid interactions with these outgroup members (Paolini, Hewstone, Voci, Harwood, & Cairns, 2006).

Related concepts that capture how an individual thinks an outgroup views him/her include meta-stereotypes (Vorauer, Hunter, Main, & Roy, 2000) and meta-prejudice. Both of these constructs have been shown to influence minorities' relations with the majority group. In a diverse set of studies with Arab, American, Palestinian, and Hungarian participants, Ktiely,

⁶ In other work this concept is defined as public regard (e.g., Sellers et al., 1997)

Hodson, and Bruneau (2016) tested the prediction that negative meta-perceptions—or a belief that members of an outgroup will dislike or be prejudiced towards you—will predict negative responses to that outgroup. For example, in one study with American participants, these authors measured meta-perceptions by asking the extent to which Americans felt they were disliked by Arabs (e.g., “Arabs do not have positive attitudes towards Americans”) followed by a feeling thermometer (Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1993) rating of how warm they felt towards Arabs. Participants who had more negative meta-perceptions provided more prejudiced ratings of Arabs. Support for discriminatory policies was also predicted by meta-prejudice. Kteily and colleagues (2016) argue that holding a belief that an outgroup holds negative feelings about your group can lead to a reciprocal response, as demonstrated by increased prejudice and discrimination targeted towards that group. Consistent with the findings described above (e.g., Paolini et al., 2006), experiences of discrimination can influence more negative behavioral intentions towards majority members (Saleem et al., 2018). These findings provide the theoretical basis for my second hypothesis.

Hypothesis 2a: Exposure to information suggesting that the majority group has a positive opinion towards a participant’s ethnic group will lead to more positive behavioral intentions towards majority group members (i.e., greater intentions to approach).

Hypothesis 2b: Exposure to information suggesting that the majority group has a negative opinion towards a participant’s ethnic group will lead to more negative behavioral intentions towards majority group members (i.e., greater intentions to avoid).

Identity Integration, Majority Group Attitudes, Intergroup Relations

The above review highlights the importance of both individual level factors (identity integration) and contextual level factors (majority group attitudes) in affecting minorities’

relations with the majority group. Yet, few empirical studies to date have *simultaneously* examined the unique and interactive nature of these factors on minorities' relation with the majority group. This is surprising considering that the above reviewed research finds empirical evidence for both identity integration and majority perceptions to independently affect intergroup relations. Further, there is theoretical reason and empirical evidence to suggest that identity integration interacts with contextual factors in affecting biculturals' relations with majority members. In fact, Brown and Zagefka (2015) argue that intergroup outcomes should be more positive if integration is encouraged, but that this will depend on the prevailing social context. Additionally, other research shows that ethnic identification and majority group attitudes interact to influence intergroup relations and tolerance (Verkuyten, 2005, 2010; Verkuyten & Yogeeswaran, 2017).

One manifestation of the interactive effects of identity and context on intergroup relations is the finding that strong identification with your ethnic group can buffer against prejudice, discrimination, and negative attitudes towards your group (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Phinney, 1996; Phinney, 1990; Sellers & Shelton, 2003). A recent review by Neblett, Rivas-Drake, and Umaña-Taylor (2012) highlights the importance of racial and ethnic identity as a protective factor against discrimination, such that the negative impacts of discrimination are dampened when adolescents have strong racial and ethnic identity. One limitation of the work discussed above is that it does not speak to how the interaction between multiple identities might impact experiences of discrimination and subsequent outcomes (Umaña-Taylor, 2011). Moreover, most of this work has focused on the relationship between ethnic and racial identity, experiences of discrimination, and individual outcomes (e.g., psychological adjustment and academic outcomes). In other words, very little work has measured the impact of ethnic and

racial identity and discrimination on interpersonal and intergroup outcomes. By not measuring the interaction between multiple selves, it is unclear whether bicultural individuals who have strong racial or ethnic identity and strong American identity will also experience the buffering effects described above. It is possible that individuals who identify strongly with their ethnic identity, while rejecting their national identity may have more negative intergroup interactions with individuals who hold that rejected identity. Conversely, if a bicultural individual identifies strongly with both their ethnic and national identities *and* perceives greater integration between these identities, they may have more positive intergroup interactions with people from both ethnic and national cultures. It is impossible to test this without considering identification with both cultural identities.

One exception to the gap mentioned above is a cross-sectional study described previously that measured the role of identity integration—or the relationship between ethnic and American cultural identities—in perceived discrimination and intergroup behaviors among Muslim American adolescents (Saleem et al., 2018). In addition to finding unique effects of BII and discrimination, these authors also found evidence for a buffering effect of bicultural identity integration on the relationship between discrimination and behavioral intentions. For individuals with low identity integration, experiences of discrimination were positively associated with intentions to avoid non-Muslims. For individuals with high identity integration, however, experiences of discrimination were not significantly associated with intentions to avoid non-Muslims (Saleem et al., 2018). These findings suggest that identity integration may buffer the adverse effects of threatening social contexts, such as discriminatory experiences. Support for this claim is further found in a study in which biculturals were asked to describe their relationships with members of the dominant cultural group (Lilgendahl & Benet-Martínez,

2016). Though all participants discussed negative experiences they have encountered with majority members, biculturals with high identity integration were more likely to end their recollections by discussing positive aspects of their interactions with majority members. Finally, people with integrated bicultural identities are more likely to perceive discriminatory experiences as atypical rather than pervasive structural inequities (Belgrade & Lee, 2016).

These findings provide preliminary, albeit cross-sectional, evidence for the claim that identity integration may serve as a *protective* factor for minorities in threatening social contexts. In these hostile contexts, individuals low on identity integration will likely exhibit the standard defensive reaction of negatively evaluating and avoiding majority members (Saleem et al., 2018). However, individuals high on identity integration will be buffered from the contextual threat and will not display negative reactions towards majority members. That being said, there may be situations wherein engaging with outgroup members may not be the most adaptive outcome. This will be discussed further later in the paper. In the present studies I measure (Study 1) and manipulate (Study 2) public esteem to explore threatening and non-threatening social contexts.

Hypothesis 3: The relationship between public esteem attitudes and behavioral intentions towards majority group members will be moderated by bicultural identity integration.

Hypothesis 3a: At low levels of identity integration, low (high) public esteem will be associated with intentions to avoid (approach) majority members.

Hypothesis 3b: At high levels of identity integration, public esteem will not be significantly associated with intentions to approach or avoid majority members. In other words, biculturals' perceptions of high identity integration will serve to buffer the adverse effects of low public esteem on their relations with majority members.

Current Research

In this study, I examine the unique and interactive effects of a) *individual factors*, such as perceptions of bicultural identity integration (BII), b) *contextual factors*, such as public esteem (perceived and experimentally manipulated) on bicultural individuals' desire to interact with majority group members (i.e., White Americans), and c) the interaction between these two. I also extend previous work by working with a broader group of bicultural individuals. Importantly, I provide long and short-term evidence for these relations within a cross-sectional survey (Study 1) and experimental design (Study 2). I measure behavioral intentions because they are reliably linked to actual behavior (Ajzen, 1991). Moreover, both approach and avoidance intentions are measured because some have argued that these two intentions are driven by distinct motivations (Elliot, 2006). Importantly, the effects of public esteem are examined through self-report perceptions in Study 1 and experimental manipulation in Study 2.

Study 1

Study 1 surveyed bicultural students about their bicultural identity integration (BII), public esteem, and behavioral intentions towards majority group members. Because there is not strong consistency across previous research measuring the relationship between BII and interpersonal and intergroup outcomes⁷, I have tested the independent effects of each subscale (i.e., blendedness and harmony) and the effects of the total scale in the current studies. For the current studies, results presented in the main text are based on the total scale combining both blendedness and harmony and results for separate subscales are presented in the Supplemental Results. I tested whether BII was related to behavioral intentions to approach and avoid majority

⁷ Mok and colleagues (2007) used a vignette that measures both blendedness and harmony, Saleem and colleagues (2018) used a total scale combining both the blendedness and harmony scales, Belgrade and Lee (2016) used the conflict subscale, and Huff and colleagues (2017) tested both subscales separately.

members (Hypothesis 1); whether perceptions of public esteem were related to these intentions (Hypothesis 2); and whether the relationship between public esteem and behavioral intentions was moderated by BII (Hypothesis 3).

Method

Participants

First- and second-generation immigrants were invited to participate in this study. Specifically, participants who satisfied the following criteria were eligible to participate: a) were not born in the U.S. or had one or both parents who were not born in the U.S., and b) did not self-identify as White.⁸ Sample size was determined based on a power analysis from similar research (Saleem et al., 2018) and indicated that in order to achieve at least 80% power for all hypothesized effects, a sample size of at least 145 was needed. Two hundred and twenty participants were recruited from subject pools in the Psychology and Communications departments at a large Midwestern university. Thirteen participants did not complete the survey, leaving a final sample of 207 (125 females, 81 males; $M_{\text{age}} = 18.90$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 1.06$). The majority of the sample identified as East Asian (40.6%) or South Asian (29.0%) and a little over half of the sample (60.4%) was born in the U.S. The 82 participants born outside of the U.S. reported living in the U.S. for an average of seven years ($M = 7.15$, $SD = 6.61$; range = 0-20 years).

Procedure

Participants completed an online survey for partial course credit. They first provided demographic information, including ethnicity, country of birth, and parents' country of birth.

⁸ This was based on the work by Devos and Banaji (2005) on the American=White effect.

Next, they completed a battery of measures that are described in further detail below.⁹ This study was deemed exempt by the university's Institutional Review Board.

Measures

Bicultural identity integration (BII). This 17-item scale was adapted from the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale-2 (BIIS-2) (Huynh, 2009). Items measured the blendedness and harmony between the “ethnic” and “American” culture.¹⁰ The *blendedness* subscale consisted of eight items (Cronbach's $a = .64$). Example items include: “I feel part of a combined culture” and “I keep my ethnic culture and the American culture separate” (reverse-coded). The *harmony* subscale consisted of nine items (Cronbach's $a = .85$). Example items include: “I feel conflicted between my ethnic group's way of doing things and the American way of doing things” (reverse-coded) and “I do not feel torn between my ethnic and American culture”. Participants responded on a 5-point scale from 1 *strongly disagree* to 5 *strongly agree*. Reliability for the entire 17-item scale was also good (Cronbach's $a = .82$). Only results for the combined 17-item scale will be presented here. See Supplemental Results in Appendix E for separate results of each subscale.

Public esteem. The public self-esteem subscale from the collective self-esteem scale was used to measure perceptions about how the participant's ethnic group was viewed (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). This subscale includes 4 items that are answered on a 7-point scale from 1 *strongly disagree* to 7 *strongly agree* (Cronbach's $a = .75$). The items measure beliefs about the

⁹ In addition to the measures that were relevant to our central hypotheses in this investigation, participants also completed measures related to the following: media stereotypes, exposure to media, perceptions of discrimination, and social identity complexity.

¹⁰ The term “ethnic” was used instead of ethnicity-specific terms (e.g., Asian) because we aimed to recruit a diverse sample of bicultural participants and chose to use the same scale across participants.

extent to which their ethnic group is viewed positively (e.g., “Overall, my racial/ethnic group is considered good by others”).

Behavioral intentions towards White Americans. Seven items were adapted from Mackie, Devos, and Smith (2000) to assess the extent to which participants desire to engage in *approach* behaviors towards White Americans (e.g., “be friends with them”; “spend time with them”; Cronbach’s $a = .92$) and *avoidant* behaviors (e.g., “keep them at a distance”; “have nothing to do with them”; Cronbach’s $a = .89$). Items are answered on a 5-point scale from 1 *strongly disagree* to 5 *strongly agree*.

Control variable. Generation status was controlled for in our primary analyses. This is consistent with the idea that bicultural experiences may vary depending on generational status (Cheng, Benet-Martínez, & Lee, 2014). Specifically, second-generation biculturals tend to have higher BII than first-generation biculturals (Huynh, 2009) and both first- and second-generation biculturals may experience discriminatory experiences, such as perpetual foreigner stereotypes (Cheryan & Monin, 2005; Zou & Cheryan, 2017).

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Table 8 lists means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations between all relevant measures. Supporting my first hypothesis, bicultural individuals who perceive higher integration among their ethnic and American identities were more likely to express intentions to approach ($r(205) = .20, p = .004$) and less likely to express intentions to avoid ($r(205) = -.33, p < .001$) White Americans. Higher public esteem was negatively related to intentions to avoid White Americans, $r(205) = -.25, p < .001$, but not related to approach intentions providing partial support for the second hypothesis.

Generation status was controlled for in all main analyses and coded as -1 for first-generation and +1 for second-generation. Moderation analyses were performed using the PROCESS macros in SPSS (Hayes, 2013). BII and public esteem were centered prior to creating an interaction term and all three were entered as predictors. Because there were two subscales for the outcome (behavioral intentions), I ran two separate models, which I discuss below.

Main Analyses

BII and intentions to approach. Intentions to approach White Americans were regressed on BII, public esteem, and the interaction between these two, controlling for generation status. The tested model was significant, $R^2 = 0.08$, $F(4, 202) = 4.03$, $p = .004$. Consistent with Hypothesis 1a, BII was significantly and positively associated with intentions to approach White Americans, $B = 0.19$, $SE = 0.09$, $t = 2.09$, $p = .038$. Public esteem, however, did not have a significant effect on approach intentions, contradicting Hypothesis 2a, $B = 0.03$, $SE = 0.04$, $t = 0.74$, $p = .461$. Finally, and consistent with Hypothesis 3a, there was a significant interaction between BII and public esteem ($B = -0.18$, $SE = 0.07$, $t = -2.51$, $p = .013$). To further explore the hypothesized moderation effect, I probed the simple slopes and found that at lower levels of identity integration (-1 SD), the relationship between public esteem and intentions to approach was positive, $B = 0.13$, $SE = 0.06$, $t = 2.23$, $p = .027$. At higher levels of BII (+1 SD), there was not a significant relationship between public esteem and intentions to approach, suggesting that the effect of contextual factors on subsequent intergroup relations is dampened for biculturals with an integrated identity. See Table 9 for complete results of the moderation analyses and Figure 2 for an illustration of these results. Generation status did not yield a significant effect in this model, $B = 0.09$, $SE = 0.10$, $t = 0.96$, $p = .337$.

BII and intentions to avoid. As done above, intentions to avoid White Americans were regressed on BII, public esteem, and the interaction between these two, controlling for generation status. The overall model was significant, $R^2 = 0.24$, $F(4, 202) = 15.92$, $p < .001$. Supporting H1b, BII was negatively associated with intentions to avoid White Americans, $B = -0.34$, $SE = 0.11$, $t = -3.29$, $p = .001$. Higher public esteem or perceptions that one's ingroup is positively viewed by the majority was negatively associated with intentions to avoid White Americans, supporting H2b, $B = -0.16$, $SE = 0.05$, $t = -2.99$, $p = .003$. Finally, the interaction between BII and public esteem was significant, $B = 0.34$, $SE = 0.08$, $t = 4.01$, $p < .001$, supporting H3b. Similar to the results for intentions to approach and providing further evidence for a buffering effect of BII, the simple slope was only significant at lower levels of BII (-1 SD), where the relationship between public esteem and intentions to avoid was negative, $B = -0.34$, $SE = 0.07$, $t = -4.94$, $p < .001$. At high levels of BII, perceptions of how one's ingroup is viewed by the majority did not seem influence intentions to avoid White Americans. These results reinforce the idea that biculturals with an integrated identity are more likely to report intentions to interact with majority group members, even when the context is negative. See Table 9 for complete results of the moderation analyses and Figure 2 for an illustration of these results. Finally, generation status was negatively associated with intentions to avoid, suggesting that those who are second-generation are less likely to report intentions to avoid, $B = -0.18$, $SE = 0.06$, $t = -3.22$, $p = .002$.

Discussion

Study 1 provided support for the importance of BII in improving intergroup relations, the relevance of majority group attitudes, and a buffering effect of BII. In regard to the first hypothesis, I found evidence that higher BII was related to greater intentions to approach and

lower intentions to avoid White Americans. These results are consistent with previous studies showing that BII has positive effects on intergroup relations (Mok et al., 2007). I also found partial support for the second hypothesis in that higher public esteem was not related to intentions to approach, but it was related to lower intentions to avoid White Americans. This finding is consistent with the idea that different motivations underlie approach and avoidance intentions (Elliot, 2006), but inconsistent with related work showing that discrimination affects both approach and avoidance intentions among Muslim-Americans (Saleem et al., 2018). The inconsistency between this and previous studies could have occurred because religious, ethnic, racial, and immigrant identity function differently. Finally, I found support for the third hypothesis that the relationship between public esteem and behavioral intentions would be moderated by BII. More specifically, I found that biculturals with higher BII were less affected by perceptions of public esteem than those with lower BII. For biculturals who are low in BII, perceptions of the majority views about their ethnic ingroup influenced their intentions to approach and avoid White Americans. The same relation was not found amongst biculturals with a high BII suggesting that for these individuals, BII was a buffer protecting them from the adverse effects of negative public esteem. However, because this is a correlational design, I cannot determine whether people with higher BII are more likely to perceive more positive public esteem or whether positive public esteem encourages higher BII. Study 2 was designed to experimentally manipulate public esteem in order to better provide evidence for causation and directionality of these effects.

Study 2

Study 2 had two primary goals. First, it was a conceptual replication of Study 1. Second, I aimed to determine whether the buffering effect of BII still exists when public esteem is

experimentally manipulated. I exposed bicultural participants to information that portrayed either favorable or unfavorable majority group attitudes. The hypotheses were the same as the previous study, with minor adaptations based on the measures included here. The hypotheses were: 1) BII should be positively related to intentions to approach and negatively related to intentions to avoid, 2) favorable majority group attitudes should predict intentions to approach and negative majority group attitudes should predict intentions to avoid, and 3) the relationship between majority group attitudes and behavioral intentions should be moderated by BII, such that individuals with lower BII will be more affected by the majority group attitudes manipulation.

Method

Participants

As with Study 1, participants were eligible if they were not born in the U.S., or had one or both parents who were not born in the U.S. For this study, they also had to have identified as either East Asian, South Asian, Latino/a, or Arab. I restricted to four of the most common ethnic group in the student population at our university because it was not feasible to create experimental manipulations for every possible ethnic group. One hundred ninety-one participants were recruited from the Psychology and Communication Subject Pools at a large Midwestern university. Of those, fifteen did not meet the eligibility requirements and the final sample included 176 participants (88 females, 86 males, 2 unidentified; $M_{\text{age}} = 18.69$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 0.88$). Sample size was determined using the power analysis discussed in Study 1 and calling for a sample of at least 145. Participants self-identified as East Asian (47%), South Asian (36%), Latino (15%), or Arab (2%). Sixty three percent of the sample was not born in the U.S. and had lived in the U.S. for an average of about seven years ($M = 7.39$, $SD = 6.14$, range = 0-18 years).

Procedure

Like Study 1, participants completed an online survey for partial course credit. First, they completed a demographic questionnaire which was used to match the majority group attitudes manipulation to their ethnic group, and control variables described below. Next, they completed the BII-2 scale. Then, they were randomly assigned to a positive (or negative) majority group attitudes condition where they were exposed to media messages that conveyed positive (or negative) opinions about their ethnic group. Finally, they reported on behavioral intentions towards White Americans and completed a manipulation check.¹¹ The study was deemed exempt by the university's Institutional Review Board.

Measures

Pre-experimental measures:

Bicultural identity integration (BII). Like Study 1, I used the BII-2 Scale to assess integration between ethnic and American culture. Reliability was good for both the blendedness (Cronbach's $a = .76$) and harmony subscales (Cronbach's $a = .79$), as well as the total 17-item scale (Cronbach's $a = .81$). Consistent with Study 1, only results using the combined 17-item scale will be presented here. See supplemental results in Appendix E for analyses with separate subscales.

Experimental manipulation:

Public esteem manipulation. Participants were asked to read and evaluate three news stories. The first two were filler stories included to reduce suspicion (one was about nutrition facts labels and one was about the declining bee population). The target news story was manipulated to convey that the majority hold either positive or negative views of the

¹¹ Additional scales that were not relevant to my primary hypotheses were also completed. They included the following: Exclusive and Inclusive victimhood, engagement with social network sites, demographics of friend group, willingness to take action for others, support for movements, media depictions of ethnic group, Social Identity Complexity, experiences with discrimination, and social identity strategies.

participant's ethnic group. For example, an East Asian participant in the negative (positive) condition would read an article with the headline, "Majority of Americans have unfavorable (favorable) view of East Asians". The article described a recent survey that found that that majority of Americans had favorable (unfavorable) views of the participant's ethnic group. The article also had graphs showing the findings from this fictional survey (see Appendix D for the news stories).

Post-experimental measures:

Manipulation check. The public self-esteem subscale from the collective self-esteem scale was used as the manipulation check (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Reliability for this subscale was good (Cronbach's $a = .84$).

Behavioral intentions towards White Americans. The same scale as Study 1 was used to measure behavioral intentions. Reliability was good for both subscales (approach: Cronbach's $a = .92$ and avoid: Cronbach's $a = .85$).

Results

Preliminary Analyses

Manipulation check. People in the unfavorable condition reported lower public esteem than people in the favorable condition, $t(174) = -4.18, p < .001$. This suggests that the manipulation did in fact influence participants' beliefs about majority group attitudes.

Table 10 lists means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations between key variables. BII was positively related to positive behavioral intentions. Biculturals who perceived higher integration among their ethnic and American identity reported greater intentions to approach ($r(174) = .19, p = .012$) and lower intentions to avoid ($r(174) = -.24, p = .001$) White Americans. Correlational results also revealed that BII and perceptions of high public esteem were positively

related, ($r(174) = .27, p < .001$). Perceptions of high public esteem was positively related to intentions to approach, ($r(174) = .37, p < .001$) and negatively related to intentions to avoid White Americans, ($r(174) = -.34, p < .001$). Condition did not impact intentions to approach ($t = -.72, p = .475$) or avoid ($t = 1.45, p = .148$) White Americans, meaning that biculturals exposed to favorable majority group attitudes did not differ from those exposed to unfavorable group attitudes.

Similar to Study 1, the hypothesized moderating effect was tested through the PROCESS macro in SPSS (Hayes, 2013). Experimental condition was effects coded with -1 representing unfavorable majority group attitudes and +1 representing favorable majority group attitudes. Both the experimental condition and BII were centered prior to creating an interaction term examining their interactive effect. Generation was coded as -1 for first-generation and +1 for second-generation. As in Study 1, I ran separate models for intentions to approach and intentions to avoid, discussed in detail below.

Main Analyses

BII and intentions to approach. Intentions to approach White Americans were regressed on BII, condition, and the interaction between these two, controlling for generation status. The tested model was significant, $R^2 = 0.08, F(4, 171) = 3.62, p = .007$. Supporting the first hypothesis, BII was significantly and positively associated with intentions to approach White Americans, $B = 0.32, SE = 0.11, t = 3.07, p = .003$. Additionally, the experimental manipulation significantly impacted approach intentions, such that participants exposed to a news article suggesting that the majority views their ethnic ingroup favorably, relative to unfavorably, reported higher intentions to approach White Americans, $B = 0.70, SE = 0.35, t = 2.00, p = .047$. Finally, the interaction between BII and condition was marginally significant, $B =$

-0.19, $SE = 0.10$, $t = -1.89$, $p = .061$. The hypothesized moderation effect was further explored by probing the interaction at +1 (SD) and -1 (SD) of BII. Results revealed that at lower levels of identity integration (-1 SD), the relationship between majority group attitudes and intentions to approach was positive, $B = 0.15$, $SE = 0.08$, $t = 1.96$, $p = .052$. At higher levels of BII (+1 SD) there was not a significant relationship between condition and intentions to approach, consistent with the results of Study 1. These results provide further support for the claim that high BII buffers biculturals from the negative effects of threatening social contexts in intergroup relations. See Table 11 for complete results of the moderation analyses and Figure 3 for an illustration of these results. Generation status did not yield a significant effect in this model.

BII and intentions to avoid. Intentions to avoid White Americans were regressed on BII, condition, and the interaction between these two, controlling for generation status. The tested model was significant, $R^2 = 0.09$, $F(4, 171) = 4.45$, $p = .002$. As in Study 1 and supporting hypothesis 1, BII was negatively associated with intentions to avoid White Americans, $B = -0.40$, $SE = 0.11$, $t = -3.53$, $p = .001$. The effect of condition was marginally significant, suggesting that biculturals who thought that the majority held favorable views of their ethnic ingroup were less likely to report intentions to avoid White Americans, $B = -0.73$, $SE = 0.38$, $t = -1.94$, $p = .053$. Finally, the interaction between condition and BII was marginally significant, $B = 0.18$, $SE = 0.11$, $t = 1.71$, $p = .090$. To further explore the hypothesized moderating effect, I probed this interaction at +1 and -1 SD of BII. At low levels of BII (-1 SD), condition significantly affected intentions to avoid White Americans, such that biculturals who thought the majority viewed their ingroup favorably reported lower intentions to avoid compared to biculturals who thought the majority viewed their ingroup unfavorably, $B = -0.20$, $SE = 0.08$, $t = -2.39$, $p = .018$. Condition, however, did not significantly influence intentions to avoid White Americans for biculturals with

high levels of BII (+1 SD). See Table 11 for complete results of the moderation analyses and Figure 3 for an illustration of these results. Generation status was not significant in this model.

Discussion

Consistent with Study 1, I found support for the first hypothesis that bicultural identity integration (BII) was related to behavioral intentions towards White Americans. Specifically, biculturals who reported higher BII reported greater intentions to approach and lower intentions to avoid White Americans. Unlike Study 1 and somewhat surprisingly, I found mixed support for my second hypothesis. Intentions to approach and avoid White Americans did not differ between people exposed to favorable versus unfavorable majority group attitudes when measured on their own (i.e., using an independent samples t-test), but the effect of experimental condition was significant when measured in conjunction with the other variables in the moderation analyses. Most importantly, I found support for the claim that high BII buffers biculturals from threatening social contexts. Results revealed that at low levels of BII, threatening social contexts can influence biculturals' intentions to approach and avoid White Americans. Indeed, when these individuals were exposed to information suggesting their ethnic ingroup is not held in high public esteem they reported higher intentions to avoid and lower intentions to approach White Americans. However, the experimental manipulation did not significantly influence behavioral intentions of those who had a high BII. Because we know that threatening social contexts are likely to have adverse effects on ethnic minorities, including increasing their likelihood to avoid majority members (Bikmen, 2011; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2012; Saleem & Ramasubramanian, 2017), findings from the present study suggest that high BII buffers or protects biculturals from these adverse effects.

General Discussion

According to the 2017 Current Population Survey, immigrants and their U.S. born children represent 27% of the population in the United States (US Census Bureau, 2017). Whereas, much of the previous work exploring the experiences of immigrants primarily focuses on the acculturation strategy and acculturation context, less is known about their intergroup outcomes (Brown & Zagefka, 2011). In the current study, I sought to explore factors that may improve intergroup relations between first- and second-generation immigrants and majority group members in the United States. Across two studies, I simultaneously examined the influence of individual factors, contextual factors, and their interactive effects on behavioral intentions towards majority members. Importantly, I found support for the importance of identity integration, public esteem and perceptions of majority group attitudes, and the interaction between these two in encouraging positive intergroup relations between immigrants and majority group members.

Across two studies, I found that first- and second-generation biculturals who view their ethnic and American identities as more integrated are more tolerant towards White Americans, as indicated by greater intentions to approach and lower intentions to avoid. Additionally, in the first study, I found that higher public esteem, or beliefs that your ethnic group was viewed more positively, was related to greater intentions to approach and lower intentions to avoid majority group members. Finally, in both studies, I found evidence for a buffering effect of bicultural identity integration (BII). Regardless of their impressions of majority group attitudes (Study 1) or actual majority group attitudes (Study 2), biculturals with higher BII were more likely to approach and less likely to avoid White Americans. Conversely, biculturals with lower BII were more affected by public esteem and majority group attitudes. When public esteem was high (Study 1) and majority group attitudes were favorable (Study 2), biculturals with low BII had

more positive behavioral intentions towards White Americans. However, when public esteem and majority group attitudes reflected unfavorably on their ethnic ingroup, biculturals with low BII reported higher intentions to avoid and lower intentions to approach White Americans. Taken together, these findings point to the importance of BII in encouraging more positive intergroup relations and perhaps serving as a protective factor in threatening contexts.

The results from the second chapter of this dissertation may provide some insight into the mechanism underlying the buffering effect of II. It may be that bicultural individuals with higher identity integration are able to view outgroup members more favorably, despite knowing that the outgroup has different values. Perhaps they tend to focus on positive interpersonal qualities in those outgroup members and this encourages more positive relationships, even in hostile contexts. Moreover, the experimental results from Chapter II provide a manipulation for identity integration that could be implemented in intergroup contexts to increase bicultural identity integration in immigrants, encourage more positive interpersonal relations, and then ultimately leading to more positive intergroup relations, especially in hostile contexts.

My findings contribute to the extensive research on the importance of BII in encouraging positive outcomes for biculturals in the context of adaptation and adjustment (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Chen, Benet-Martinez, & Bond, 2008), making friends from diverse backgrounds (Mok et al., 2007), interpersonal tolerance (Huff et al., 2017), and behavioral intentions to interact with outgroup members (Saleem et al., 2018). Whereas much of the previous work has measured the influence of the context on bicultural experiences through the policies in place that encourage either assimilation or multiculturalism (e.g., Berry, 2006) or the influences of bicultural identity on interpersonal and intergroup contexts, this is one of the first studies to simultaneously examine both individual and contextual factors individually and in

concert with one another. This is consistent with recommendations to examine bicultural experiences and intergroup outcomes through both individual and contextual factors (Brown & Zagefka, 2011). Perhaps the most important contribution of this work is the finding that bicultural identity integration can buffer against negative contextual cues and allow for individuals to maintain positive intergroup relations.

One of the most surprising findings from the current study was the mixed-results for the effect of majority group attitudes on behavioral intentions in Study 2. There was no effect of condition when measured using an independent samples t-test, but there was a significant effect of condition in the regression analyses. The findings of the t-test are inconsistent with the findings from previous work suggesting that beliefs that the majority group holds negative attitudes will encourage a reciprocal response that is demonstrated by avoidance and negative intergroup contact (Kteily et al., 2016; Paolini et al., 2006; Saleem et al., 2018). This is also inconsistent with the finding from Study 1 that higher public esteem is related to more positive behavioral intentions. One potential explanation for this inconsistency is that this was a brief exposure to one news article and though it did influence public esteem, it may not have been strong enough to influence behavioral intentions. This finding may actually have implications for understanding the development of public esteem and opinions about majority group attitudes. It may be that in order to see downstream consequences, there needs to be more prolonged exposure to depictions of majority group attitudes (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). However, when analyzed in conjunction with BII, I did observe effects of majority group attitudes on behavioral intentions in Study 2. Therefore, this result should be interpreted with caution and warrants future research.

The current studies are not without limitations. One of the limitations of these studies was that the participants were all students and from the same university. A recent study found that millennials (i.e., those born between the early 1980s and early 2000s) were more tolerant of immigrants than non-millennials (Ross & Rouse, 2015). This finding is promising in the context of the current work, because it may suggest higher public esteem and therefore more positive intergroup interactions going forward. It also points to future research because it is not clear whether these effects from the current studies would replicate with non-millennials. Most of the participants in the current studies were also millennials and could have therefore grown up in a more tolerant context than their parents. Therefore, it would be important to see whether these effects may replicate with older cohorts of non-millennials. One may expect that immigrants who are not millennials would have lower public esteem and this could have consequences for intergroup interactions. While the buffering effect may still exist with non-millennials, it may be the case the mean levels of intentions to approach would be lower and intentions to avoid might be higher. It could also be the case that older immigrants would experience more discrimination from their non-millennial peers, and the buffering effect of BII could actually be larger and more important. This should be explored in future research.

Another limitation of the current study is that, despite being a study of intergroup relations, it only focuses on one of the groups (i.e., biculturals). It would be valuable to examine whether identity integration in White Americans is related to more positive behavioral intentions towards biculturals. Recently, the BII scale has been adapted to measure generalized identity integration (GII)—or integration between all selves—and this measure has been shown to be predictive of interpersonal tolerance (Huff et al., 2017). Because bicultural II cannot be measured in White Americans, generalized II could be a promising direction to understand the importance

of II among monocultural individuals in impacting intergroup relations. It is possible that White Americans with greater GII would express more positive behavioral intentions towards biculturals. However, it is also possible that this would not occur because the mechanism underlying more positive intergroup relations in the current study may be that biculturals who view their ethnic and American identities as more integrated feel closer to White Americans because they share the specific superordinate identity of American (Roccas & Brewer, 2002). In the case of GII, American may not be automatically activated as a relevant identity to White Americans because it is not explicitly mentioned in the GII scale and the downstream consequence of more positive intergroup relations may not be present. Regardless, the agenda of improving intergroup tolerance among White Americans is an important one and GII may be a promising lens through which to explore this question.

The present studies are among the first to look at the independent and interactive effects of individual (i.e., identity integration) and contextual (i.e., majority group attitudes) factors on intergroup relations between first- and second-generation biculturals and White Americans. This research points to the importance of bicultural identity integration in encouraging positive intergroup relations and buffering against negative contexts. I also provide recommendations for future research that can hopefully provide insights about how to improve tolerance among majority group members towards biculturals and immigrants.

Table 4.1. *Descriptives and intercorrelations for key variables for Study 1.*

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4
1. Generation	0.21	0.98				
2. BII: Total	3.47	0.54	.27**			
3. Public Esteem	4.92	1.05	.05	.18**		
4. Approach	4.25	0.68	.11	.20**	.09	
5. Avoid	1.69	0.87	-.27**	-.33**	-.25**	-.57**

Note. *M* and *SD* are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. Generation is coded as follows: -1 = first-generation and 1 = second-generation. * indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$.

Table 4.2. Moderation analyses for intentions to approach and avoid White Americans for Study I.

	B	Std. Error	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	95% Confidence Interval for B	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Outcome: Approach Intentions						
Intercept	4.22	0.07	56.23	<.001	4.07	4.36
Generation	0.09	0.10	0.96	.337	-0.10	0.29
Public Esteem	0.03	0.04	0.74	.461	-0.06	0.12
BII: Total	0.19	0.09	2.09	.038	0.01	0.37
Public Esteem* BII: Total	-0.18	0.07	-2.51	.013	-0.32	-0.04
$R^2 = 0.08, F = 4.03^{**}$						
Outcome: Avoid Intentions						
Intercept	1.87	0.09	21.49	<.001	1.70	2.04
Generation	-0.37	0.11	-3.22	.002	-0.59	-0.14
Public Esteem	-0.16	0.05	-2.99	.003	-0.26	-0.05
BII: Total	-0.35	0.11	-3.29	.001	-0.56	-0.14
Public Esteem * BII: Total	0.34	0.08	4.01	<.001	-0.59	-0.14
$R^2 = 0.24, F = 15.92^{***}$						

Note. Generation is effects-coded as follows: -1 = first-generation and 1 = second-generation. BII total and public esteem were mean centered. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$

Table 4.3. *Descriptives and intercorrelations for key variables for Study 2.*

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5
1. Generation	0.26	0.97					
2. BII: Total	3.45	0.55	.33**				
3. Public Esteem	4.79	1.16	.02	.27**			
4. Condition	0.02	1.00	-.02	-.05	.30**		
5. Approach	4.06	0.74	-.07	.19*	.37**	.05	
6. Avoid	1.79	0.81	-.00	-.24**	-.34**	-.11	-.72**

Note. *M* and *SD* are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. Generation and condition are coded as follows: -1 = first-generation and 1 = second-generation; -1 = unfavorable majority attitudes and 1 = favorable majority attitudes. * indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$.

Table 4.4. *Moderation analyses for intentions to approach White Americans for Study 2.*

	B	Std. Error	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	95% Confidence Interval for B	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Outcome: Approach Intentions						
Intercept	2.97	0.36	8.22	<.001	2.26	3.68
Generation	-0.10	0.06	-1.71	.090	-0.22	0.02
Condition	0.70	0.35	2.00	.047	0.01	1.38
BII: Total	0.32	0.11	3.07	.003	0.12	0.53
Condition* BII: Total	-0.19	0.10	-1.89	.061	-0.38	0.01
$R^2 = 0.08, F = 4.00^{**}$						
Outcome: Avoid Intentions						
Intercept	3.17	0.39	8.07	<.001	2.39	3.95
Generation	0.06	0.06	0.95	.341	-0.07	0.19
Condition	-0.73	0.38	-1.95	.053	-1.48	0.01
BII: Total	-0.40	0.11	-3.53	.001	-0.63	-0.18
Condition * BII: Total	0.18	0.11	1.71	.090	-0.03	0.40
$R^2 = 0.09, F = 4.45^{**}$						

Note. Generation and condition are coded as follows: -1 = first-generation and 1 = second-generation; -1 = unfavorable majority attitudes and 1 = favorable majority attitudes. BII total was mean centered. *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$

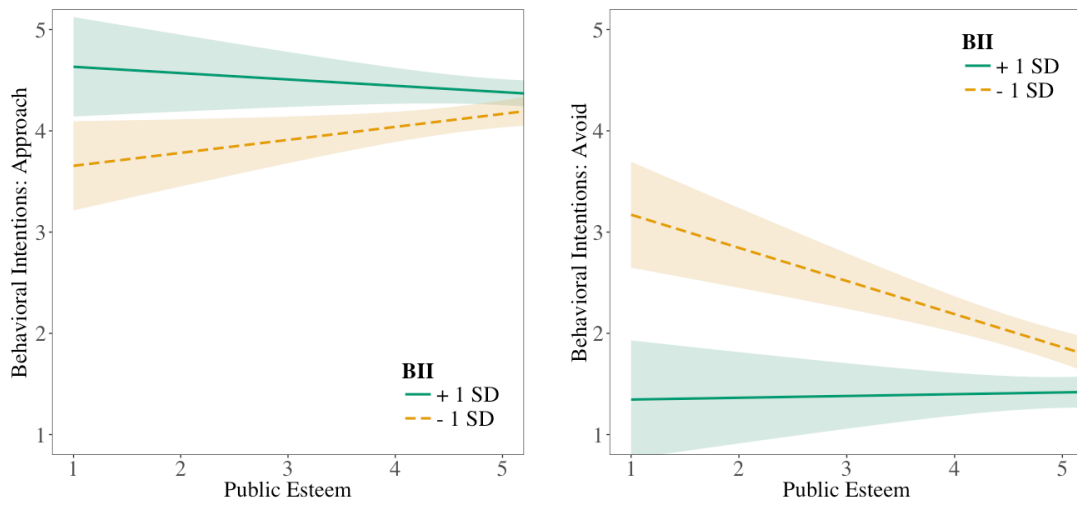


Figure 4.1. *The relationship between public esteem and behavioral intentions as moderated by BII for Study 1.*

Note: Shaded areas represent 95% confidence intervals.

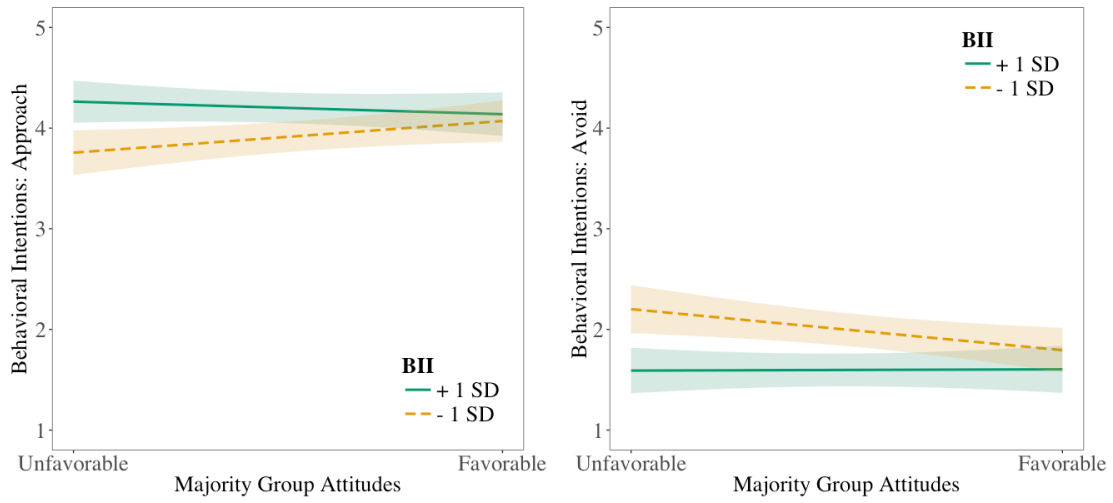


Figure 4.2. *The relationship between majority group attitudes and behavioral intentions as moderated by BII for Study 2.*

Note: Shaded areas represent 95% confidence intervals.

CHAPTER V

Conclusion

The goal of this dissertation was to test whether individuals who are more likely to integrate multiple social or cultural identities are more tolerant in interpersonal and intergroup contexts, with the ultimate goal of identifying a novel approach for improving tolerance for individuals and groups who may hold different values, opinions, positions, and/or backgrounds. Across five different studies, I found consistent evidence for a positive relationship between II and tolerance in diverse contexts, including anticipated interactions with an individual with opposing opinions, in-person negotiations, and intentions to approach outgroup members.

In Chapter II, I presented research from two studies showing a positive relationship between identity integration (II) and interpersonal tolerance. In the first study, individuals who viewed their identities as more blended, or overlapping, demonstrated greater tolerance, as measured by more positive trait inferences, towards an individual with an opposing opinion. In the second study, I used an experimental manipulation to discern that there is an additive effect of blendedness and harmony for promoting greater tolerance. In other words, people who were primed to think about their identities as both overlapping and harmonious were most tolerant towards others with opposing opinions. The findings from this chapter provide the first evidence for a link between identity integration and tolerance. Moreover, perhaps the most exciting conclusion from this chapter is that tolerance can be increased by experimentally manipulating identity integration.

In Chapter III, I expand upon the previous chapter to investigate the relationship between identity integration and an actual behavioral outcome from an interpersonal interaction. The results from this study show that people with higher II are able to achieve greater individual gains. Additionally, dyads that have higher mean II achieve greater joint gains. Interestingly, there was only a weak relationship between II and explicit ratings of interpersonal tolerance using trait ratings; however, in order to achieve higher individual and joint gains, it is likely that participants had to trust and like their partner, which may be proxies for greater tolerance (Kong et al., 2014; Maddux, Mullen, & Galinsky, 2008; Thompson, 1991).

Finally, in Chapter IV, I extend the investigation to intergroup tolerance between biculturals and majority group members in the United States. Consistent with previous chapters, there was a positive relationship between bicultural II (BII) and greater intergroup tolerance. Specifically, I found that people with higher BII are more likely to report intentions to approach and less likely to report intentions to avoid White Americans. Additionally, these studies provide evidence for a buffering effect of BII in protecting biculturals from negative majority group attitudes.

Integrating Concepts and Findings across Chapters

Taken together, the empirical chapters (II-IV) present evidence for a link between identity integration and tolerance. However, it is important to make note of two types of differences that occur across these studies. First, operationalizations of identity integration and tolerance are not identical across studies. Second, the findings, especially when looking at the separate subscales (i.e., blendedness and harmony) are not consistent across studies. These discrepancies in conceptualization and results are important in understanding the relationship

between identity integration and tolerance in various contexts and may also point to gaps in the knowledge produced by the current dissertation.

Conceptual considerations. The conceptualizations of both identity integration and tolerance differ across the three empirical chapters of this dissertation. In Chapters II and III, I used a measure of generalized identity integration. Whereas, the goal of this measure is to understand the relationship between multiple identities, the measure of bicultural identity integration used in Chapter IV is intended to measure the relationship between two specific, cultural identities. Despite using an identical measure of generalized identity integration in Chapters II and III, the factor structure differed slightly. Two subscales (blendedness and harmony) emerged in both chapters; however, the items that went into each subscale differed slightly. In Chapter II, only seven items were used for the subscales, whereas nine items were used in Chapter III. Additionally, in Chapter II, the items that made up the blendedness scale were all positively worded and the items that made up the harmony scale were all negatively worded. Finally, the item that loads most strongly on the blendedness scale in Chapter II was part of the harmony scale in Chapter III (“My different selves blend together seamlessly”).

Different factor structures may have emerged across studies for two reasons: 1) a different factor analytic approach was used across chapters, or 2) because the demographics of the samples differed across chapters. In Chapter II, the entire sample was born in the US and the vast majority of the sample was White or East Asian. In Chapter III, 13% of the sample was not born in the US and while Whites were still the majority, the number of East Asian, Black, and South Asian participants was comparable (10-13% of the sample for each group). Though the generalized identity integration scale does not include questions specifically asking about race or ethnicity, it is possible that the racial and ethnic background of these participants was influential

in their understanding of these questions and their experience with managing multiple identities. A crucial direction for future research is to delve deeper into participants' understandings of both the items in this measure and perhaps more importantly, the concept of managing multiple identities. I will discuss specifics of this research plan in the Limitations and Future Research section.

Tolerance is conceptualized in a different manner across all three chapters. In the second chapter, tolerance is positive trait inferences towards others with opposing opinions. The same measure is used in the third chapter, but the primary measure of tolerance is negotiation outcomes. Finally, in the fourth chapter, behavioral intentions are representative of tolerance. These measures differ on a few dimensions. First, in both Chapters II and IV the tolerance measure is a self-report measure of opinions or intentions based on an anticipated interaction. In Chapter III, the primary measure of tolerance is a behavioral outcome from an actual interaction. Second, whereas the measures in Chapters II and IV are explicit measures of feelings about or desire to interact with another person, the measure in Chapter III is more of a proxy for tolerance because more positive negotiation outcomes may have resulted from increased tolerance towards the interaction partner.

The psychological processes underlying these different measures of tolerance may diverge and are likely differentially influenced by the sociocultural context. For example, in Chapter II, the participants are given the information that their anticipated interaction partner has a different opinion on a given issue (i.e., choosing between studying for finals or helping a friend). However, the content of this issue signals to the participants that their interaction partner is also a student, indicating a shared identity. The shared identity as student is also present in Chapter III where most participants were students at the same university, but this shared identity

was not explicitly made salient. Imagine a context where a Black Lives Matter protester is anticipating interacting with a White Supremacist and knows that the other person has a contrasting opinion on an issue relevant to these identities. In this case, tolerance towards the other person may be influenced more by using category-based impressions of the other than by focusing on person-based impressions that may be more easily influenced by characteristics (i.e., identity integration) of the perceiver (Devine, Sedikides, & Fuhrman, 1989). Additionally, like Chapter IV where participants are reporting on behavioral intentions towards members of different cultural groups, the context of the relationship between groups, whether it is Black Lives Matter and White Supremacists or White Americans and bicultural individuals, may be especially relevant. In the current dissertation, I have argued that interactions between groups is indicative of more positive intergroup relations. However, there may be contexts where avoiding people from other groups is actually preferable, especially when it may threaten an individual's safety to interact with an outgroup member.

Integrating results. Despite a relatively consistent conclusion across chapters, the specific findings, especially when looking at the different subscales are not identical across chapters. In Chapter II, the relationship between self-reported identity integration and tolerance is only seen in the blendedness factor, and not the harmony factor or total scale. In Chapter III, the individual gains results are consistent for blendedness, harmony, and total. Joint gains are only marginally predicted by blendedness and trait inferences (i.e., tolerance measure from Chapter II) are only marginally predicted by harmony. As mentioned above, the factor structure for these two chapters was slightly different and may have contributed to the discrepancies in results. Looking at the correlations between each item in the scale and the measures of tolerance could be informative for understanding the different results across these two chapters. In fact, the

one item that loads on the blendedness subscale in Chapter II and the harmony subscale in Chapter III could be particularly important in predicting tolerance and may explain the different findings across chapters, especially when using the same trait inferences measure. Whereas in Chapter II, the conclusion may be that blendedness is most important, Chapter III suggests that both blendedness and harmony—and therefore the combined scale—are related to tolerance. Chapter IV uses entirely different measures of both identity integration and tolerance, but the findings are similar to Chapter III in that blendedness, harmony, and the total scale are related to intergroup tolerance. Putting these findings together, it may be the case that blendedness is more important for interpersonal tolerance—at least as measured by trait inferences—and that both blendedness and harmony are important for intergroup tolerance.

Alternatively, a much more mundane explanation is possible for Chapter II. As previously mentioned, the factor structure of the generalized identity integration scale in Chapter II is such that positively worded items made up the blendedness scale and negatively worded items made up the harmony scale. It may be that people who reported higher blendedness and higher tolerance were more inclined to make positive attributions about both the self and others. If general positivity is an underlying factor that influences both identity integration and tolerance, this would explain why the relationship is not present with harmony or the total scale in these studies because those included negatively worded items. In order to explore this possibility, it would be necessary to further validate the factor structure of the generalized identity integration scale with future research.

Implications for Research on Tolerance

The results from this dissertation have implications for management of a wide variety of situations that involve interpersonal tolerance, ranging from negotiations to international

conflicts. Many interventions to reduce intolerance focus on structural changes in the context, such as introducing superordinate goals to create higher levels of interdependence between individuals (Argote & Kane, 2009). Though these structural interventions are undoubtedly important and relevant, my findings suggest that individual differences, such as II may also play a role in interpersonal and intergroup relations. Interestingly, these studies indicate that cultivating a greater sense of blendedness and harmony within individuals, whether between specific identities or all identities generally, can impact tolerance in many different types of situations. The findings from the experimental study in Chapter II are promising for informing future interventions to improve tolerance. All three chapters point to the importance of identity integration; however, Chapter II also provides preliminary evidence that this individual difference variable can be manipulated to increase interpersonal tolerance. Individual manipulations may be more widely applicable than structural interventions in some cases. For example, immigrants moving to a new country that is less accepting might be able to protect themselves from this negative context by thinking about their cultural identities as more integrated. In this type of scenario, this may be more practical than changing societal attitudes towards immigrants, at least in the short term.

As far as I know, Chapters III and IV are the first studies to examine the effects of both the context and a factor within the individual on tolerance. In Chapter III, the context was operationalized as characteristics of the negotiation partner. This is consistent with recommendations to consider individual differences in negotiation research (Elfenbein, 2015) and also to think about the negotiation partner as a social context (Elfenbein et al., 2017). Across two studies, Chapter IV also demonstrated the importance of the social context in influencing tolerance. In these studies, the social context was operationalized as public esteem (Study 1) and

majority group attitudes (Study 2). Whereas there was no interaction between individual and contextual factors in Chapter III, there was an individual by contextual interaction in Chapter IV. The choice to study the independent and interactive effects of identity integration and majority group attitudes was influenced by a gap in previous literature which tends to look at only one of these factors and rarely measures interactive effects on intergroup relations (Berry, 2006; Brown & Zagefka, 2011).

Implications for Research on Identity Integration

Recently, there has been increased focus on understanding how individuals manage their multiple identities (for a comprehensive review, see Ramarajan, 2014). One of the major contributions of this dissertation is to provide further evidence for the relevance of studying generalized identity integration (GII), or the extent to which individuals view all of their selves as blended and harmonious (Hanek et al., under review). In Chapters II and III, I conducted analyses to determine the factor structure of the GII scale. The results of these factor analyses were slightly different across the different samples; however, consistent with the measurement of bicultural identity integration, both results argue for a two-factor solution that measures both blendedness and harmony (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Cheng et al., 2014; Huynh et al., 2011). The results from Study 1 of Chapter II indicate that blendedness may be more especially important for interpersonal tolerance, but Study 2 proposes an additive effect of blendedness and harmony. We can conclude from Chapter III that both blendedness and harmony have a similar impact on individual gains, but only blendedness impacts joint gains. Taken together, these findings imply a slight advantage of blendedness over harmony for improving tolerance, but they also strengthen the argument for looking the separate effects of blendedness and harmony,

because the evidence for each subscale is not entirely clear. This lack of consistency is actually quite consistent with previous work using the BII scale.

Whereas theorists have argued that blendedness tends to be more cognitive or perceptual and harmony tends to be more affective (e.g., Cheng et al., 2014; Miramontez et al., 2008), there is a frustrating lack of uniformity in whether people measure blendedness and harmony separately or use the entire scale. In the scale validation paper on the first BII scale, the authors found that blendedness seems to be more related to trait openness and cultural competence, whereas harmony is more related to affective measures and neuroticism (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). Previous work that has been referenced throughout this dissertation has used various conceptualizations of these two subscales. For example, when measuring intergroup friendships, Mok and colleagues (2007) used a preliminary version of the BII scale that was a vignette measuring both blendedness and harmony; when measuring cognitive flexibility and creativity, Cheng and colleagues (2008) used only the blendedness subscale, when measuring intentions to interact with outgroup members, Saleem and colleagues (2018) used a combined scale including both blendedness and harmony. In the presence of this inconsistency, I would argue that researchers should present the results of both subscales separately, unless there is empirical evidence for combining the scales. For example, in Chapter IV of this dissertation, I have presented the results of the combined blendedness and harmony subscales because the presentation of the results is clearer. However, in order to inform future research and provide clarity for the difference between the blendedness and harmony subscales, I have presented the results for each subscale in the Supplemental Results in Appendix E.

At the outset of this dissertation, I sought to make a case for the importance of one subscale over the other in relation to tolerance. Instead, I have found more clarity in

understanding why previous work using the two subscales is somewhat inconsistent. The evidence is clear that these subscales do have differing effects for adjustment among biculturals (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Huynh, 2009), but the distinct predictive power of each subscale may not extend to other domains. While I cannot make a strong claim in this dissertation about one scale or the other, I do argue that both the independent effects of each subscale and the effects of the combined scale should be reported in future research. Hopefully this will help others to understand these two dimensions of identity integration.

Another contribution of the current research is the introduction of a new manipulation for identity integration in Chapter II. Previous research has targeted the harmony facet only (Cheng & Lee, 2013) or the blendedness facet only (Mok & Morris, 2012). The manipulation presented in Chapter II is unique in that it targets both blendedness and harmony. However, despite observing significant changes in the outcome variable of interpersonal tolerance, there were no changes in self-reported identity integration. One possible explanation for this result is that this manipulation did not affect GII, but only downstream consequences, namely tolerance, that are related to II. It would be important for future research to further explore this manipulation and others. This was not only the first time both blendedness and harmony were manipulated, but also the first attempt at manipulating this new measurement of identity integration that captures generalized II among all selves.

This dissertation points to the import of understanding the complexities of different identities and how these complexities are related to tolerance. For example, in Chapter III, the sample is quite diverse and future analyses could look at how interacting with individuals with different identities influences negotiation outcomes. Additionally, the visibility of these different identities may impact interpersonal and intergroup outcomes. Also, the salience of different

identities may be very relevant in the relationship between identity integration and tolerance. For example, in Chapter II, the identities of student and friend may have been particularly salient because of the specifics of the manipulation. In Chapter IV, the identity as minority group member may have been particularly salient because they were asked about interactions with majority group members. The salience of these different identities could have influenced both identity integration and tolerance.

One of the most important conclusions from the current work is that the nascent study of generalized identity integration requires much more exploration. In my opinion, the most pressing issue is understanding how individuals make sense of the concept of managing multiple identities. The best way to address this question may be through a qualitative study where we interview participants about how they manage their multiple selves. Questions of central importance may be whether harmony is indicative of a simple lack of conflict or something different, whether blending is understood as a new “hybrid” identity, whether the number and type of identities influence how people manage their different selves, whether certain identities are more salient than others, and whether the sociocultural context is discussed when thinking about multiple selves. When this qualitative study is conducted, it will be important to recruit a sample that represents diverse racial, ethnic, religious, sexual orientation, socioeconomic, and cultural backgrounds. This may aid in understanding the complexities that exist depending on the specifics of the identities involved and the impact of the sociocultural context.

Practical Implications

Improving tolerance is of central importance to organizations both globally and nationally. In the national context in the United States, the Southern Poverty Law Center has an entire project devoted to helping educators eradicate hate using the tools from their magazine and

website entitled, “Teaching Tolerance”. The results of this dissertation can speak to these initiatives, and others, by providing evidence for the importance of considering individual characteristics, namely identity integration, in the pursuit to improve tolerance in a variety of contexts.

The current political divisiveness in the United States and abroad is just one context in which the necessity for improving interpersonal and intergroup relations may be especially relevant. A recent report indicates that the partisan divide—or the gap in opinions on a number of key issues, such as immigration and environmental regulations—between Democrats and Republicans has grown from 15 to 36 percentage points over the past 30 years (Pew Research Center, 2017). In other words, people from different political parties are now even more likely to have opposing opinions and values. Based on the results of this dissertation, I would argue that individuals who perceive more integration between their different selves would be more tolerant of these people who have opposing opinions, even if they are members of a different political party. Additionally, improving interpersonal tolerance can ultimately improve intergroup tolerance (Kobayashi, 2010). Therefore, in the context of individuals from differing political parties, individuals who perceive more integration among the identities within themselves can be tolerant of others with opposing opinions and may in turn become more tolerant of people from other political parties.

Another issue of central importance that this dissertation can speak to is perceptions towards immigrants and immigration in the United States. Current views towards immigrants are actually more positive than they have been in the past 20 years with as many as 65% of Americans endorsing the idea that immigrants strengthen America. While promising, there is still a quarter of the American population that views immigrants as a burden (Pew Research Center,

2017) and there is undoubtedly variation in perceptions of specific immigrant groups. These perceptions undoubtedly influence relationships between immigrants and majority group members. The findings from Chapter IV highlight the importance of both majority group attitudes and identity integration in influencing these relationships. In the specific context of these studies, more positive majority group attitudes engendered more positive relationships. Additionally, individuals with higher bicultural identity integration were more likely to report intentions to approach majority group members, even in the presence of negative attitudes towards their group. Therefore, it may be especially beneficial to encourage greater bicultural identity integration among individuals who are more likely to be exposed to information that portrays the views of the 26% of Americans see them as a burden. Greater perceptions of bicultural identity integration may be protective against these negative contexts and may ultimately encourage more positive intergroup relations. However, this recommendation comes with a large caveat that the burden is placed on the immigrants to improve relations. As I discussed in Chapter I, one of the problems with the concept of tolerance is the imbalance of power, such that people in positions of power are disproportionately able to be tolerant. In other words, people who are not in positions of power often do not have the choice to tolerate more powerful others. Therefore, in the case of immigrants and majority group members, this frequent asymmetry of power should be considered, and the burden may be better placed on the majority group members. In this case, perhaps by integrating their multiple selves, majority group members can be the ones to improve intergroup relations with immigrants.

Finally, Chapter III underscores the relevance of identity integration in negotiations. We all regularly engage in negotiations from assigning tasks to collaborators in a project, to deciding who will take out the trash, to negotiating an employment contract. The findings from Chapter

III have two important implications for these negotiations. First, having higher identity integration encourages more positive outcomes for both the individual and the pair. Second, individuals with higher identity integration may be able to overcome biases that lead people to believe that their negotiation partner has opposing interests, which ultimately leads to worse outcomes. Negotiators with higher identity integration may be more tolerant of their negotiation partner, which allows them to find more individual and joint gains. Negotiation trainings are ubiquitous in business schools and large organizations. The results from this study are in line with others that point to the importance of personality characteristics in influencing negotiation outcomes (Elfenbein, 2015; Elfenbein et al., 2017), and perhaps highlighting tools to leverage identity integration could be added to the curriculum to improve both negotiation outcomes and tolerance towards negotiation counterparts.

Limitations and Future Research

Despite providing substantial evidence for a positive relationship between identity integration and tolerance, this dissertation has some limitations that are worth noting. First, though the measures of tolerance in Chapters II and IV are consistent with previous work (Halevy et al., 2006; Roccas & Amit, 2011; Saleem et al., 2018; Skitka et al., 2005), they are based on hypothetical interactions. In Chapter III, I have an explicit behavioral measure, namely negotiation outcomes, but this is not a direct measure of tolerance per se. That being said, the processes that lead to more positive negotiation outcomes, including building trust, willingness to share information, and taking the perspective of your negotiation partner are all related to tolerance. The study in Chapter III is a first step towards understanding the relationship between II and behavioral measures of tolerance, but future research should also explore other behavioral measures of tolerance. For example, if given the opportunity to interact with members of other

groups or individuals who hold opposing viewpoints, do people choose to interact with these people, how long do they maintain the conversation, and are they willing to set up future interactions? Based on the results from the current dissertation, I would anticipate that individuals with higher II would be more likely to choose to interact, would maintain contact for longer, and would be more willing to set up future interactions. These outcome measures would be more behavioral and would be consistent with recommendations to include an emphasis on maintaining positive relations in our measurement of tolerance (e.g., Creppell, 2013).

In the current work, I focus on relatively benign conflicts, especially in Chapters II and III. This could be viewed as a limitation, but it may also be a strength because we are all more likely to encounter these more benign conflicts on a daily basis (Kobayashi, 2010). In these lower stakes contexts, having higher II is related to greater tolerance; however, there may be contexts wherein having lower II is more beneficial. For example, individuals with more bicultural identity conflict (i.e., lower BII) tend to be more resistant to groupthink, indicating that they are willing to stand up to ingroup members when they may be promoting something that is incorrect (Mok & Morris, 2010). I also have some preliminary evidence to suggest that lower II can be beneficial for tolerance when judging an extreme outgroup member, such as a person who strongly believed in the positions and values of the candidate for whom you did not support in the 2016 Presidential Election (see Huff & Hall, 2018 for description of extreme outgroup member). In this case, individuals with lower generalized II were more tolerant of this extreme outgroup member. This suggests that there may be some boundary conditions to the results presented in this dissertation. Future research could extend the findings from this work to more intractable conflicts and also explore situations when lower II may actually lead to more beneficial interpersonal and intergroup outcomes.

Finally, many of these results presented here are correlational, meaning I cannot determine directionality of the findings. However, I can discern from the second study in Chapter II that an experimental manipulation of II impacts interpersonal tolerance. I do not know whether this replicates in the context of negotiations or intergroup tolerance, but future research should explore this question. Using the same manipulation from Chapter II, identity integration could be manipulated by providing examples of identity maps that show more overlap (i.e., higher blendedness) and charts that show more positive relationships between selves (i.e., higher harmony) and then measuring negotiation outcomes and intergroup tolerance. This could have far reaching implications for improving tolerance in a number of contexts where negotiation is important (e.g., business and interpersonal relationships) and intergroup relations (e.g., between immigrants and majority group members).

Conclusion

This research is the first to systematically examine the relationship between *identity integration*, using both generalized and specific measures of II, and *tolerance*, using both interpersonal and intergroup operationalizations. Across all studies, I find what I hope is convincing evidence for a positive relationship between II and tolerance. The results are promising for informing future research agendas and interventions that target factors within the individual to promote greater interpersonal and intergroup tolerance in an increasingly diverse and interconnected global context.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Chapter II Vignette

Next you will read a hypothetical scenario about the roles of student and friend. After reading the scenario, you will be asked questions regarding how you would respond to the scenario.

Imagine that you are a college student at a mid-sized undergraduate institution. You are approaching the end of the semester and you have your first final exam in a few days. This exam is very important because it will determine a substantial portion of your semester grades in these classes. You are planning to begin studying today after the review session.

However, you get a phone call from your best friend that she is very ill and needs someone to take her to the emergency room. Your friend's parents are out of town and she does not have siblings in the area. Your friend has been to the emergency room before and you know that she could be in the hospital for a few days. You have to decide whether or not you are going to take your friend to the hospital. Here is how you described the situation to a family member:

“If I stay on campus, I can go to the review sessions for my Psychology class. Unfortunately, I didn't do as well as I could have done on the last few assignments for that class. At the review session, the professors will probably give study tips and strategies and go over some of the more difficult problems and topics that will be on the exams, and I could use the extra help.”

“However, I'm very close to my best friend, and I feel guilty that I wasn't able to take her to the hospital last time. She has had bad luck with health lately and spent a lot of time trying to recover. She is also currently grieving the loss of her grandmother who died less than a year ago. I feel like I should be with her since she has been sick and grieving.”

“I don't know if I should stay on campus or take her to the hospital. I am very close to my friend and want to be there for her. However, my exam grades this semester are really crucial because I am trying to show an upward trend in my grade point average as the semesters go on. I want to apply to graduate schools and research positions in the fall, and my GPA is extremely important.

I'm feeling stressed and confused, and I have to decide what to do.

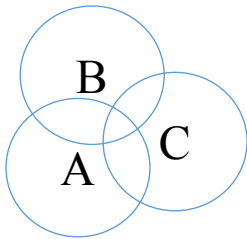
APPENDIX B

Chapter II Experimental Manipulations

In this study we are interested in how you view the interactions between your different identities. We would like for you to draw a “self-map”. Please draw circles for each identity and place labels in the circles. We are also interested in the relationship between your different identities. Some identities may work well with one another (+) while others may create obstacles or conflict within your life (-). Please list all the identities included in your self-map and the relationship between each pair. We have provided examples of both the self-map and the identity relationship chart below.

Examples

Self-Map



Your Self-Map

Identity Relationship Chart

Identity One	Identity Two	Relationship
A	B	+
A	C	+
B	C	+

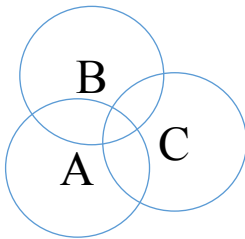
Your Identity Relationship Chart

Figure B.1. *High Blendedness/High Harmony Condition Stimuli.*

In this study we are interested in how you view the interactions between your different identities. We would like for you to draw a “self-map”. Please draw circles for each identity and place labels in the circles. We are also interested in the relationship between your different identities. Some identities may work well with one another (+) while others may create obstacles or conflict within your life (-). Please list all the identities included in your self-map and the relationship between each pair. We have provided examples of both the self-map and the identity relationship chart below.

Examples

Self-Map



Identity Relationship Chart

Identity One	Identity Two	Relationship
A	B	-
A	C	-
B	C	-

Your Self-Map

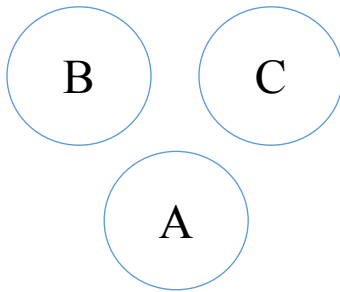
Your Identity Relationship Chart

Figure B.2. *High Blendedness/Low Harmony Condition Stimuli.*

In this study we are interested in how you view the interactions between your different identities. We would like for you to draw a “self-map”. Please draw circles for each identity and place labels in the circles. We are also interested in the relationship between your different identities. Some identities may work well with one another (+) while others may create obstacles or conflict within your life (-). Please list all the identities included in your self-map and the relationship between each pair. We have provided examples of both the self-map and the identity relationship chart below.

Examples

Self-Map



Identity Relationship Chart

Identity One	Identity Two	Relationship
A	B	+
A	C	+
B	C	+

Your Self-Map

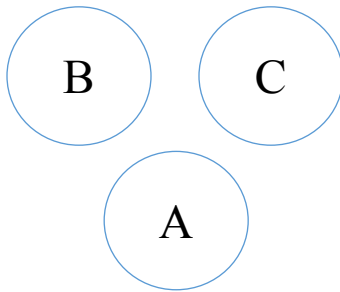
Your Identity Relationship Chart

Figure B.3. *Low Blendedness/High Harmony Condition Stimuli.*

In this study we are interested in how you view the interactions between your different identities. We would like for you to draw a “self-map”. Please draw circles for each identity and place labels in the circles. We are also interested in the relationship between your different identities. Some identities may work well with one another (+) while others may create obstacles or conflict within your life (-). Please list all the identities included in your self-map and the relationship between each pair. We have provided examples of both the self-map and the identity relationship chart below.

Examples

Self-Map



Identity Relationship Chart

Identity One	Identity Two	Relationship
A	B	-
A	C	-
B	C	-

Your Self-Map

Your Identity Relationship Chart

Figure B.4. *Low Blendedness/Low Harmony Condition Stimuli.*

APPENDIX C

Chapter III Negotiation Simulation Task (Bakery Role)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

You would like to start a modern bakery, which offers a wide selection of breads, pastries, and desserts. All of the products would be made fresh daily. You decide to open your own bakery with support from the University Entrepreneurship Initiative, which aims to encourage students to experiment with different business ideas.

You have inspected several desirable locations; however, all but one would be too expensive. This option, an open plan market, would allow you to share space with another shop. There is vacant space for two shops in this market.

Today, you will be negotiating with the owner of an ice cream shop who is interested in sharing space with you. There are several major issues to negotiate with the owner of the ice cream shop: staffing, temperature, maintenance, and space design. If you reach agreement on these issues, each of you will pay half of the rent. An advantage of sharing with the ice cream shop is that it does not need as much kitchen and storage space as you do, whereas you do not need as much customer seating and eating space, as it does. You see no other special benefits in sharing space with an ice cream shop.

Below is a summary of the issues that you need to discuss. Associated with each issue is a set of options. There are also points associated with each option. These points indicate how much each option is worth to your business. You must negotiate an agreement worth at least 4000 points. Your agreement must cover staffing, temperature, maintenance, and design. You may include other issues, if you wish. If you cannot agree to a contract worth at least 4000 points, you would rather keep looking for other affordable space. Try your best to reach an agreement. Your goal is to negotiate the most points possible for your business.

DESCRIPTION OF ISSUES

Staffing

The major staffing issue is whether the two stores should offer personalized service, or whether they should economize and share some costs of hiring and training sales staff. Because you want to sell custom desserts designed around customer wishes, you believe it is important that you have complete control over hiring and training your own sales staff.

Table C.1. *Staffing Points.*

Option	Points	Description
Staff 1	000	Hire and train as a group, distribute equally between shops, share costs

Staff 2	1200	Hire and train as a group, distribute according to demand for service, share costs
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Staff 3	2400	Hire and train as a group, distribute according to demand for services, pay according to use
Staff 4	3600	Hire as a group, distribute according to demand for service, provide additional individual training as required, pay according to use
Staff 5	4800	Hire individually, train only customer-service staff jointly, all other decisions made by you, you pay from individual profits
Staff 6	6000	Hire and train individually, all decisions made by you, you pay from individual profits

Your preferred option is Staff 6

Temperature

Since you will be sharing a common space, you must decide jointly what temperature to maintain. You are aware that temperature is important to your business. If the temperature is too low, you will have problem successfully baking bread and pastries. On the other hand the ice cream store probably wants the temperature low to reduce the cost of refrigeration.

Table C.2. *Temperature Points.*

Option	Points	Description
Temperature 1	1200	75°F
Temperature 2	900	73°F
Temperature 3	600	71°F
Temperature 4	300	69°F
Temperature 5	0	67°F

Your preferred option is Temperature 1.

Maintenance

Your maintenance costs will be lower with shared space. However, you need to determine how those costs will be distributed and who will be responsible for the maintenance of the common areas. Your staff undertakes a thorough cleaning of your kitchen at the end of each day. You definitely meet government health requirements for the kitchen. For the common areas you only require the basic service.

Table C.3. *Maintenance Points.*

Option	Points	Description
Maint 1	4000	Basic cleaning service; ice cream shop pays more due to having more customers who make the common area messy.
Maint 2	3200	Deluxe cleaning service; ice cream shop pays more due to having more customers who make the common area messy.
Maint 3	2400	Basic cleaning service; equal split of costs
Maint 4	1600	Deluxe cleaning service; equal split of costs
Maint 5	800	Basic cleaning service; baker pays more due to miscellaneous products it provides and puts in storage.
Maint 6	000	Deluxe cleaning service; baker pays more due to miscellaneous products it provides and puts in storage.

Your preferred option is Maint 1

Space Design

There is space on the upper level that could be used for storage and/or staff rest. However, this space also could be renovated and used as office space or additional seating for customers. You must decide how to layout this space. Your preference is to save money, not renovate the upper level and leave it as storage for now.

Table C.4. *Design Points.*

Option	Points	Description
Design 1	3000	Use all of the upper level area for storage.
Design 2	2400	Use 50% of the upper level area for storage, and the other 50% for staff rest and offices
Design 3	1800	Use 50% of the upper level area for storage, 25% for office and staff, and renovate the other 25% so that customers of both business can sit and eat there.
Design 4	1200	Use 50% of the upper level area for storage, offices and staff rest, and renovate the other 50% so that customers of both businesses can sit and eat there.

Design 5	600	Use 25 % of the upper level area for storage, offices, and staff, and renovate the other 75% of the upper level area so that customers of both businesses can sit and eat there.
Design 6	0	Renovate all of the upper level area so that customers of both businesses can sit and eat there.

Your preferred option is Design 1

Website

In your most recent phone call, the ice-cream shop owner mentioned that if you reach an agreement, his brother could design a good webpage for your joint business at a reasonably low cost (70% of the market price). You did not disagree, though you did not agree, either. The ice-cream shop owner may have been thinking that this would create additional motivation for you to reach an agreement; however, you doubt the ability of a new graduate for this job.

The webpage is not a critical issue in your negotiation. In general, you prefer hiring a professional website designer rather than the ice-cream shop owner's inexperienced brother. He may have assumed that you agreed with him about having his brother design the web page, because you never said no, but then you also never said yes. You are wondering whether you should explicitly tell him that you do not want his brother to do this job, or whether you should not raise this issue at all to avoid any personal conflict.

Table C.5. *Website Points.*

Option	Points	Description
Website 1	000	The ice-cream seller's brother designs a website for the joint business. Each store pays half of the cost to the designer.
Website 2	800	Each business decides about its website separately.

Your preferred option is Website 2

Delivery

You may include this optional issue in your contract, though you do not need to discuss this issue at all. You and the ice-cream shop owner use two different companies for delivery of ingredients, like milk, fruit, etc. The company delivering your raw materials charges you a reasonable price for *general* delivery, but there is an extra charge for "cold delivery" (delivery of perishable items such as milk and cream).

If you arrange delivery on your own, you pay \$10,000 per year for cold delivery. However, if you agree to share space with the ice-cream shop, you may be able to include the delivery of your cold items on the ice-cream shop's delivery contract. Thus, any price below \$10,000 per year for cold delivery (that you agree to pay directly to the ice-cream shop) would result in a positive profit for you. It would be to your advantage if you can join the ice-cream shop's contract and reduce your cold delivery cost. Each \$1000 of saving in delivery costs is worth 100 points for you.

APPENDIX D

Chapter IV News Stories

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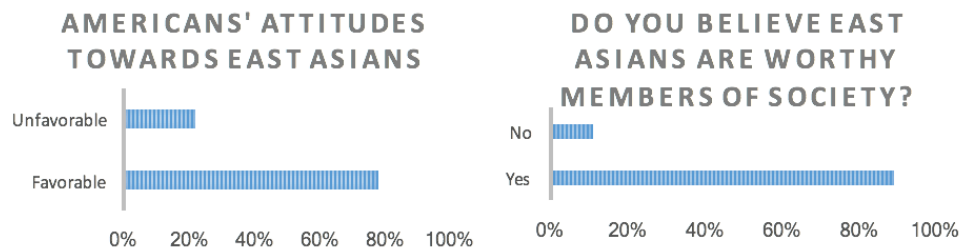
 **INDEPENDENT** [News](#) [Voices](#) [Culture](#) [Lifestyle](#) [Tech](#) [Sport](#)

Majority of Americans have favorable view of East Asians

Latest polls show increases in positive opinions towards East Asians

Chelsea Lockwood | @chelsealockwood | Monday 22 August 2016

The National Public Opinion research company conducted a nationally representative poll of American adults during summer, 2016. The poll assessed, among other things, Americans' attitudes towards racial ethnic minorities. Among the most notable results was the finding that the majority of Americans held favorable views of East Asians. Specifically, of the 5,435 Americans included in the poll, 80% reported holding favorable views of East Asians.



In addition to these favorability ratings, Americans were asked about the extent to which they perceive people from different racial ethnic groups as worthy members of society. Results revealed that a great number of Americans do consider East Asians worthy members of American society.

Figure D.1. *East Asian Favorable Majority Group Attitudes Condition.*

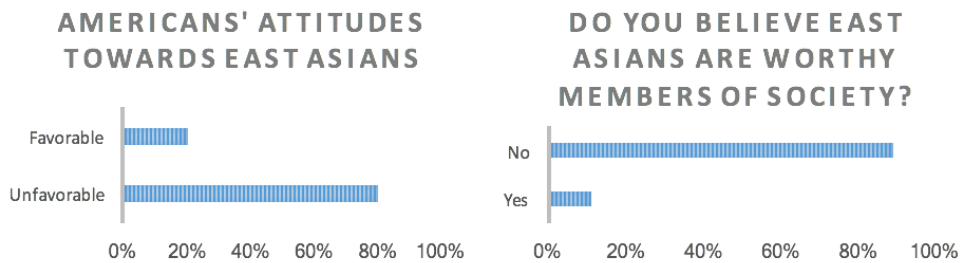


Majority of Americans have unfavorable view of East Asians

Latest polls show increases in negative opinions towards East Asians

Chelsea Lockwood | @chelsealockwood | Monday 22 August 2016

The National Public Opinion research company conducted a nationally representative poll of American adults during summer, 2016. The poll assessed, among other things, Americans' attitudes towards racial ethnic minorities. Among the most notable results was the finding that the majority of Americans held unfavorable views of East Asians. Specifically, of the 5,435 Americans included in the poll, 80% reported holding unfavorable views of East Asians



In addition to these favorability ratings, Americans were asked about the extent to which they perceive people from different racial ethnic groups as worthy members of society. Results revealed that a great number of Americans do not consider East Asians worthy members of American society.

Figure D.2. East Asian Unfavorable Majority Group Attitudes Condition.

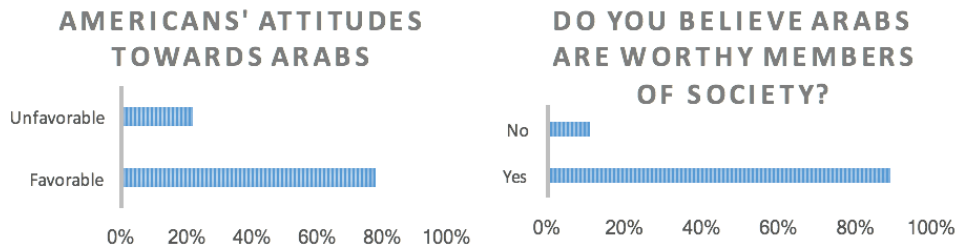


Majority of Americans have favorable view of Arabs

Latest polls show increases in positive opinions towards Arabs

Chelsea Lockwood | @chelsealockwood | Monday 22 August 2016

The National Public Opinion research company conducted a nationally representative poll of American adults during summer, 2016. The poll assessed, among other things, Americans' attitudes towards racial ethnic minorities. Among the most notable results was the finding that the majority of Americans held favorable views of Arabs. Specifically, of the 5,435 Americans included in the poll, 80% reported holding favorable views of Arabs.



In addition to these favorability ratings, Americans were asked about the extent to which they perceive people from different racial ethnic groups as worthy members of society. Results revealed that a great number of Americans do consider Arabs worthy members of American society.

Figure D.3. Arab Favorable Majority Group Attitudes Condition.

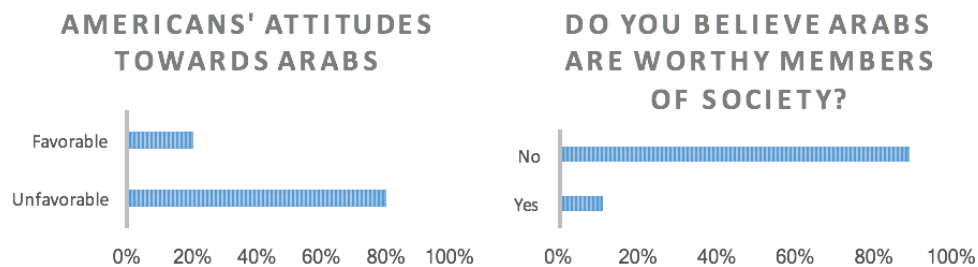


Majority of Americans have unfavorable view of Arabs

Latest polls show increases in negative opinions towards Arabs

Chelsea Lockwood | @chelsealockwood | Monday 22 August 2016

The National Public Opinion research company conducted a nationally representative poll of American adults during summer, 2016. The poll assessed, among other things, Americans' attitudes towards racial ethnic minorities. Among the most notable results was the finding that the majority of Americans held unfavorable views of Arabs. Specifically, of the 5,435 Americans included in the poll, 80% reported holding unfavorable views of Arabs



In addition to these favorability ratings, Americans were asked about the extent to which they perceive people from different racial ethnic groups as worthy members of society. Results revealed that a great number of Americans do not consider Arabs worthy members of American society.

Figure D.4. Arab Unfavorable Majority Group Attitudes Condition.

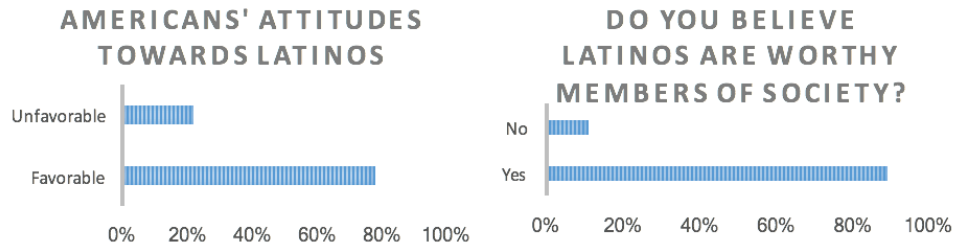


Majority of Americans have favorable view of Latinos

Latest polls show increases in positive opinions towards Latinos

Chelsea Lockwood | @chelsealockwood | Monday 22 August 2016

The National Public Opinion research company conducted a nationally representative poll of American adults during summer, 2016. The poll assessed, among other things, Americans' attitudes towards racial ethnic minorities. Among the most notable results was the finding that the majority of Americans held favorable views of Latinos. Specifically, of the 5,435 Americans included in the poll, 80% reported holding favorable views of Latinos.



In addition to these favorability ratings, Americans were asked about the extent to which they perceive people from different racial ethnic groups as worthy members of society. Results revealed that a great number of Americans do consider Latinos worthy members of American society.

Figure D.5. *Latino/a Favorable Majority Group Attitudes Condition.*

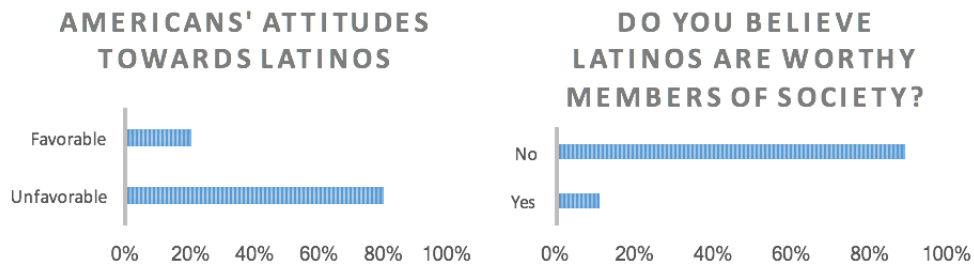


Majority of Americans have unfavorable view of Latinos

Latest polls show increases in negative opinions towards Latinos

Chelsea Lockwood | @chelsealockwood | Monday 22 August 2016

The National Public Opinion research company conducted a nationally representative poll of American adults during summer, 2016. The poll assessed, among other things, Americans' attitudes towards racial ethnic minorities. Among the most notable results was the finding that the majority of Americans held unfavorable views of Latinos. Specifically, of the 5,435 Americans included in the poll, 80% reported holding unfavorable views of Latinos



In addition to these favorability ratings, Americans were asked about the extent to which they perceive people from different racial ethnic groups as worthy members of society. Results revealed that a great number of Americans do not consider Latinos worthy members of American society.

Figure D.6. Latino/a Unfavorable Majority Group Attitudes Condition.

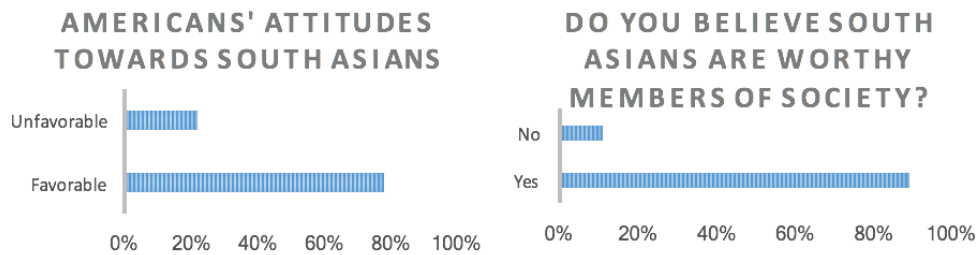


Majority of Americans have favorable view of South Asians

Latest polls show increases in positive opinions towards South Asians

Chelsea Lockwood | @chelsealockwood | Monday 22 August 2016

The National Public Opinion research company conducted a nationally representative poll of American adults during summer, 2016. The poll assessed, among other things, Americans' attitudes towards racial ethnic minorities. Among the most notable results was the finding that the majority of Americans held favorable views of South Asians. Specifically, of the 5,435 Americans included in the poll, 80% reported holding favorable views of South Asians.



In addition to these favorability ratings, Americans were asked about the extent to which they perceive people from different racial ethnic groups as worthy members of society. Results revealed that a great number of Americans do consider South Asians worthy members of American society.

Figure D.7. *South Asian Favorable Majority Group Attitudes.*

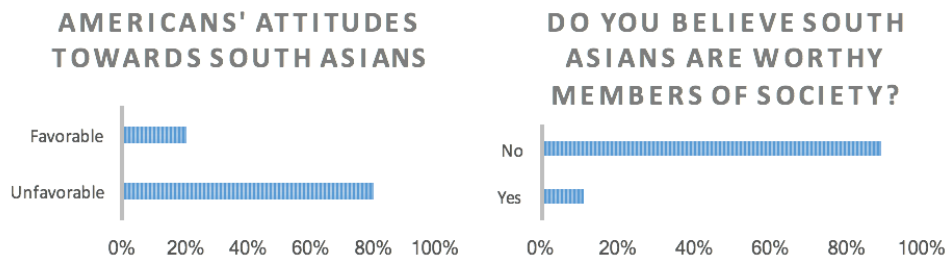


Majority of Americans have unfavorable view of South Asians

Latest polls show increases in negative opinions towards South Asians

Chelsea Lockwood | @chelsealockwood | Monday 22 August 2016

The National Public Opinion research company conducted a nationally representative poll of American adults during summer, 2016. The poll assessed, among other things, Americans' attitudes towards racial ethnic minorities. Among the most notable results was the finding that the majority of Americans held unfavorable views of South Asians. Specifically, of the 5,435 Americans included in the poll, 80% reported holding unfavorable views of South Asians



In addition to these favorability ratings, Americans were asked about the extent to which they perceive people from different racial ethnic groups as worthy members of society. Results revealed that a great number of Americans do not consider South Asians worthy members of American society.

Figure D.8. *South Asian Unfavorable Majority Group Attitudes.*

APPENDIX E

Chapter IV Supplemental Results

Table S1 lists means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations between all relevant measures. We found support for our first hypothesis that BII is positively related to positive behavioral intentions. Biculturals who perceive higher blendedness among their ethnic and American identity were more likely to approach ($r(205) = .18, p = .009$) and less likely to avoid ($r(205) = -.25, p < .001$) White Americans. Additionally, biculturals who reported higher harmony between their ethnic and American identities were more likely to have intentions to approach ($r(205) = .15, p = .030$) and less likely to have intentions to avoid White Americans ($r(205) = -.29, p < .001$). We found support for the second hypothesis in that higher public esteem was negatively related to intentions to avoid White Americans, $r(205) = -.25, p < .001$.

Moderation analyses

The PROCESS macro in SPSS was used to calculate these effects and all variables were centered (Hayes, 2013). Because there were two subscales for both the predictor (BII) and the outcome (behavioral intentions), we had a total of four models, which we will discuss below.

BII blendedness and intentions to approach. When BII blendedness, public esteem, and the interaction between these two were included in the model with generation as a control, only blendedness significantly predicted intentions to approach, $B = 0.19, SE = 0.09, t = 2.13, p = .035$. The full model was marginally significant, $R^2 = 0.04, F(4, 202) = 2.19, p = .072$. There was not a significant moderation and the simple slopes were not significant.

BII harmony and intentions to approach. Intentions to approach were regressed on BII harmony, public esteem, the interaction between these two, and generation as a control. Only the interaction was significant, $B = -0.17$, $SE = 0.05$, $t = -3.29$, $p = .001$. The overall model was also significant, $R^2 = 0.08$, $F(4, 202) = 5.38$, $p = .002$. The simple slope was only significant at lower levels of BII (-1 SD), where the relationship between public esteem and intentions to approach was positive, $B = 0.16$, $SE = 0.06$, $t = 2.80$, $p = .006$. The simple slope was marginally significant at higher levels of BII harmony (+1 SD), where the relationship between public esteem and intentions to approach was negative, $B = -0.10$, $SE = 0.06$, $t = -1.64$, $p = .103$.

BII blendedness and intentions to avoid. When BII blendedness, public esteem, the interaction between these two, and generation as a control were included in the model to predict intentions to avoid, the effect of blendedness was significant, $B = -0.25$, $SE = 0.11$, $t = -2.34$, $p = .020$, the effect of public esteem was significant, $B = -0.19$, $SE = 0.05$, $t = -3.45$, $p = .001$, the interaction was marginally significant, $B = 0.15$, $SE = 0.09$, $t = 1.61$, $p = .108$, and the effect of generation was significant, $B = -0.38$, $SE = 0.12$, $t = -3.15$, $p = .002$. The overall model was significant, $R^2 = 0.16$, $F(4, 202) = 9.73$, $p < .001$. The simple slope was only significant at lower levels of BII blendedness (-1 SD), where the relationship between public esteem and intentions to avoid was negative, $B = -0.27$, $SE = 0.08$, $t = -3.47$, $p = .001$.

BII harmony and intentions to avoid. When BII harmony, public esteem, the interaction between these two, and generation were included in the model to predict intentions to avoid, the effect of harmony was significant, $B = -0.20$, $SE = 0.07$, $t = -2.74$, $p = .007$, the effect of public esteem was significant, $B = -0.15$, $SE = 0.05$, $t = -2.83$, $p = .005$, the interaction was significant, $B = 0.28$, $SE = 0.06$, $t = 4.63$, $p < .001$, and the effect of generation was significant, $B = -0.42$, $SE = 0.11$, $t = -3.78$, $p < .001$. The overall model was significant, $R^2 = 0.19$, $F(3, 203) =$

16.26, $p < .001$. The simple slope was only significant at lower levels of BII harmony (-1 SD), where the relationship between public esteem and intentions to avoid was negative, $B = -0.36$, $SE = 0.07$, $t = -5.41$, $p < .001$.

Study 2

Table S2 lists means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations between key variables. Consistent with Study 1 and first hypothesis, BII was positively related to positive behavioral intentions. Biculturals who perceive higher blendedness among their ethnic and American identity were more likely to approach ($r(174) = .21$, $p = .005$) and less likely to avoid ($r(174) = -.21$, $p = .006$) White Americans. Additionally, biculturals who reported higher harmony between their ethnic and American identities were less likely to have intentions to avoid White Americans ($r(174) = -.18$, $p = .016$), but this relationship was not significant for intentions to approach.

Moderation analyses

For each model we included BII as the predictor, behavioral intentions as the outcome, experimental condition (favorable vs. unfavorable majority group attitudes) as the moderator, and generation as a control. The PROCESS macro in SPSS was used to calculate these effects and all variables were centered (Hayes, 2013). Like Study 1, we ran a total of four models, which we will discuss below.

BII blendedness and intentions to approach. BII blendedness, majority group attitudes, and the interaction between these two were included as predictors of intentions to approach. Generation was included as a control. Blendedness was a significant predictor, $B = 0.25$, $SE = 0.08$, $t = 3.00$, $p = .003$, and majority group attitudes was a significant moderator, $B = -0.17$, $SE = 0.08$, $t = -2.09$, $p = .038$. Generation was marginally significant, $B = -0.20$, $SE = 0.17$, $t = -1.69$, $p = .092$. There was not a significant effect for condition. The full model was significant, $R^2 =$

0.09, $F(4, 171) = 4.23, p = .003$. Simple slopes analyses showed that for people with lower BII blendedness, the relationship between majority group attitudes and intentions to approach was positive, $B = 0.16, SE = 0.08, t = 2.06, p = .041$. The simple slope was not significant for people who were higher in BII blendedness.

BII harmony and intentions to approach. Intentions to approach were regressed on BII harmony, majority group attitudes, the interaction between these two, and generation was included as a control. BII harmony was a marginally significant predictor, $B = 0.14, SE = 0.09, t = 1.63, p = .105$. The model was not significant, none of the other predictors were significant, and the simple slopes were not significant.

BII blendedness and intentions to avoid. When BII blendedness, majority group attitudes, the interaction between these two, and generation as a control were used to predict intentions to avoid, blendedness, $B = -0.24, SE = 0.09, t = -2.63, p = .009$ was a significant predictor, and majority group attitudes was a significant moderator, $B = 0.19, SE = 0.09, t = 2.12, p = .036$. The effects of condition and generation were not significant. The full model was significant, $R^2 = 0.08, F(4, 171) = 3.91, p = .005$. Simple slopes analyses showed that for people with lower BII blendedness, the relationship between majority group attitudes and intentions to avoid was negative, $B = -0.22, SE = 0.08, t = -2.62, p = .001$. The simple slope was not significant for people with higher BII blendedness.

BII harmony and intentions to avoid. Intentions to avoid were regressed on BII harmony, majority group attitudes, the interaction between these two, and generation as a control. Only harmony was a significant predictor, $B = -0.24, SE = 0.09, t = -2.58, p = .011$ and condition was marginally significant, $B = -0.09, SE = 0.06, t = -1.60, p = .113$. The full model

was marginally significant, $R^2 = 0.05$, $F(4, 171) = 2.26$, $p = .065$. The simple slopes were not significant.

Table E.1. *Descriptives and intercorrelations for key variables for Study 1 Supplement.*

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. BII: Total	3.47	0.54						
2. BII: Blend	3.63	0.55	.71**					
3. BII: Harmony	3.34	0.75	.89**	.32**				
4. Public Esteem	4.92	1.05	.18**	.12	.17*			
5. Generation	0.21	0.98	.27**	.28**	.18**	.05		
6. Approach	4.25	0.68	.20**	.18**	.15*	.09	.11	
7. Avoid	1.69	0.87	-.33**	-.25**	-.29**	-.25**	-.27**	-.57**

Note. *M* and *SD* are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. Generation is coded as follows: -1 = first-generation and 1 = second-generation. * indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$.

Table E.2. *Descriptives and intercorrelations for key variables for Study 2 Supplement.*

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. BII: Total	3.45	0.55						
2. BII: Blend	3.55	0.68	.78**					
3. BII: Conflict	3.36	0.67	.83**	.30**				
4. Public Esteem	0.02	1.00	-.05	-.03	-.05			
5. Generation	0.26	0.97	.33**	.30**	.24**	-.02		
6. Approach	4.06	0.74	.19*	.21**	.10	.05	-.07	
7. Avoid	1.79	0.81	-.24**	-.21**	-.18*	-.11	-.00	-.72**

Note. *M* and *SD* are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. Generation and condition are coded as follows: -1 = first-generation and 1 = second-generation; -1 = unfavorable majority attitudes and 1 = favorable majority attitudes. * indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$.

** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

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