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The Challenge of Being both Local and Global: Bicultural Identity Integration among Indigenous Ladakhi Youth in Delhi

Simon Ozer

Aarhus University, Denmark

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4881-4201>

Veronica Benet-Martínez

ICREA & Pompeu Fabra University, Spain

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3352-9731>

Seth J. Schwartz

University of Miami, USA

University of Texas at Austin, USA

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4238-9520>

Abstract

Ladakhi emerging adults have been exposed to cultural globalization through interaction with tourists and media, as well as through prolonged stays at globalized university contexts in major Indian cities. This globalization process has been hypothesized as detrimental to psychological health, in part because it poses the challenge of integrating a local Ladakhi identity with a global Western cultural identity. In the present study, we examined how exposure to cultural globalization and bicultural identity integration (tendency to bring together one's local and global identities) moderates the positive links of Ladakhi and Western cultural orientation with psychological well-being among Ladakhis studying in Delhi ($N = 196$). We found that exposure to cultural globalization did not affect the positive association between cultural orientation and psychological well-being. Moreover, bicultural harmony and blendedness were associated with a weaker relationship between Ladakhi cultural orientation and psychological well-being and, additionally, a stronger association between Western cultural orientation and well-being. Our results highlight contemporary challenges related to being both local and global in a culturally globalized context.

Keywords: globalization, acculturation, biculturalism, cultural identity, bicultural identity integration, Ladakh

The Challenge of Being both Local and Global: Bicultural Identity Integration among Indigenous Ladakhi Youth in Delhi

Cultural globalization, reflecting increasing intercultural connectivity across geographically and historically distinct contexts (Tomlinson, 2007), is a phenomenon that is especially influential in developing societies where youth are exposed to, and adapt to, different cultural streams through media, tourism, and internal migration to globalized cities (Arnett, 2002; Ferguson, Ferguson, & Ferguson, 2015; Ozer, 2019). In non-Western contexts and among indigenous populations, globalization-based acculturation may require adjusting to global cultural exposure and consolidating bicultural affiliations that represent both local and global cultural streams (Arnett, 2002). Such cultural orientations reflect the importance of maintaining one's local culture during cultural globalization, as well as the importance of participating in the global cultural stream.

Cultural identities have been linked with psychological well-being, as these identities provide existential meaning and guidance for one's behavior. Accordingly, possessing various identities is typically found to be associated with psychological well-being, while identity loss is associated with psychological distress (Jetten et al., 2012; Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006; Thoits, 1983). Through globalization, cultural participation can prompt internalization processes in which cultural affiliations are included in the individual's identifications, e.g., the individual can identify with both local and global cultural streams (Ozer et al., 2017). Through internalizing global as well as local cultural streams, individuals are increasingly presented with opportunities to integrate their cultural identities. Accordingly, biculturalism has been extended to not only refer to intercultural processes associated with international migration but also with cultural globalization within one's home country (Schwartz et al., 2017).

Among emerging adult students from the Indian Himalayan region of Ladakh, globalization-based acculturation has been found to involve several cultural streams often experienced through temporary stays in Indian cities while pursuing tertiary education. Among these, negotiations of cultural affiliation related to the local Ladakhi cultural stream and the global Western cultural stream have proven to be especially central in regard to psychological well-being (Ozer et al., 2017). Although previous research has found a positive relationship of orientations toward the local Ladakhi and global Western cultural streams with well-being, little is known about how exposure to cultural globalization influences these relationships and how these associations are affected by the integration of local and global cultural identities. In the present study, we examine how exposure to cultural globalization as well as bicultural integration and conflict moderate the relationships between the local Ladakhi and global Western cultural orientations on psychological well-being among Ladakhi emerging adults studying in Delhi. In essence, we seek to extend the theory of biculturalism to apply to globalization-based acculturation.

Classical psychological research on acculturation has demonstrated that biculturalism—that is, the adoption of two or more cultural streams—does not involve a zero-sum process; as such, the relevant cultural orientations (in this case destination-culture acquisition and heritage-culture retention) can be regarded as independent dimensions (Ryder et al., 2000). In the present study, we applied a continuous approach in which we examine orientations toward the local Ladakhi and the global Western cultural streams independently on continuous scales without classifying individuals into one of the classical acculturation orientations. Such classification would require dichotomizing the cultural orientation scores, resulting in the loss of important information (Demes & Geeraert, 2013). Biculturalism has generally been found to be associated with the most favorable psychological adjustment (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). However, comprehending how such cultural gravitation is reflected within the context of Ladakh extends classical (i.e., immigration-

based) acculturation research toward understanding how young people in developing countries approach the challenges of being both local and global in contemporary, globalized, non-Western societies. That said, information on cultural integration among Ladakhi youth can reflect the widespread challenge of reaching an adaptive path toward globalization-based biculturalism (Schwartz et al., 2017). Contemporary globalized societies are characterized by increasing migration as well as cultural influence from globalized media that reflect a global cultural stream. Indigenous peoples in particular—such as Ladakhis—have been influenced by cultural globalization, with exposure to cultural streams that are quite different from their traditional culture through internal migration, tourism, and media (van Beek & Pirie, 2008). Accordingly, psychological knowledge is needed concerning the psychosocial correlates of such acculturative processes that reflect increasing mobility within contemporary multicultural contexts around the world. Young people in developing societies experience complex acculturation processes while pursuing education or work opportunities in metropolitan cities that represent for them distinctly new cultural contexts (Miao & Xiao, 2020). Knowledge is needed about how cultural orientation is associated with psychological well-being and how individuals develop and negotiate multicultural identities when navigating in such new cultural contexts (Hong et al., 2016).

Research has provided substantial insight into the mechanisms through which acculturating individuals integrate their heritage and destination cultural identities (Benet-Martínez, 2019; Huynh et al., 2018). Furthermore, literature on Ladakh has described how exposure to cultural globalization and challenges regarding cultural integration may be detrimental for Ladakhi youth vis-à-vis the well-being that ethnic cultural rootedness promotes (Norberg-Hodge, 1999; Ozer, 2012). However, little research has examined globalization-based bicultural identity integration in non-Western contexts (Schwartz et al., 2017; for exceptions see Chen et al., 2008; Chen et al., 2013; Ozer et al., 2017).

Globalization-Based Biculturalism as Both Local and Global

Globalization has been described as a process of increasingly complex connectivity across geographical distance, referencing various dimensions such as economy, culture, and politics (Tomlinson, 2007). Consequently, the cultural dimension of globalization refers to the interconnectivity and vast exchange of cultural knowledge, behavior, and values through trade, media, technology, migration, and tourism. Indeed, within most countries in the world today, people have access to literature, sports, entertainment, and cuisine reflective of foreign or “fused” cultural elements; consequently, individuals today are exposed to various cultural streams that reflect both the local and the global, and they adopt cultural representations through the process of cultural globalization (Chiu & Cheng, 2007). Exposure to cultural globalization includes engaging with global channels of cultural content (e.g., Internet, media, and intermittent intercultural contact), whereas cultural orientations describe the gravitation toward specific cultural streams (e.g., Western or American culture). Although globalization can refer to cultural influences in any direction, one of the most prominent globalized cultural streams is characterized by the spread of Western media and values to non-Western contexts (Schwartz et al., 2017). Such cultural globalization has been examined within a branch of acculturation psychology, extending the classical approach to examine how cultural groups change as a result of prolonged intercultural contact (Berry, 1997) to include direct (e.g., migration and tourism within one’s home country) or mediated (e.g., Facebook and television) intercultural contact initiated by globalization (Chen et al., 2008; Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012; Jensen & Arnett, 2012). Indeed, through these channels the individual can select, endorse, and internalize cultural elements, leading to a partial and fluid cultural affiliation known as polyculturalism. Such an approach conceptualizes how individuals adopt particular elements from one’s local cultural stream and select and integrate elements from global cultural streams in a continuous, dynamic process of cultural globalization (Morris et al., 2015).

The theory of globalization-based acculturation examines the acculturation process initiated by exposure to globalized media as well as direct contact with diverse ethnic groups within one's home country (Chen et al., 2016). Such acculturation to a world of interacting cultural traditions is reflected in the balance of endorsing both local and global cultural streams (Chen et al., 2008). Furthermore, the associated theory of remote acculturation examines the specific cultural streams that influence people remotely within their home country (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012). These globalized processes may promote bicultural orientations that combine local and global traditions, norms, and values through selectively and purposefully incorporating various cultural elements.

Traditionally, children are born into a specific sociocultural context and adopt the local culture and identity. The term bicultural (orientation toward two cultural streams) has been applied to international migrants, as well as to their descendants, adapting to new cultural contexts within a new country of residence. Recently, the term *biculturalism* has begun to be applied to people who are not migrating to a new country but instead are exposed to the influential forces of cultural globalization within their home country (Chen et al., 2008; Schwartz et al., 2017). That is, in most contemporary societies, globalization promotes diverse cultural identities, including the global as well as the local (Jensen & Arnett, 2012). Such integration of a globalized cultural affiliation can mirror the classical acculturation approach reflected in four strategies to balance one's local and global identities (Harush et al., 2016). Although the classical acculturation strategies of integration, separation, assimilation, and marginalization (Berry, 1997) generally emerge in research examining globalization-based and remote acculturation (e.g., Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012; Ozer & Schwartz, 2016), in the present study of Ladakhi emerging adults, we rely on a broad conception of biculturalism reflective of the prevalent orientation toward both a local Ladakhi and a global Western cultural stream (Ozer, 2015; Ozer & Schwartz, 2016).

In a large meta-analysis, biculturalism had the strongest association with adjustment, relative to an orientation toward primarily the heritage or the destination cultural stream (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). However, this meta-analysis primarily included studies with immigrants and their immediate descendants. The role of biculturalism in other populations and contexts is less clear. In two studies with Native Americans in the United States, for example, the positive association between biculturalism and adaptation did not emerge with regard to substance use (Herman-Stahl et al., 2003; Kulis et al., 2002). These findings could relate to the new cultural exposure being less voluntary and more of an experience of cultural intrusion coupled with historical neglect of Native Americans. For involuntary subjugated groups, such as indigenous peoples, experiences of cultural intrusion and contamination can initiate defensive reactions against the new cultural influences and the threat they pose to the traditional way of life. Such defensive reactions represent one way in which the integration of local and global cultural streams can be complicated in groups other than immigrants (Torelli et al., 2011). Although results from research on indigenous people's biculturalism is less clear, we hypothesize that the dual engagement with Ladakhi and Western cultural streams (biculturalism) would yield a positive association with psychological well-being among Ladakhi students living in Delhi.

Biculturalism and Exposure to Cultural Globalization

Indigenous individuals need to reconcile and potentially integrate dissimilar cultural orientations reflecting the local and global (often Western in non-Western societies) cultural streams. Furthermore, the impact of cultural globalization has been associated with greater range of, and increased individual freedom to make, identity choices (Arnett, 2002). Consequently, the effects of exposure to cultural globalization and intercultural contact could be detrimental with regard to one's local cultural rootedness, whereas a global identity might be more malleable by accepting of heterogeneity when approaching new cultural diversity.

Globalization includes both an increase in intercultural connectedness and defensive reactions from one's local community that emphasize certain customs and traditions characterizing that specific local context. These two aspects of globalization have been conceptualized as closely intertwined—that is, there may be a dynamic and dialectic relationship between what individual people think about their local cultures and what they think about global cultural streams. This process may occur through a process of opening and closing one's mind to new cultural streams and to negotiating globalized intercultural interactions. Such processes can create uncertainty by potentiating both creativity and confusion (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007).

Although exposure to cultural globalization may not necessarily shape intercultural identifications, it is likely to emphasize the distinctions between the present cultural identity options and choices (Chiu & Cheng, 2007). Although cultural identities and knowledge can be used as resources for navigating cultural diversity, a defensive endorsement of a local cultural stream could lead to exclusionary reactions toward new cultural interactions (Harush et al., 2016). Consequently, exposure to cultural globalization could challenge one's local cultural engagement and the well-being derived from this rootedness. That is, consistently adhering to the traditional way of life might not be the most effective path in the face of globalization. At the same time, global cultural gravitation as a broad and malleable cultural stream might be helpful in navigating new cultural possibilities, such as those experienced through internal migration to a new urban cultural context (Ozer et al., 2017). Accordingly, we hypothesized that exposure to cultural globalization in the urban context of Delhi would weaken the positive association between local Ladakhi cultural orientation and psychological well-being, but strengthen the positive association between Western cultural orientation and psychological well-being.

Integrating the Local and the Global Cultural Identities

According to Arnett (2002), most people today develop and integrate a bicultural identity that is both rooted in one's local culture and oriented toward global cultural influences. For example, many young Ladakhis participating in the Western cultural stream view themselves as being both Ladakhi and Western, with their Western identity reflecting their participation in the global cultural stream (Ozer et al., 2017). Within globalized contexts, such bicultural individuals must utilize their cultural knowledge in accordance with the present cultural expectations in dissimilar situations.

Psychological research on bicultural identity has utilized various models reflecting the integrative process of new cultural acquisition (Schwartz et al., 2017). Broadly, biculturalism refers to combining or integrating multiple cultural streams such that one is comfortable across a range of cultural settings and contexts. One of the more prominent frameworks for studying the identification dimension of biculturalism is Bicultural Identity Integration (BII). This model investigates bicultural individuals' feelings and perceptions about how much their cultural identities intersect and converge, specifically, the extent to which one experiences harmony versus conflict and blendedness versus distance, between or among one's internalized cultural streams (Benet-Martínez, 2019). In one study (Ferrari et al., 2015), bicultural identity integration emerged as a significant mediator associating national and ethnic identity with adoptees' psychological well-being. Such prior findings suggest that cultural identities must be reconciled in order to facilitate well-being. In another study, Chen, Benet-Martínez, and Bond (2008) examined BII in the context of globalization and found that BII predicted psychological adaptation among cultural majority students in China and Hong Kong. These authors interpreted this finding as reflecting an increasing absorption of Western cultural values and practices. These students were exposed differently to globalization-based acculturation, given that Hong Kong is a former British colony and represents a more multicultural context compared to mainland China. However, the differences in exposure to cultural globalization did not moderate the effects of BII on psychological adaptation. This finding

underscores the importance of BII as a central construct in diverse globalized locations and as not limited to immigration-based acculturation. Overall, research has suggested that individual differences in BII can moderate the acculturation process in regard to proper use of cultural knowledge in a specific cultural context (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002).

A high level of BII (harmony and blendedness) has generally been associated with higher levels of psychological well-being among immigrants and ethnic minorities (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005; Huynh et al., 2018). That is, people who integrate their two cultural identities can employ behavioral competences related to both cultural streams depending on the demands of the cultural context (Benet-Martínez et al., 2002). With regard to globalization, it has been suggested that individuals with a highly integrated local and global identity can use their cultural knowledge as a cultural resource and approach new cultural mixing processes as a positive and enriching experience (Harush et al., 2016). In one study, Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, and Morris (2002) found that higher BII was associated with culturally congruent responses and use of cultural knowledge. Indeed, the internalized cultural meaning systems that provide interpretative frames, ideas, and knowledge can be utilized most efficiently among people with greater integration of their bicultural identity – perhaps strengthening the well-being derived from their cultural orientations. Accordingly, differences in BII can relate to how well bicultural individuals navigate through culturally diverse contexts and to the fluency through which they can switch between and make use of their cultural meaning systems.

A high level of inner bicultural conflict can lead to behavioral and affective contrastive responses to cultural expectations in a given context or situation, which can be driven in part by the experience of threat toward one of one's internalized cultural identities (Benet-Martínez, 2019). The process of reconciling globalization-based biculturalism may be especially challenging and impactful within urban contexts in developing societies characterized by a more cohesive local

cultural stream, as well as greater cultural distance and possible conflicts between traditional local culture and the new global cultural stream (Jensen & Arnett, 2012; Ozer et al., 2017). Indeed, many emerging adults in non-Western countries experience restrictions on their individualized cultural identity exploration emanating from strongly collectivist values and family obligations (Arnett, 2011). These restrictions result in contested cultural orientations and influences from traditional elders, globalized media, and changing cultural expectations (e.g., Tomasik & Silbereisen, 2012). In many cases, a generational gap emerges between the westernized youth and the traditional elders (Berman et al., 2014; Ferguson, & Bornstein, 2012). Additionally, societal discourses within Ladakh reflecting positive narratives of a threatened traditional culture can increase nostalgia for an historic essentialized Ladakhi culture which, in turn can undermine the development of BII (Petkanopoulou et al., 2021). With the integration of Ladakhi and Western cultural identities reflecting a challenging—yet important—process for many young Ladakhis who have internalized a societal discourse of cultural purity and protection (Ozer et al., 2017), we hypothesized that BII harmony and blendedness would be associated with a stronger relationship between cultural orientation toward Ladakhi or Western culture and psychological well-being, while BII conflict and compartmentalization would be associated with weaker relationships of both cultural orientations with well-being.

Globalized Emerging Adults from Ladakh

The North Indian region of Ladakh, located within the former state of Jammu and Kashmir (now Union Territory), represents an especially interesting context for investigating cultural globalization because globalization has occurred over a short time period. Situated remotely in the Himalayan Mountains along the Indian borders with China and Pakistan, the region was for many years closed off to foreigners (Bray, 2005). In 1974, Ladakh was partially opened for tourism, which, combined with development in infrastructure and technology, has accelerated the processes

of cultural globalization. In turn, globalization has resulted in the economic, cultural, and social transformation of Ladakh (van Beek & Pirie, 2008).

The Ladakh region has an indigenous population of approximately 300,000, divided by religious affiliation, with half the population being Buddhist and the other half Muslim. Western cultural influences are present through the large numbers of tourists visiting the region throughout the summer and remotely through Western media, entertainment, and technology such as Internet and TV. Furthermore, many students are sent at an early age to large Indian cities to prepare for and participate in competitive tertiary education at major Indian universities (Smith & Gergan, 2015). Some of the best and most expensive education is found in the globalized Indian capital of Delhi, where thousands of Ladakhis pursue their academic degrees and are further exposed to new cultural influences, including the Western cultural stream, which is popular among large segments of youth. Ladakhi students in Delhi are generally experiencing a context of cultural moratorium in which the traditional cultural constraints of the Ladakhi context, represented by parents and local cultural organizations, are set aside (Ozer et al., 2017). In other words, the context of Delhi provides a neutral setting for exploring and negotiating one's cultural identities, reflecting both continuous ties to the traditional Ladakhi culture and the Ladakhi student community in Delhi as well as greater accessibility to global cultural elements through media and trade. Consequently, the contextual cultural priming in Delhi encompasses the Ladakhi, greater Indian, and Western cultural streams without being a foreign context as reflected in international migration.

Within the Ladakh region, the accelerating processes of cultural interconnectivity has resulted in strong localization processes and international discourse regarding the consequences of cultural globalization in Ladakh. This discourse has been marked by a fear that traditional Ladakhi culture will be eroded and replaced with Western culture, aligning with the characterization of cultural globalization as a culturally homogenizing process (Norberg-Hodge, 1991, 1999). The discourse

has generated among youth a strong orientation toward local culture, especially among students who are studying away from Ladakh and are often criticized for becoming Westernized and losing their sense of self, resulting in psychological distress (Aengst, 2014; Ozer, 2015). Consequently, Ladakhi students face the challenge of balancing on one hand strong influences from their family and traditional Ladakhi society and on the other, the desire for modernity and freedom (Ozer et al., 2017). Ultimately, many Ladakhi students in Delhi are negotiating and consolidating unrealistic, romanticized imagery of both Ladakhi and Western cultural streams while living away from their home region. Within this bicultural identity process, students consolidate their own desires for “modernity” with the cultural loyalty pressured by communal forces affecting the cultural guidance and well-being derived from cultural gravitation during cross-cultural transitioning.

The Current Study

Cultural identity has been associated with psychological well-being (Jetten et al., 2012), and biculturalism has emerged as the most favorable way of engaging in intercultural processes (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). Within the globalized context of Ladakh, previous acculturation research has indicated positive relationships between cultural orientations toward Ladakhi and global Western cultural streams and psychological well-being (Ozer & Schwartz, 2016). This relationship appeared to be mediated by various aspects of personal identity development, with orientation toward the Ladakhi, Indian, and Western cultural streams facilitating various identity exploration and commitment processes (Ozer et al., 2019).

The present study elaborates on and extends this previous research by examining the relationship between cultural orientations and well-being, as well as how this relationship might be moderated by: (1) dual engagement with the Ladakhi and Western cultural stream (biculturalism), (2) interpersonal factors such as exposure to cultural globalization and (2) intrapersonal factors such as bicultural identity integration (BII). Accordingly, the present study was guided by three primary

objectives. The first objective was to examine whether the positive association between cultural orientation and psychological well-being would be greater in regard to biculturalism—that is, whether dual engagement with local Ladakhi and global Western cultural streams would be adaptive, manifested as a positive association with psychological well-being (Hypothesis 1).

The second objective was to examine whether the positive relationship between Ladakhi cultural orientation and psychological well-being would be weaker among those reporting greater exposure to cultural globalization (Hypothesis 2), reflecting how traditional cultural rootedness might not be adaptive in the context of new cultural interactions. In other words, participating in new cultural experiences could be difficult or confusing when the individual draws meaning primarily from the local cultural stream (Ozer et al., 2017). We further examined how the positive association of Western cultural orientation with psychological well-being might be greater among those reporting higher levels of exposure to cultural globalization, reflecting how global cultural belonging might be adaptive during new cultural interaction (Hypothesis 3; see Figure 1). That is, although a global cultural stream including great diversity could provide guidance during intercultural experiences, the local culture might be more difficult to rely on as a meaning repertoire.

The third objective was to examine how BII would moderate the positive relationship between cultural orientation and psychological well-being. Previous research has found BII to be related to cultural orientation and well-being (Ferrari et al., 2015). Consequently, we hypothesized that the positive relationship between Ladakhi cultural orientation and well-being would be stronger for those reporting greater levels of BII harmony and blendedness and weaker among those with greater bicultural conflict and compartmentalization (Hypothesis 4). Likewise, we hypothesized that the positive association between Western cultural orientation and psychological well-being would be stronger for those with higher BII harmony and blendedness and weaker among those with greater

bicultural conflict and compartmentalization (Hypothesis 5; see Figure 2). All five hypotheses were examined through moderation analyses.

Method

Data were collected as part of a larger study in 2014 and 2015 by executive members of the Ladakhi student organizations in Delhi through English self-report questionnaires. English is taught in primary school within Ladakh and at all universities in Delhi. A small percentage (13.78%) of responses were collected through an online version of the questionnaire.

Participants

Participants were 196 Ladakhi college students studying in Delhi. Participants' ages ranged from 17 to 28, and 48% were female. Participants differed in regard to religious affiliation, with 70.4% Buddhist, 28.6% Muslim, and 1% Christian. Participants had been away from Ladakh at various boarding schools for a period of time ranging from 0 to 19 years, with an average of 5.09 years ($SD = 3.64$).

Measurement

Besides providing background information, participants completed the following scales using 5-point Likert scales ranging from 1 (never/not different/strongly disagree) to 5 (very often/completely different/strongly agree; see Table 1 for means and internal consistency).

Exposure to cultural globalization was measured through an aggregate score comprising three items asking (1) How often do you use the Internet? (2) How often do you talk with non-Ladakhis? and (3) How often do you watch television or listen to radio programs that are not Ladakhi? These items tap into the typical channels of new cultural exposure among Ladakhis (Ozer et al., 2017). Cronbach's' alpha was .67.

Ladakh Acculturation Scale – Tridimensional (Ozer & Schwartz, 2016) is a measure of globalization-based acculturation. We assessed orientations toward two key cultural streams within

the Ladakhi context using 18 items from the LAS-T. The scale consists of nine items asking about cultural orientation across various domains toward Ladakhi (sample item: “I enjoy eating Ladakhi food such as paba, mok mok, skyu and tukhpa) and Western (sample item: “I enjoy Western food such as pizza, burger, and pasta”) cultural streams independently. Although the local Ladakhi cultural stream is more specifically delineated as compared to the global Western cultural stream, the LAS-T was developed using extensive fieldwork to capture the perceived Western cultural influences in Ladakh. These influences were specified in several aligned items for both cultural streams, stating examples of the cultural stream in question. In the present study, we examined orientation toward the Ladakhi and the Western cultural streams, as they have been found to be the most conflictual and reflective of the greatest cultural distance (Ozer et al., 2017). Internal consistency was acceptable with $\alpha_{\text{Ladakhi}} = .87$ and $\alpha_{\text{Western}} = .77$.

Bicultural Identity Integration Scale (BIIS-2R; Huynh et al., 2018) refers to the individual’s perceived degree of bicultural harmony and cultural distance when managing two cultural identities. The original BIIS-2R is a self-report scale containing two subscales with 11 items that assess cultural harmony versus conflict and nine items measuring cultural blendedness versus distance. Sample items include, “I feel torn between ‘ethnic’ and American culture” and, “I do not blend my ‘ethnic’ and American cultures.” The scale was modified to fit the Ladakhi context, excluding four of the original 20 items (two items from each subscale). The excluded items made explicit reference to immigration or to living in a new society, which does not apply to globalization-based acculturation. Additionally, the wording was changed to refer to Ladakhi and Western cultures as the two streams that might or might not be integrated. The Cronbach’s alpha for the harmony subscale was acceptable, $\alpha = .72$. However, the Cronbach’s alpha for the blendedness subscale was poor, $\alpha = .58$. Consequently, we reexamined the factor structure of scores on the revised BIIS-2R-Globalization Version within the specific context of Ladakh. The factor structure of the BIIS-2R

among the Ladakhi sample was established through exploratory factor analysis (EFA). To determine the number of factors to extract in the EFA, we consulted the scree plot, which suggested that a two-factor solution would fit the data. A two-factor structure would comply with the two-subcales structure of the original BIIS-2R. Principal axis factoring was then used, employing promax rotation ($Kappa = 4$) to examine the factor structure of the scale. The results of the EFA yielded an acceptable Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy ($KMO = .72$) for the scale. All items loading above .4 and with cross-loadings below .2 were retained in the scale, resulting in 12 items with loadings ranging from .43 to .72 (see Table 1). These items were grouped into two factors reflecting (a) bicultural harmony and blendedness and (b) bicultural conflict. Cronbach's alphas for the new scale composition were .69 for the bicultural harmony and blendedness subscale and .77 for the bicultural conflict subscale.

Scales of Psychological Well-being (Ryff, 1989). Various facets of psychological well-being were assessed using the 18-item version of the Scales of Psychological Well-Being. A sample item read, "In general, I feel confident and positive about myself." Three items tap into each of the following dimensions: autonomy, environmental mastery, personal growth, positive relations with others, purpose in life, and self-acceptance. Cronbach's alpha = .90.

Results

Our analyses tested the five hypotheses examining how Ladakhis adapt to globalization-based acculturation reflected in biculturalism, as well as how exposure to cultural globalization and bicultural identity integration moderates the relationships of Ladakhi and Western cultural orientations with psychological well-being. The moderation analyses were conducted employing Hayes' (2013) PROCESS macro (Model 1) in SPSS. Overall, participants reported a generally high level of orientation toward the local Ladakhi cultural stream and a moderate orientation toward the global Western cultural stream. Furthermore, reflecting their situation as Ladakhi students in the

multicultural context of Delhi, participants reported moderate exposure to cultural globalization and bicultural integration (see Table 2).

The Salutary Effects of Biculturalism

We first examined the interaction effect between local Ladakhi and global Western cultural orientations to examine the salutary effects of gravitating toward both cultural streams. The model yielded acceptable fit to the data, $F(3, 187) = 15.56, p < .001, R^2 = .20$. Within this model, orientation toward the Ladakhi ($\beta = .26, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [0.16, 0.37]$) and the Western cultural stream ($\beta = .16, p = .017, 95\% \text{ CI } [0.03, 0.29]$) emerged as positive and significant predictors of psychological well-being. However, the interaction between these two cultural orientations did not exert a significant effect, $\beta = -.03, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.18, 0.12], t(186) = -0.44, p = .66$.

The Influence of Exposure to Cultural Globalization on the Relationship between Cultural Orientation and Psychological Well-Being

Exposure to cultural globalization was not associated with Ladakhi cultural orientation but was positively correlated with Western cultural orientation (see Figure 3 & Table 2). To examine whether exposure to cultural globalization would be detrimental to the association of psychological well-being with Ladakhi and Western cultural orientations, we conducted two moderation analyses.

First, we tested a regression model in which one's level of exposure to cultural globalization was moderating the relationship between Ladakhi cultural orientation and psychological well-being. This model yielded acceptable fit to the data, $F(3, 186) = 10.77, p < .001, R^2 = .18$. Within this model, orientation toward the Ladakhi cultural stream ($\beta = .29, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [0.17, 0.41]$), but not exposure to cultural globalization ($\beta = .04, p = .38, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.05, 0.13]$), emerged as a positive and significant predictor of psychological well-being. Furthermore, exposure to cultural globalization did not moderate the relationship between Ladakhi cultural orientation and psychological well-being, $\beta = -.08, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.22, 0.07], t(186) = -1.07, p = .28$.

Next, the moderation model was tested with Western instead of Ladakhi cultural orientation. This model also yielded acceptable fit to the data, $F(3, 186) = 4.96, p = .002, R^2 = .09$. Within this model, orientation toward the Western cultural stream ($\beta = .25, p = .002, 95\% \text{ CI } [0.10, 0.40]$), but not exposure to cultural globalization ($\beta = .03, p = .53, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.06, 0.12]$), emerged as positive and significant predictors of psychological well-being. As in the first model, exposure to cultural globalization did not exert a significant moderating effect on the relationship between Western cultural orientation and psychological well-being, $\beta = -.06, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.23, 0.10], t(186) = -0.77, p = .45$.

These results indicated that globalized cultural exposure did not negatively affect the extent to which cultural orientation toward the Ladakhi and Western cultural streams were linked with well-being. This finding suggests that cultural rootedness remains important and adaptable during cultural globalization.

The Influence of Bicultural Identity Integration on the Relationship between Cultural Orientation and Psychological Well-Being

As displayed in Table 3, the associations of local Ladakhi and global Western cultural orientations with psychological well-being were positive and significant. Next, moderation analyses were conducted to examine how BII would influence these positive relationships between cultural orientation and psychological well-being (see Figure 4). First, a regression model with BIIS harmony and blendedness as the moderating variable between Ladakhi cultural orientation and psychological well-being yielded acceptable fit to the data, $F(3, 181) = 14.80, p < .001, R^2 = .20$. Within this model, orientation toward the Ladakhi cultural stream ($\beta = .27, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [0.16, 0.38]$), but not BII harmony and blendedness ($\beta = .11, p = .08, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.01, 0.22]$), emerged as positive and significant predictors of psychological well-being. Furthermore, BII harmony and blendedness exerted a significant moderating effect on the relationship between Ladakhi cultural

orientation and psychological well-being, $\beta = -.18$, 95% CI [-0.35, -0.00], $t(181) = -2.01$, $p = .05$. Among participants with the poorest bicultural identity integration (1 SD below the mean), Ladakhi cultural orientation was positively associated with psychological well-being, $\beta = .38$, $p < .01$, 95% CI [.25, .51]. This association was weaker and nonsignificant at high levels of bicultural integration (1 SD above the mean), $\beta = .16$, $p = .08$, 95% CI [-0.02, 0.33]. Overall, this pattern of findings indicates that BII harmony and BII blendedness moderate the relationship between local cultural orientation and psychological well-being, in that orientation toward the Ladakhi cultural stream was related to greater psychological well-being primarily for those reporting relatively low levels of integration between their local Ladakhi and global cultural streams.

Second, we examined a model with BIIS conflict as the moderating variable between Ladakhi cultural orientation and psychological well-being. This model fit the data adequately, $F(3, 180) = 13.87$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .19$. Within this model, orientation toward the Ladakhi cultural stream ($\beta = .32$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [0.22, 0.42]), but not BII conflict ($\beta = -.05$, $p = .40$, 95% CI [-0.17, 0.07]), emerged as a significant predictor of psychological well-being. Furthermore, BII conflict had a significant moderating effect on the relationship between local Ladakhi cultural orientation and psychological well-being, $\beta = .19$, 95% CI [0.00, 0.38], $t(180) = 1.94$, $p = .05$. That is, with low levels of conflict in one's bicultural identity (1 SD below the mean), the level of Ladakhi cultural orientation was weakly, yet positively, associated with psychological well-being, $\beta = .19$, $p = .02$, 95% CI [.04, .35]. This association was strongest at higher levels of bicultural conflict (1 SD above the mean): $\beta = .44$, $p < .01$, 95% CI [.28, .60]. Overall, this pattern suggests that the association between orientation toward the Ladakhi cultural stream and psychological well-being was stronger among those with higher bicultural identity conflict.

Third, we examined a model for how BII harmony and blendedness would moderate the relationship between Western cultural orientation and psychological well-being. This model fit the

data adequately, $F(3, 181) = 7.59, p < .001, R^2 = .11$. Within this model, orientation toward the Western cultural stream ($\beta = .30, p < .001, 95\% \text{ CI } [0.14, 0.45]$), but not BII harmony and blendedness ($\beta = .04, p = .62, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.11, 0.18]$), emerged as a significant predictor of psychological well-being. Bicultural identity vis-à-vis harmony and blendedness had a significant moderating effect on the relationship between Western cultural orientation and psychological well-being, $\beta = .18, 95\% \text{ CI } [.01, .36], t(181) = 2.06, p = .04$, so that at low levels of BII harmony and blendedness (1 SD below the mean), the level of Western cultural orientation was not significantly related to psychological well-being $\beta = .18, p = .06, 95\% \text{ CI } [.00, .37]$. This association was stronger and significant at high levels of BII (1 SD above the mean), $\beta = .41, p < .01, 95\% \text{ CI } [.21, .61]$. Overall, this pattern suggests the positive association between orientation toward the Western cultural stream and psychological well-being was stronger among those with higher BII harmony and blendedness.

Fourth and finally, we tested a model in which bicultural conflict moderated the relationship between global Western culture and psychological well-being. In this model we found that bicultural conflict was not a significant moderator, $\beta = -.05, 95\% \text{ CI } [-0.25, 0.16], t(180) = -0.44, p = .66$. Overall, our results indicate that a BII was positive in regard to the association between global Western cultural orientation and well-being and negative in regard to the relationship between local Ladakhi cultural orientation and well-being.

Discussion

We analyzed data to test five hypotheses concerning adaptation to cultural globalization and biculturalism among Ladakhi emerging adults studying in Delhi. Contradicting our first hypothesis, results did not yield an interaction effect among local Ladakhi and global Western cultural orientations, suggesting that an orientation toward a second cultural stream is not linked with a stronger association between orientation toward the other cultural stream and psychological well-

being. Furthermore, the results did not indicate any significant moderation effect of exposure to cultural globalization on the adaptable nature of cultural orientation to the Ladakhi and Western cultural stream, which contradicts our second and third hypotheses. Additionally, the positive relationship between local cultural orientation and psychological well-being was lowered in the presence of bicultural identity integration and enhanced in the presence of bicultural identity conflict. In contrast, the positive relationship between Western cultural orientation and psychological well-being was enhanced by BII harmony and blendedness and not influenced by bicultural identity conflict. These results contradict our fourth hypothesis but support our fifth hypothesis and furthermore reflect the complexity of the local-global nexus within the specific context of Ladakh. These results are discussed here with regard to both the consequences of exposure to cultural globalization and the various effects of bicultural identity.

Exposure to Cultural Globalization and Cultural Rootedness in regard to Well-Being

A long-standing debate on whether globalization leads to cultural homogeneity or heterogeneity and how this affects people's cultural self-understanding are ongoing (Berry, 2008; Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007). Within the Ladakhi context, traditional discourse has depicted the aversive influences of cultural globalization in Ladakh with regard to losing one's heritage cultural identity and becoming Westernized, as well as how one's mental health and psychological well-being may deteriorate as a result (Norberg-Hodge, 1991, 1999; Ozer, 2012). This discourse relates to our second and third hypotheses, for which our results did not indicate any negative interaction between exposure to cultural globalization and Ladakhi cultural rootedness vis-à-vis psychological well-being. In other words, our findings indicate that adaptive Ladakhi cultural rootedness is not affected by cultural globalization and furthermore that it is adaptable to remain culturally rooted during exposure to globalized intercultural interaction. Within such an understanding, one's cultural orientation might provide a positive self-understanding that remains adaptive even when exposed to

alternatives; additionally, the adaptive Western cultural orientation could provide cultural knowledge for navigating the multicultural context of Delhi, which means that indigenous peoples are likely to experience multicultural contexts through internal migration (Ozer, 2015). Within such new cultural interactions, the global nature of Western culture could be helpful in facilitating cultural navigation across dissimilar contexts. In our results, however, the association between Western cultural orientation and well-being was not significantly stronger among Ladakhi students exposed to greater levels of cultural globalization, suggesting that Western cultural knowledge may be consistently adaptive vis-à-vis diverse involvement with new cultural contact.

Although globalized cultural exposure is associated with greater orientation toward the Western cultural stream, such exposure was not significantly associated with orientation toward the Ladakhi cultural stream. Consequently, the globalized cultural experiences of Ladakhi emerging adults in Delhi appear to be associated with global Western but not local Ladakhi cultural orientations, and in turn with some degree of psychological well-being.

Much research suggests that among individuals who are acculturating but have not immigrated to another country, an awareness of, and increase in, ethnic identity endorsement is a consequence of globalization (Berry, 2008; Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007). However, one study found a negative and significant correlation between local and global identities among Middle Eastern students studying in Iran (Mahammadbakhsh et al., 2012). Such discrepancy highlights the importance of the specific context and the historical conditions characterizing the local-global interplay. Furthermore, this emerging literature emphasizes the dissimilar ways in which local and global cultural identities are integrated within the individual.

The Role of Bicultural Identity Integration

With most Ladakhi students reporting some degree of integration of a Western cultural stream with their local Ladakhi cultural rootedness (Ozer & Schwartz, 2016), the question arises as to how

such negotiation of cultural identity occurs and becomes central to the self (Ozer et al., 2017). Our results suggest that harmony and blendedness in one's bicultural identity decreases the favorable outcomes of local cultural rootedness, and that cultural conflict increases this association: For people who were uncomfortable integrating their local and global cultural identities, Ladakhi cultural orientation predicted greater well-being. Moreover, this finding suggests that local orientation could be protective for people who are uncomfortable integrating their local and global cultural identities. This pattern could further reflect the conception of Ladakhi culture often described as distinct, unique, and pure, leaving little room for fusion with elements from the Western cultural stream. Traditional and religious discourse in Ladakh relate new cultural integration with erosion of the "pure and unique" Ladakhi culture, which is often conceptualized within an essentialist understanding of culture being bounded and unchangeable. Such a retention of an uncontaminated Ladakhi heritage culture has been theorized as being associated with greater well-being (Norberg-Hodge, 1991). As such, Ladakhi youth who are integrating new cultural influences together with their local culture might experience disapproval from the Ladakhi society and from significant others who endorse a more traditional cultural orientation. This pattern is exemplified in qualitative results indicating that parents and elder authorities in society expect young Ladakhis—and especially young Ladakhi women—to behave in a culturally appropriate way, likely limiting their freedom for bicultural integration (Ozer et al., 2017). Consequently, integration of a bicultural globalized identity appears to be challenging with regard to maintaining traditional roots within the local Ladakhi culture.

This interpretation aligns with Chen and colleagues (2016), who found BII among globalized Chinese students in Hong Kong to be positively and significantly associated with proactive multicultural acquisition and negatively correlated with defensive ethnic protection. Within this study, a stronger correlation between BII and ethnic protection, compared to that with multicultural

acquisition, suggests that perceiving conflict between the Western and Chinese cultural identities could initiate a defensive reaction to protect one's local cultural stream. In many non-Western contexts, the elder generation and the local community endorse traditional values reflecting purity concerns that point to retention of the "pure" cultural heritage as providing beneficial outcomes. Another study (Cho et al., 2017) in an American globalized context found a positive association between polyculturalism and preference for cultural mixture experiences, but this association was mediated by concerns regarding cultural purity. Our results suggest that integration with the global Western cultural stream may be seen as contaminating the "pure," traditional Ladakhi culture—and that the ability for Ladakhi cultural rootedness to facilitate well-being may be undermined by BII harmony and blendedness.

Berman and colleagues (2014) investigated identity distress in relation to negotiating the values related to local and global identities across the US, India, and China. Although students in China and India reported significantly higher levels of identity distress, reflecting globalization-driven generation gaps in non-Western contexts, in India an orientation toward collectivism (without individualism) appeared to be associated with lower levels of distress as compared to endorsement of both collectivism and individualism or endorsement of individualism alone. Such risks for cultural identity confusion as well as psychological and social problems may also be due to the great cultural distance between the local and the global contexts in many non-Western settings (Jensen & Arnett, 2012). Cultural identity confusion can occur when the local and global cultural streams are perceived as being oppositional and mutually exclusive—also referred to as *bicultural stress* (Romero et al., 2007). For example, young Ladakhis can experience incompatibility between their aspiration for Western fashion and the traditional norms from their family and community (Ozer et al., 2017). That is, even though emerging adults are said to be especially engaged with cultural globalization (Jensen & Arnett, 2012), expectations from the local community and

significant others, such as family members and peers, might influence and complicate the process of cultural identity integration.

The interaction between BII and cultural orientation generally affected psychological adaptation. The favorable outcomes of endorsing the global Western cultural streams vis-à-vis well-being were stronger among those with higher BII harmony and blendedness. Indeed, this finding could reflect the malleable and inclusive character of the global cultural stream, which can be integrated with the local culture. For example, one may contend that the Western mindset can be used to preserve Ladakhi culture. This could be conveyed by using social media to conserve and promote the local Ladakhi culture; that is, such a position underscores the important and positive aspects of Western cultural elements that are needed in Ladakhi society but do not threaten the traditional culture (Ozer et al., 2017). Such cultural openness, employing agency and selectivity in the process of integrating advantageous cultural elements, might also be reflected in the study by Chen and colleagues (2008), who found bicultural integration of local Chinese and global cultural identity to be positively associated with psychological adjustment and negatively linked with acculturative stress.

Overall, the challenges of BII appear to relate to the character of the cultural streams in question and to the specific context under study (Jensen & Arnett, 2012). Orientation toward each cultural stream appears to be associated with a positive psychological outcome, yet the mechanisms underlying these associations appear to differ. Although some cultural streams are more able to be integrated, others are characterized by fear of being eroded and by an essentialist purity conception of culture that excludes integration of new cultural elements. The cases where such protection appears may reflect a more general concern that local ethnic cultural streams are perceived as threatened by cultural globalization and may therefore appear opposed to being integrated with the globalized culture. In the context of Zambia, for example, Ferguson and colleagues (2015) conducted cluster analyses to group adolescents into (1) a traditional orientation toward Zambian

cultural orientation, interdependent self, and family obligations and (2) a Westernized category of integrating Zambian cultural orientation with orientations toward US, UK, and South African cultural streams. This finding could suggest that the new globalized cultural influences are more amenable to integration into a fused cultural stream than are the more traditional cultural elements composing the perceived bounded local cultures.

The difference in the ways in which bicultural integration interacts with local and global cultural orientations may concern divergences between the individual's cultural orientation and the dominant cultural stream within the surrounding community. This difference can be specifically reflected in generational gaps. For example, research on globalized Jamaicans has found the intergenerational match between youth and parents to be of great importance and that youth are more likely than parents to endorse the global cultural stream (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012). In another study (McKenzie, 2018), youth in Thailand were found to alternate between local and global practices according to the interactional partner, e.g., local practices with parents and global practices when among friends (McKenzie, 2018). This could reflect a contextual adaptive strategy of keeping one's local and globalized cultural identities separate in order to maintain one's local cultural rootedness. Our findings suggest that integrating local Ladakhi and globalized Western cultural streams poses a challenge with regard to being culturally rooted within the local context. In many non-Western settings, such as Ladakh, the local context has been characterized by localization discourse reflecting elders' and traditional organizations' fears of cultural erosion. At the same time, our findings do not support these fears; in other words, cultural globalization exposure does not appear to pose a threat to the adaptiveness of local cultural rootedness. In essence, the ways in which one's globalized bicultural identity is integrated appears to be shaped by the specific sociocultural context and the historical conditions characterizing globalization in a given context.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

The present study should be considered in the light of some important limitations. First, our cross-sectional design did not allow us to draw directional or causal conclusions. Longitudinal and experimental studies are needed to examine the direction and dynamics among exposure to cultural globalization, cultural orientation, and psychological well-being. Second, our measure of bicultural identity integration within the context of Ladakh was not independently validated prior to our study. As the present study was one of the first to examine globalization-based bicultural identity, we adapted an established scale that had been designed to assess immigration-based bicultural identity integration. Future research should focus on further validating the instrument used in the present study, as well as developing new measures designed to tap into globalization-based bicultural identity integration. Third, our study examined Delhi as a neutral site of identity processes among Ladakhi youth. However, future research could extend this by examining the possibility of multicultural identity integration, including cultural elements reflective of the context of Delhi. Fourth, the concept of a global or Western cultural stream is generic. Accordingly, our approach is aligned with the local perception of Western cultural influences, which does not distinguish between, for example, European and American cultural streams. Therefore, it differs from the degree of specificity delineating the local Ladakhi cultural conception. Consequently, our results should be regarded as culture specific and cannot be generalized to other contexts reflecting other experiences of a global culture. Future research should examine globalization-based bicultural identity integration in other indigenous contexts.

Conclusion

Cultural globalization is a worldwide phenomenon, especially influencing non-Western local communities. Globalization is hypothesized to greatly influence emerging adults' cultural orientation, as well as their cultural identity formation and adaptation (Arnett, 2002). In our study,

we did not find support for the assumption that exposure to cultural globalization would compromise the positive relationship between cultural orientation and well-being. Rather, the positive associations of local and global cultural orientation vis-à-vis psychological well-being remained regardless of one's level of globalized cultural exposure. Nevertheless, the positive relationship between local cultural rootedness and psychological well-being was weaker among those reporting higher integration of local Ladakhi and global Western cultural identities. This latter finding could be interpreted as reflecting a conception of cultural purity and a view of globalized Western culture as a threat to the ethnic cultural stream. On the other hand, the relationship between the global cultural stream and well-being was stronger among those with higher BII harmony and blendedness. This finding could reflect the more malleable nature of the global cultural stream, which represents a fusion of cultural elements originating from a range of locations. In conclusion, our study highlights the challenges of being both local and global within a Ladakhi context and suggest that a cautiously developed identity integration in which the traditional local culture is respected could be a viable path for emerging adults in a globalizing world.

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Table 1. Item wording and factor loadings of BIIS-2R

Item wording	Item loadings	
	BIIS-2R harmony and blendedness	BIIS-2R conflict
12. I relate better to a combined Ladakhi-Western culture than to Ladakhi or Western culture alone.	.72	
2. I find it easy to balance both Ladakhi and Western cultures.	.69	
13. I feel part of a combined culture that is a mixture of Ladakhi and Western.	.60	
3. I do not feel trapped between the Ladakhi and Western cultures.	.51	
4. I feel that Ladakhi and Western cultures are complementary.	.50	
15. I find it difficult to combine Ladakhi and Western cultures.	-.49	.26
1. I find it easy to harmonize Ladakhi and Western cultures.	.45	
16. I do not blend my Ladakhi and Western cultures.	-.43	.31
11. I feel Ladakhi and Western at the same time.	.38	
10. I cannot ignore the Ladakhi or Western side of me.	.36	
14. I keep Ladakhi and Western cultures separate in my life (that is, I don't mix them).	-.35	
8. I feel like someone moving between two cultures.		.62
5. I feel torn between Ladakhi and Western cultures.		.57
7. I feel conflicted between the Ladakhi and Western ways of doing things.		.52
9. I feel caught between the Ladakhi and Western cultures.		.48
6. I feel that Ladakhi and Western cultural orientations are incompatible.		.48

Note. Loadings below .2 are suppressed. Bold items were retained for further analyses.

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Table 2. Correlation matrix and means

	Ladakhi cultural orientation	Western cultural orientation	Bicultural harmony and blendedness	Bicultural conflict	Psychological well-being	Mean (<i>SD</i>)
Exposure to cultural globalization	.12	.20**	.25**	-.01	.10	3.32 (0.79)
Ladakhi cultural orientation		.30**	.16*	.11	.42**	4.07 (0.72)
Western cultural orientation			.51**	.03	.28**	3.52 (0.58)
Bicultural harmony and blendedness				-.01	.16*	3.27 (0.65)
Bicultural conflict					.03	2.89 (0.64)
Psychological well-being						3.65 (0.55)

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

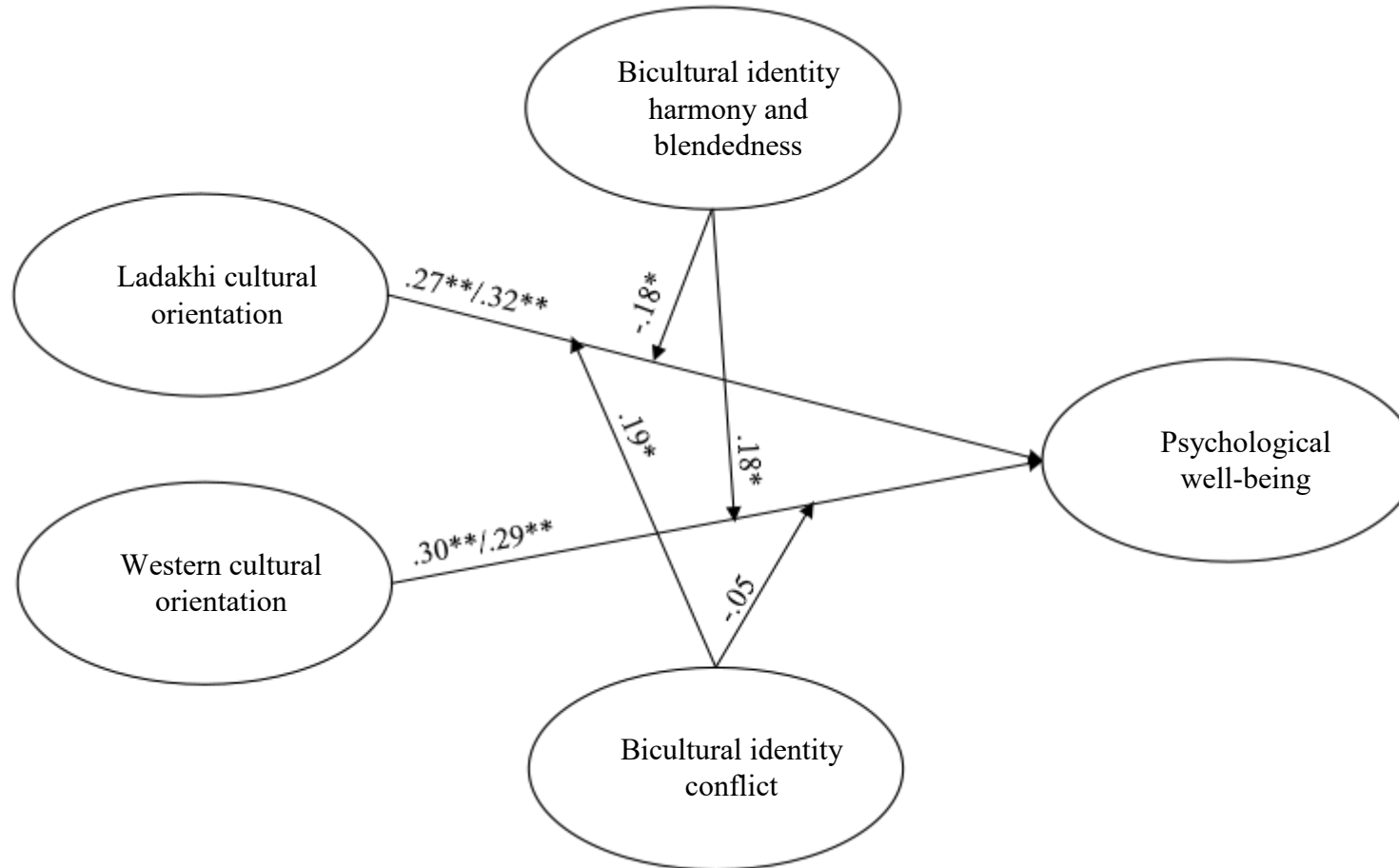
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Table 3. Regression analysis for psychological well-being

	B	95% CI	β	<i>p</i>
(Constant)	1.92	[1.26, 2.57]		< .001
Exposure to cultural globalization	0.02	[-0.07, 0.12]	.03	= .630
Ladakhi cultural orientation	0.26	[0.16, 0.37]	.35	< .001
Western cultural orientation	0.17	[0.02, 0.33]	.18	= .031
Bicultural harmony and blendedness	0.00	[-0.13, 0.14]	.00	= .977
Bicultural conflict	-0.01	[-0.12, 0.11]	-.01	= .877

Note. R^2 adjusted = 0.18.

Figure 4. Illustrating the results of the BII moderation analyses



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

Figure 1. The hypothesized moderating effects of exposure to cultural globalization

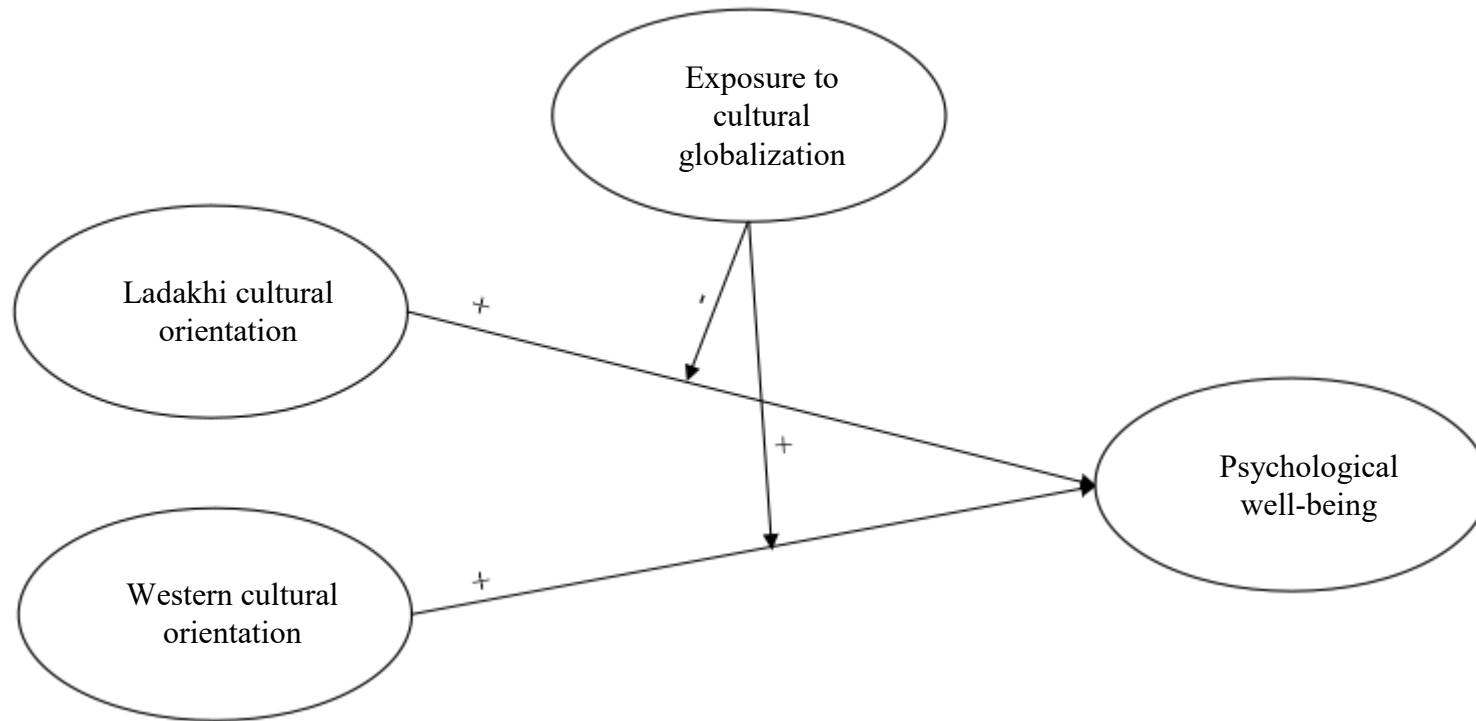


Figure 2. The hypothesized moderation model regarding BII

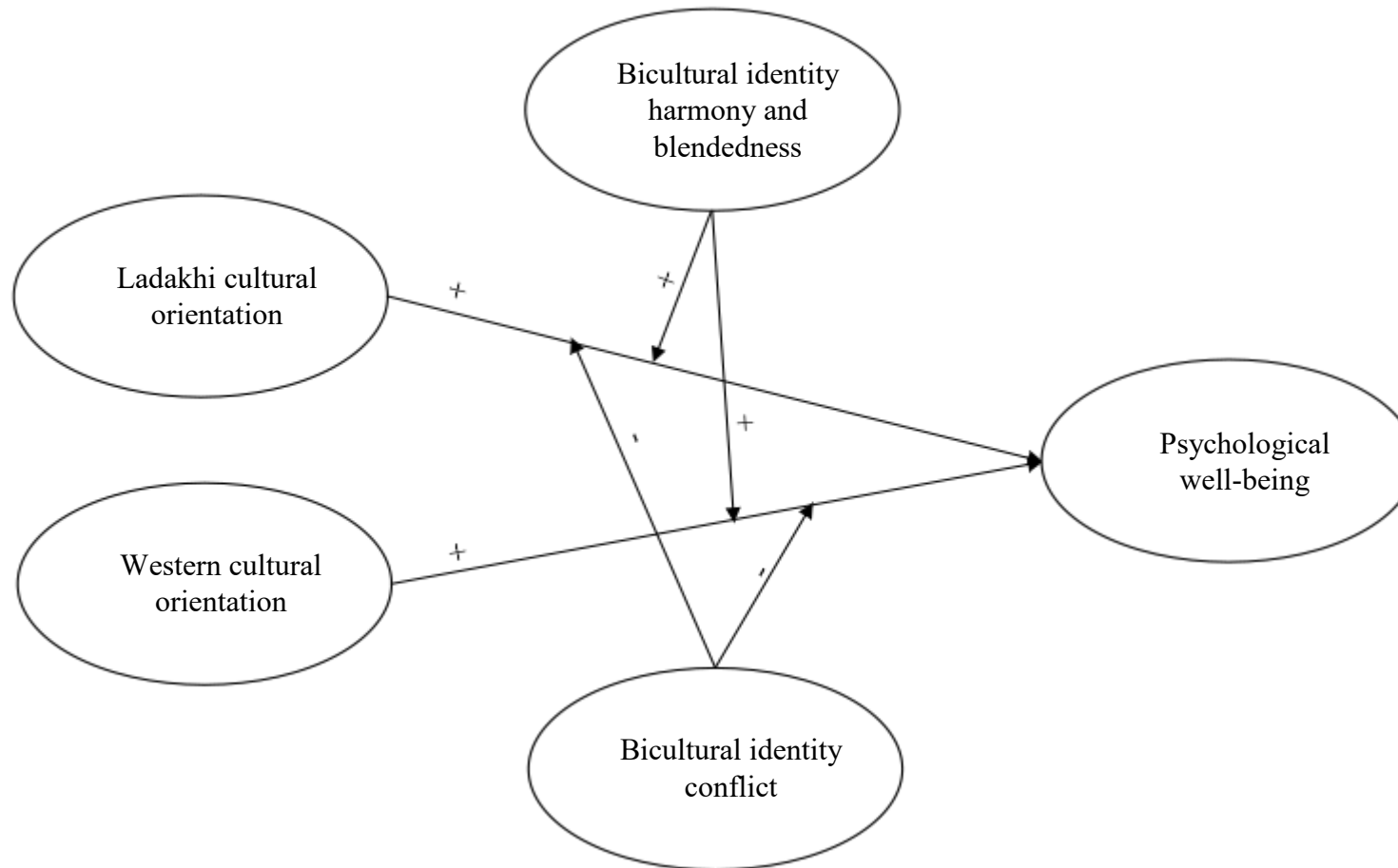
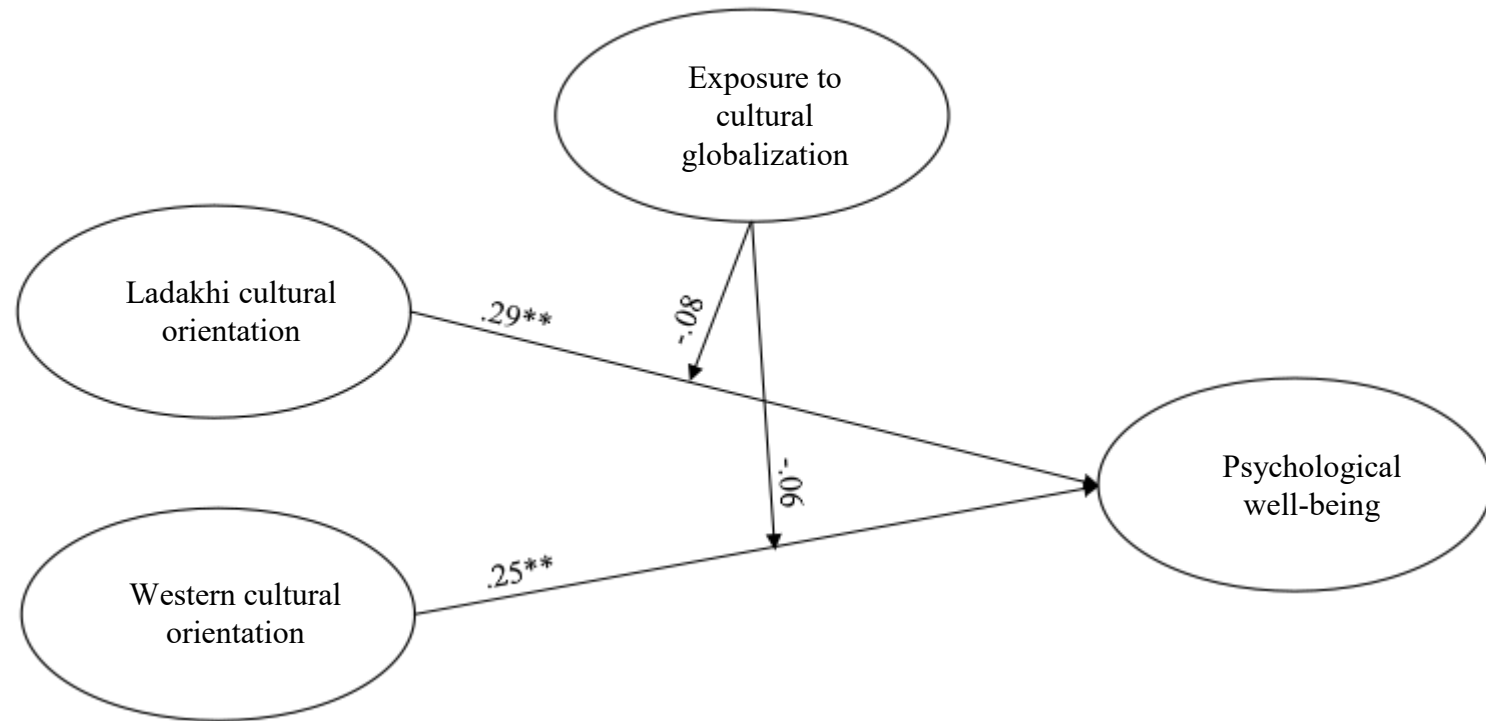


Figure 3. Illustrating the results of the moderation analyses regarding exposure to cultural globalization



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