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Bicultural Identity Integration and Life Satisfaction: Two Generations of Bangladeshi in the UK

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Abstract

This study aimed to investigate the bicultural identity integration between 1st and 2nd generation Bangladeshi in the UK and the relationship between various identity profiles with personal and family life satisfaction measures. In line with Boski's (2021) theoretical framework, cultural identity has been conceptualized in a theoretical three steps model. First, cultures are described on a set of values, to establish their joint and mutually exclusive characteristics. Next participants express their personal preferences on the same set of values. Lastly, each cultural identity is operationalized as a sum of products of cultural descriptors (their weights) and personal preferences. This approach is different from the conventional approach in which social identity (group membership and/or attachment to the ethnic and national culture) were considered as the cultural identity. Bicultural identity indices obtained in our model were compared and cross-validated with the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale (BIIS 2, Huynh, 2009).

We compared the cultural identity of 1st generation (N = 36) and 2nd generation (N = 17) bicultural people with their Bangladeshi (N = 33) and British (N = 28) monocultural counterparts. Results showed that Bangladeshi identity was strongest among 1st generation and not among the country's residents as predicted, while British identity dominated among British monocultural people. Exploring dimension-specific cultural identities (conservatism, interdependence, and social desirability), 1st generation showed cultural fitness with Bangladeshi identity, which is conservative, whereas British monocultural people were more culturally fit with British identity, which is non-conservative. Cross-validation of two sets of our measures revealed only a negative correlation between the model-based biculturalism and BIIS-2 dimension of blendedness (vs compartmentalization), such that the higher model-related biculturalism, the lower the blendedness. Also, higher Bangladeshi identity was linked to higher compartmentalization. Neither of the BII dimensions predicted personal or family life satisfaction but the model-based Bangladeshi identity predicted family life satisfaction.

Keywords: Bicultural identity integration, life satisfaction, Bangladeshi

Bicultural Identity Integration and Life Satisfaction: Two Generations of Bangladeshi in the UK

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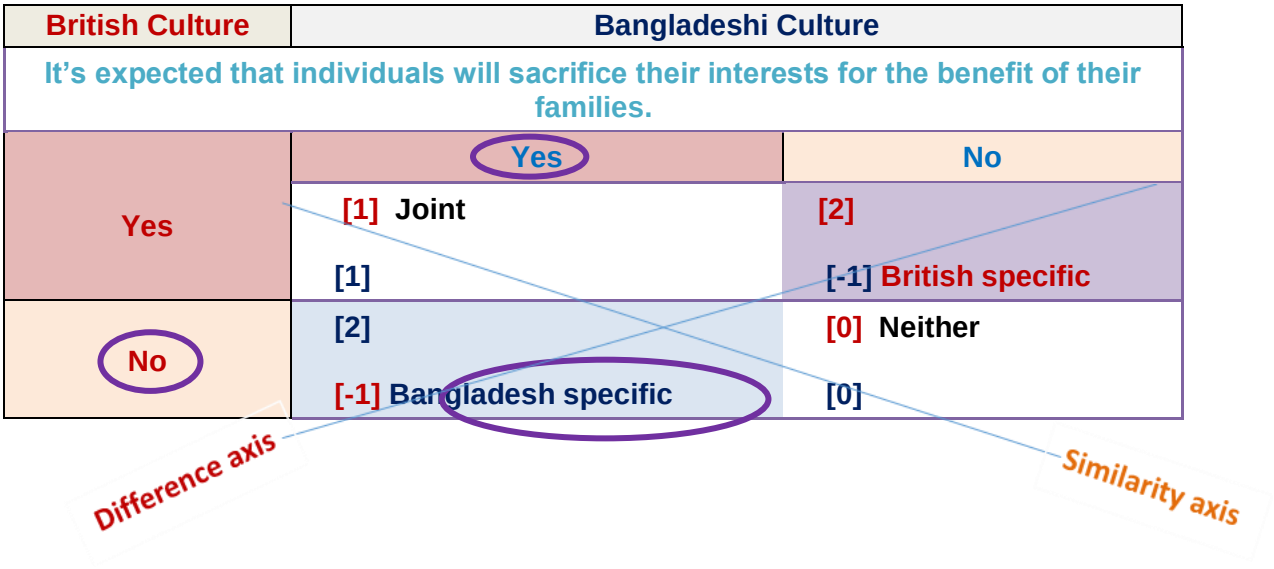
Cultural identity is usually conceived in the acculturation literature as ethnic identity (belongingness to and attachment with one's ethnicity or his/her ethnic group membership) and national identity (belongingness to and attachment with his/her host culture or host country's membership) (Phinney, 1996; Phinney & Ong, 2007; Schwartz et al., 2010, 2012, 2013) which appears as facets of social identity rather than representing the key concept itself. In this study, we conceptualized cultural identity using a novel approach: acquiring competencies in each of the three layers of culture —language, symbols, values and practices through socialization (incidental, occasional, informal type of acquisition, mostly at home) and culturalization (intentional, systematic learning process usually at school) process (Boski, 2022, 2023). Therefore, acculturation is developing competencies in the three domains of a new culture while maintaining the culture of origin. Biculturalism can be considered as the outcome of this acculturation process, and a bicultural person achieves competencies in all three domains of both heritage culture and host culture. Among these three domains, the values and practices domain is more resistant to change than the other two domains (Boski, 1992; Nguyen & Williams, 1989). This means that acquiring a new culture's values and losing heritage cultural values are slower than language and symbols. This study primarily focuses on biculturalism in the values and practices domain.

Values can be conceptualized as the properties of culture and person: culture- and person-level values. At the cultural level, values are the shared meaning system of a culture (Fischer & Schwartz, 2011). Values and practices show normative beliefs about desirable and undesirable social behaviors in all important areas of a given culture. It reflects the life preferences endorsed by most people of a culture (Boski, 1994). Personal-level values can differ across individuals within a culture (Fischer & Schwartz, 2011). A person can be considered fit for that culture if personal-level values synchronize with culture-level values (Ward, 2001). Therefore, the extent to which a person will integrate values of a different culture depends not only on the cultural distance between his/her culture of origin and host culture but also on their personal preference of values. Therefore, bicultural identity in the values and practice domain can be measured in a theoretical three-step model: First, a set of culture-level values (termed as cultural descriptors) are described for two cultures to understand their cultural distance or similarity. Next, participants express their personal preferences on the same set of values. Lastly, each cultural identity is measured by summing up the multiplied product of cultural descriptors (their weights) and personal preferences. The process is illustrated in the Figure 1.

Figure 1A

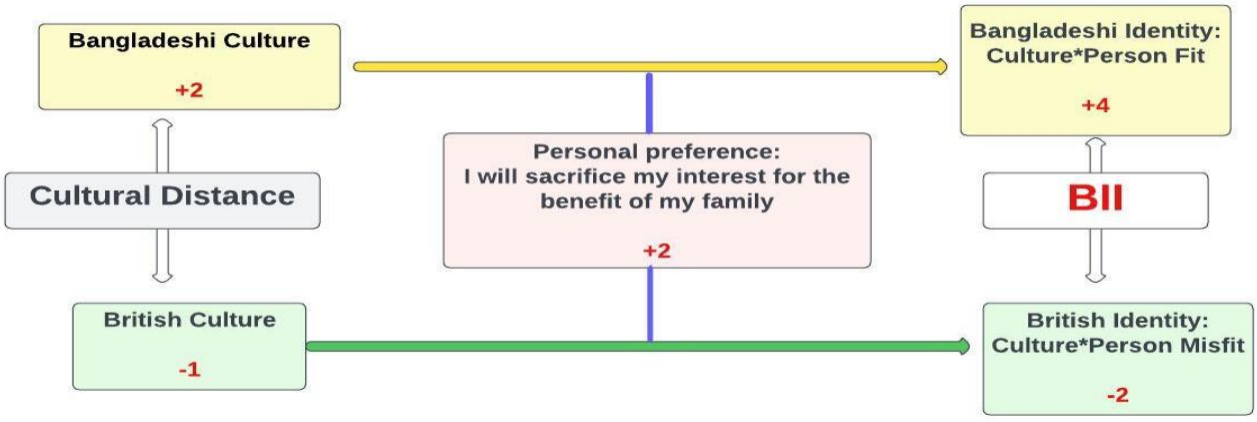
Cultural Descriptors: Determining Cultural Distance vs Similarity



In Figure 1A, we can see that the culture-level value, "It's expected that individuals will sacrifice their interests for the benefit of their families," is appropriate for Bangladeshi culture but inappropriate for British culture, which shows the cultural distance between these two cultures. If, for instance, a person prefers sacrificing his/her interest for the benefit of his/her family, meaning that the person is fit for the Bangladeshi culture but not for the British culture. This way, we can also see whether his/her integration of bicultural identity is harmonious or conflicting. For example, the person's bicultural identity conflicts in the above case.

Figure 1B.

*Bicultural identity (Culture*Person) fit*



Bicultural identity integration, originally proposed by Benet-Martinez and colleagues (2005), states that the degree to which bicultural people manage their two cultural identities depends on their perception of how much their two cultural identities are compatible and overlapping (vs. oppositional and distant). Bicultural people differ in the level of integration of their two cultural identities. People with high BII find their heritage and host cultural identities harmonious and easy to integrate (blend). On the other hand, people with low BII keep their two identities separate because they see their identities as incompatible or conflicting and difficult to integrate. Therefore, two dimensions of bicultural identity integration emerged: (i) harmony vs conflict, which refers to how much the heritage and host cultures are perceived as compatible vs oppositional (e.g., “I feel torn between two cultures,” “I find it easy to harmonize two cultures”) and (ii) blendedness vs compartmentalization expresses how much these two identities overlap or become distant (e.g., “I feel part of a combined culture,” “I do not blend my two cultures”). The Bicultural Identity Integration Scale (BIIS) (Benet-Martinez and colleagues, 2005) measures bicultural identity integration in terms of subjective perception of bicultural people, ignoring their fitness with their heritage and host cultural values. In Boski’s approach (2022), the cultural distance vs overlap between two cultures regarding their culture-level values was considered the potential harmony vs conflict. So, we were interested in cross-validating the cultural identity measure {culture * person} using Boski’s approach with the Bicultural Identity Integration Scale (BIIS)-2 (Hyuhn, 2009) among the 1st and 2nd generation Bangladeshi-British bicultural population.

Bangladeshi and British cultures differ in many aspects, including Hofstede’s cultural dimension (power distance, individualism, uncertainty avoidance, and indulgence) (1980/2001). As a collectivistic culture, Bangladeshi people highly value their family relationships. Their family also includes extended relations (Amin, 2018; Aston et al., 2007; Uddin, 2008). Family structure is more authoritarian in which the father or the eldest male member (e.g., grandfather) holds the family's authority. Males are responsible for making important decisions, such as family planning. Relationships between males and females are hierarchical, and males are considered superior despite having the same socioeconomic status (Uddin, 2008). Females, especially Muslim women, are less engaged in paid jobs in Britain. They primarily care for their family and children (Berthoud, 2000). Marriage is given high importance in Bangladeshi culture and should predominantly be arranged by parents because of religious norms. Muslim men and women are not allowed to cohabitate before marriage (Aziz, 1979; Ahmed, 1986; Sarker, 1997; Amin & Das, 2013; cited by Szarota et al., 2021). Marrying someone from a different religion is discouraged, especially for Muslim girls (Berthoud, 2000; Toki, 2019).

On the contrary, British culture is a highly individualistic culture (Hofstede, 2011). Individualism has been observed in their marriage and family patterns. Cohabitation without formal marriage has been increased over the last decades. In 2008, the percentage of married and cohabitating families was 69.1 and 15.3, respectively, while in 2019, it changed to 66.5% and 19.3% (Worringer, 2020). Younger generations prefer living independently, without their parents. The predominant form of family is the nuclear family consisting of parents and children. Most of the British grandmothers who are alive are living alone (Berthoud, 2000). All these indicate a preference for modern liberal values, whereas Asian

family values are considered there as “old-fashioned” and have been rejected. Examples include arranged marriage, men’s authority, high fertility, and women’s family obligations (Berthoud, 2000).

Since the Bangladeshi minority constitutes less than 1% (0.8%) of the UK population and the distance between the two cultures is large, immigrants’ acculturation appears as a challenge. The knowledge of British culture gained in the colonial period, and post-colonial influence (e.g., the Commonwealth) may attenuate this challenge. Moreover, it is found from previous studies that acculturation experience varies between first-generation immigrants (those who moved to the host culture at a later age and have already been enculturated in their culture of origin) and their descendants (those who were born in the host country or moved here as a minor and learned the host culture through schooling and socialization with native people). For example, 2nd generation Chinese immigrants in the US experience conflict in specific domains such as expressing negative emotions, education, sexuality, and sports due to different cultural orientations at home and school (Sung, 1985). A similar result was found by Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997): higher conflict is experienced by African-American and Mexican-American adolescents who have stronger identification with their ethnic culture while adhering to mainstream norms at school. Very few studies have been conducted on the acculturation among Bangladeshi-British bicultural populations despite immigration to the UK from Bengal started during the colonial period, dating back to 1850 (cited by Alexander, Firoz & Rashid, 2010).

Manning & Georgiadis (2012) found a difference in values in terms of marriage and cohabitation between UK-born and non-UK-born Bangladeshi women from Labor Force Survey data (2000-2008). Bangladeshi women in the UK have a higher probability of marriage, but this probability is lower for UK-born Bangladeshi women. The probability of exogamous marriage is very low among Bangladeshi immigrants in the UK compared to other ethnic immigrants; however, it is higher among UK-born Bangladeshi than those of non-UK-born. It shows a subtle change in heritage culture’s values throughout the Bangladeshi generations in the UK that also might warn of a conflict between generations if the traditional values of endogamy were to be tarnished. Mesoudi and colleagues (2016) compared 1st and 2nd generation Bangladeshi-British and non-migrant people in terms of individualism-collectivism, social closeness, self-enhancement, analytic vs holistic thinking, and social attribution. They found that 1st generation showed stronger collectivism than 2nd generation. However, both generations have a higher social closeness than the non-migrants. So, people from different generations might not only differ in heritage vs. host cultural values but also in different domains of cultural values. Bangladeshi-British girls, for instance, follow British culture in food and clothes but make friendships more with the same ethnic groups than with native British (Houghton et al., 2020). Traditional cultural and religious practices sometimes hinder integration with the native British people. Toki (2019) found that 3rd generation British-Bangladeshi reported that the Bengali cultural way of eating (eating with hands) is perceived negatively by the White British people as a lack of table manners.

The conflict between two cultural identities might lead to lower satisfaction with life. Therefore, it’s essential to understand the level of bicultural identity integration among 1st

and 2nd generation immigrants for their better psychological well-being. Life satisfaction is pursued differently in different cultures. For example, people in collectivistic cultures emphasize family well-being and interdependent happiness more, whereas life satisfaction in individualistic cultures is more achievement-related (Uchida & Ogihara, 2012). A widely used life satisfaction measure, the Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS) by Diener et al. (1985), is individualistic culture-oriented in which people have a greater emphasis on the independent self (Kryś et al., 2019, 2020). Therefore, Kryś and collaborators (2019) adapted the well-known SWLS into family SWLS (FSWLS) to make it collectivism-themed. They conceptualized family life satisfaction as a person's overall assessment of their family's quality of life according to the criteria set by them. Both SWLS and FSWLS were incorporated in this study, considering the individualistic vs. collectivistic nature of Bangladeshi and British culture. We were interested in which cultural identity predicts what type of life satisfaction.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

This study aims to see how 1st and 2nd generation of Bangladeshi immigrants in the UK integrate their heritage and host cultural identities based on the value-based identity and to see which identity is stronger among them. Firstly, we wanted to test for possible differences between 1st and 2nd generation Bangladeshi-British migrants in the strength of Bangladeshi and British cultural identities. Specifically, we hypothesized:

H1: Bangladeshi identity will be stronger among 1st generation compared to the 2nd generation immigrants.
H2: British identity will be stronger among 2nd generation than 1st generation immigrants.

These hypotheses were tested for monocultural Bangladeshi and monocultural British participants, assuming that those categories would provide standards for identity compared to the two immigrant groups. Next, we cross-validated our model-based approach with BIIS-2. Finally, cultural identities (Bangladeshi and British) will be tested in predicting personal and family life satisfaction. We expected that:

H3: Bangladeshi identity will predict family life satisfaction considering the collectivist and interdependent culture, whereas British identity will predict personal life satisfaction considering an independent and individualist culture.

Methods

Participants

A total of 128 participants were recruited from 2 bicultural groups (Bangladeshi 1st generation and 2nd generation living in the UK), and 2 monocultural groups (Bangladeshi living in Bangladesh & British living in the UK). After filtering the data, the sample size from

each group was 36 from 1st generation, 17 from 2nd generation, 33 from the Bangladeshi monocultural group, and 28 from British monocultural group. Participants were selected based on their ethnicity instead of their nationality. Therefore, we have taken information on both ethnicity and nationality but determined groups according to their ethnicity and their current country of residence. The criteria for the participant groups are described below:

Bicultural groups

1st generation Bangladeshi-British bicultural were the Bangladeshi immigrants or international students living in the UK for at least 1 year. Their ethnic origin should be Bangladeshi and the parents or ancestors have never been in the UK.

2nd generation participants were those who were born in the UK or came to the UK as a minor, whose ethnic origin was Bangladeshi or mixed (i.e., either both parents or one parent of the participants should be Bangladeshi), currently living in the UK and parents were residing in the UK.

Monocultural groups

Bangladeshi monocultural participants were current residents of Bangladesh and have been living there for most of their lives, the ethnicity should be Bangladeshi, and the parents' residence was in Bangladesh.

British monocultural participants were current residents of the UK and had been living there for most of their lives; the ethnicity should be British (i.e., both parents of the participants should be British), and the parent's residence was in the UK.

All participants were 18 years or above. The average age of the 1st generation and 2nd generation bicultural were 40.89 years (*SD* = 11.57) and 26.35 (*SD* = 4.37) years respectively. Bangladeshi and British monocultural participants were 29.33 (*SD* = 4.07) years and 35.07 (*SD* = 15.42) years old on average respectively.

Sampling

Participants were recruited following convenience sampling through the researcher's social network and social media. Some gatekeepers (people who act as a bridge between the researcher and the community) helped in the recruitment process. A request for participating in the study with the survey link was posted in several Bangladeshi community groups and Bangladeshi student groups on Facebook. All the data was collected indirectly by using Qualtrics questionnaires, during the Covid-19 pandemic. This was a time of serious restrictions on traveling, which ruled out direct, on-the-spot interventions in Bangladeshi communities to acquire a larger sample of participants.

Materials

Cultural identity measures

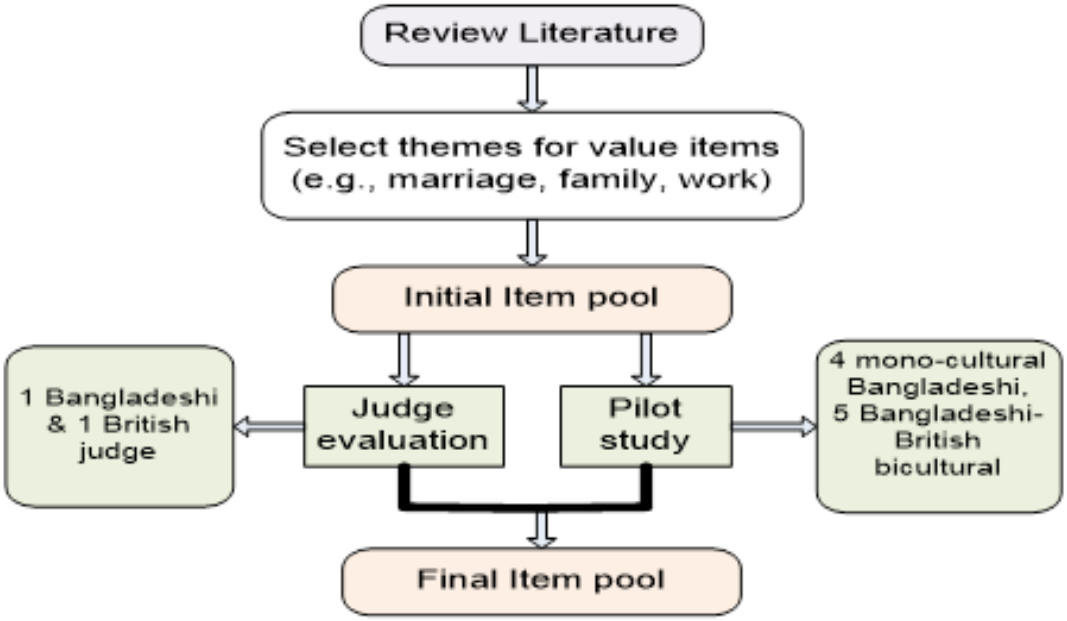
Cultural identities were measured in line with the 3 steps system elaborated by Boski (2022). In this system, the first two steps involved measuring the culture-level values and personal preferences of values. The third step involved computing Bangladeshi cultural identity and

British cultural identity by multiplying cultural descriptors (C) and personal preference of values (P) and then adding up all the multiplied products: CI for Bangladeshi identity= [∑i=1 to n (Ci* Pi)] and CI for British identity= [$\sum^{i=1 \text{ to } n}$ (Ci* Pi)].

Cultural descriptors

Cultural descriptors or culture-level values are the descriptive aspects of values that refer to values endorsed by a culture. The items for the cultural descriptors were finalized following 3 steps: preparing an item pool by literature review, judge evaluation, and pilot testing with Bangladeshi-British bicultural people, monocultural British, and monocultural Bangladeshi. The steps of final item selection are shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2.
Steps of Item Selection for the Value Questionnaire



At first, an item pool of Bangladeshi and British values was prepared by reviewing literature from cross-cultural psychology and other related disciplines, such as sociology and anthropology. Initially, 40 items were selected for both cultures. Then one judge from Bangladesh and two judges from the UK shared their expert opinion on the applicability of these items to the corresponding culture, item wording, and framing. Judges were the Professors in Psychology and experts in their corresponding culture. Finally, a pilot testing was conducted with 4 Bangladeshi monocultural and 5 Bangladeshi-British bicultural people (2 from 1st generation and 3 from 2nd generation) on these 40 items. The final 36 items were selected according to the consensus of the majority. Two items were added for attention checking (e.g., Please select “Yes” for this item) to minimize the acquiescence bias. Final cultural descriptors are presented in Table 1.

Table 1.

Cultural Descriptors for Bangladeshi and British Culture

Asking for approval from family members regarding major life decisions (e.g., marriage, career choice) is crucial.
Academic success is given high value.
Girls have to be under parental authority until they get married.
Direct communication is preferred even if it disrupts harmony with others.
It's expected that individuals will sacrifice their own interests for the benefit of their families.
Considering what other people may think affects all decisions about life and work.
Having sexual relations before marriage is socially acceptable.
Social norms are maintained strictly even if it costs personal freedom of choice.
People usually behave in a consistent way across private and public life.
Placing elderly parents in a care home is considered uncaring.
Defending the family's reputation is the responsibility of each family member.
Being wealthy and securing high status in society is highly valued.
People respect other's privacy and avoid asking about other's private affairs.
Warm hospitality towards guests is highly valued and practiced.
Marrying a person from a different religion/ethnicity is socially unacceptable and discouraged.
Individuals are expected to give priority to personal goals, even if at odds with family or community expectations.
Individuals are encouraged to be similar to others in the community.
Extended family (e.g., uncle, aunt, grandparents) are as important as the core family (e.g., spouse, children).
Children are encouraged to develop as unique and independent individuals.
Freedom of personal choice is highly valued.
People usually apologize to anyone for making unintentional mistakes, even if the person is younger.
In general, males have higher value and opportunities in society than females.
People are naturally reserved and do not usually initiate conversations with strangers.
Maintaining personal privacy is more valued.
People give more importance to future financial stability than present enjoyment.
Arguing with the elderly/superiors in case of disagreement is considered disrespectful.
"Fair play rules" are highly valued in business and work whereas bribery and unfairness are strictly prohibited.
Maintaining harmony with society or your ethnic community is more important than expressing true feelings that may disrupt harmony.
The eldest male member of the family holds the authority in the family.
Modesty is shown by prohibiting boastfulness and intentionally showing self-deprecation.
Personal happiness is considered independent of the family's happiness.
Same-sex couples are welcomed in the society.
Etiquette is highly valued and maintained.

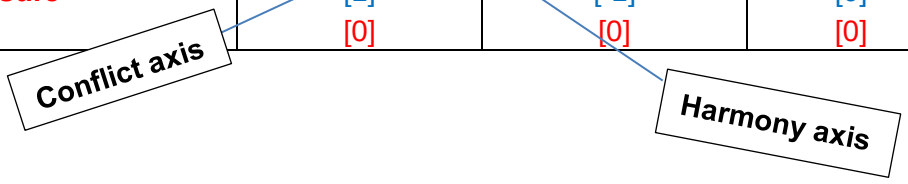
Table 1 continued

Talking about sex is regarded as taboo.
Late-night partying with friends and nightclubs is part of socialization for both young males and females.
People with a higher position in power and status are given priority in the society.

Cultural descriptors were framed in the 3rd person or impersonally (e.g., Having sexual relations before marriage is socially acceptable) and participants were given instructions to evaluate whether the descriptors applied to Bangladeshi and/or British culture. The response options were Yes (value applies to that culture), No (value does not apply to that culture), and Not Sure (the person is uncertain). Each descriptor is placed against two cultures, with weights attached. Bicultural participants evaluated descriptors for both British and Bangladeshi cultures. Table 2a presents the general format for the sorting out of descriptor items across two cultures.

Figure 2a.
*Cultural Description Framework: Perception of Bangladeshi and British Values and Practices in a 3*3 Taxonomy*

Culture A (UK)	**Culture B (Bangladesh)**		
Descriptor Having sexual relations before marriage is socially acceptable	**Descriptor** Having sexual relations before marriage is socially acceptable		
	Yes	**No**	**Not sure**
Yes	[1] [1] Joint	[1] [-1] ***A* specific**	[1] [0]
No	[1] [-1] ***B*** specific	[-1] [-1] Neither	[0] [-1]
Not sure	[1] [0]	[-1] [0]	[0] [0]



The weight {e.g., 1/1; 1/-1; 1/0; 0/0} were applied to the descriptors for computing the cultural identities of bicultural and monocultural participants. These weights are conventional but generally depend on whether a given item falls in a cell of similarity or difference. Weights [1, 1] = Joint indicates a cultural value that is applied to both cultures equally; and the opposite draw of [-1, -1] implies Neither or Not applicable to either culture. Similarly, if the item applies to one culture, say British culture but not to Bangladeshi culture, then it is a British culture-specific value with weights [1] for British culture and [-1] for Bangladeshi

culture. Reverse asymmetric weights apply to an item that is Bangladeshi culture-specific, i.e., 1/-1. Weight [0] is given to the option Not Sure - when the person is uncertain about the applicability of the value to a particular culture. Especially some bicultural participants might not have frequent contact with their culture of origin and might lack knowledge about that culture. Therefore, weight [1, 0] means the cultural value is applied to one culture and uncertain for the other, weight [-1, 0] is used when the value does not apply to one culture and is uncertain for the other, and [0, 0] weight is applied when there is uncertainty about the applicability of the value to both cultures.

Both Joint and Neither indicate harmony, whereas British or Bangladeshi Culture-specific values indicate conflict. For example, “Having sexual relations before marriage is socially acceptable” is a British culture-specific value but does not apply to Bangladeshi culture. Therefore, the respective weights are 1 for British culture and -1 for Bangladeshi culture.

Personal Preferences

Personal preferences or personal-level values measure individual endorsements of these values. At the personal preference level, the same 38 cultural descriptors were framed in 1st person (e.g., I consider having sexual relations before marriage to be acceptable) and presented in the same order as the cultural descriptors. The response options were on a 5-point Likert scale (-2=Strongly Disagree to 2=Strongly Agree). An example of a personal preference framework of value is shown in Table 2b.

Table 2b
Personal Preference of Values

Item	Strongly disagree (-2)	Disagree (-1)	Neither agree nor disagree (0)	Agree (1)	Strongly agree (2)
I consider having sexual relations before marriage is acceptable.					

Culture Identity

The formula for computing cultural identity is (Cultural descriptor*Personal preference). For instance, let the score in personal preference for the item “I consider having sexual relations before marriage is acceptable” be +2. Therefore, Bangladeshi identity for that item is [2 (personal preference) *-1 (Bangladeshi cultural descriptor)] = -2, and British identity is [2 (personal preference) *1 (British cultural descriptor)] = 2. It indicates a conflict between two cultural identities and a stronger British identity. The same applies to each item; thus, a global index for each cultural identity was achieved.

Bicultural Identity Integration Scale – Version 2 (BIIS-2)

Bicultural Identity Integration Scale – Version 2 (BIIS-2) (Huynh, 2009) was used to see the level of BII among the bicultural people and to validate the new cultural identity instrument. It consists of 19 items rated on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly

agree), assessing two dimensions of bicultural identity integration: harmony vs. conflict (10 items, e.g., “I feel like someone moving between two cultures,” α = 0.81) and blendedness vs. compartmentalization (9 items, e.g., “I feel part of a combined culture,” α = 0.86).

Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS)

Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS), developed by Diener et al. (1985) is a five-item scale designed to measure the overall life satisfaction of a person according to his/her judgment (e.g., I am satisfied with my life, α = 0.77). It is rated on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree).

Family Satisfaction with Life Scale (FSWLS)

Kryś and colleagues (2019) have adapted the SWLS to make it collectivism-themed by changing the subject of SWLS from person-focused (e.g., In most ways my life is close to my ideal) to family-focused (e.g., In most ways the life of my family is close to ideal). Like SWLS, the items of FSWLS were rated on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree) (Kryś et al., 2019) and yielded reliable measures (α = .88).

Translation

All instruments were translated from English to Bangla, and both language versions were provided in the survey. As a native Bengali speaker, the researcher translated the instruments from English to Bangla. Then, the translation was checked by another native Bengali-speaking psychologist doing his PhD. Translated items were discussed with the researcher’s supervisor, co-supervisor, and fellows.

Design and Procedure

A quasi-experimental design was used with 2 experimental groups (bicultural) and 2 control groups (monocultural) in this study. Data were collected anonymously from Bangladesh and the UK using Qualtrics online surveys. Participants were provided with the anonymous survey link. All participants were given the consent form, demographic information, cultural descriptors, personal preference of values, SWLS, and FSWLS scale. Monocultural participants evaluated cultural descriptors considering applicability to their culture only. For instance, Bangladeshi monocultural participants were instructed to select either Yes, No, or Not Sure for each descriptor, considering its applicability to Bangladeshi culture. British monocultural participants were given the same instruction except the name of the culture. Bicultural participants evaluated these descriptors from both Bangladeshi and British cultural perspectives. Additionally, bicultural participants filled out BIIS-2. Participants had the opportunity to choose either Bangla or English according to their language preference, and their participation was voluntary. The survey took approximately 30 minutes to complete.

Results

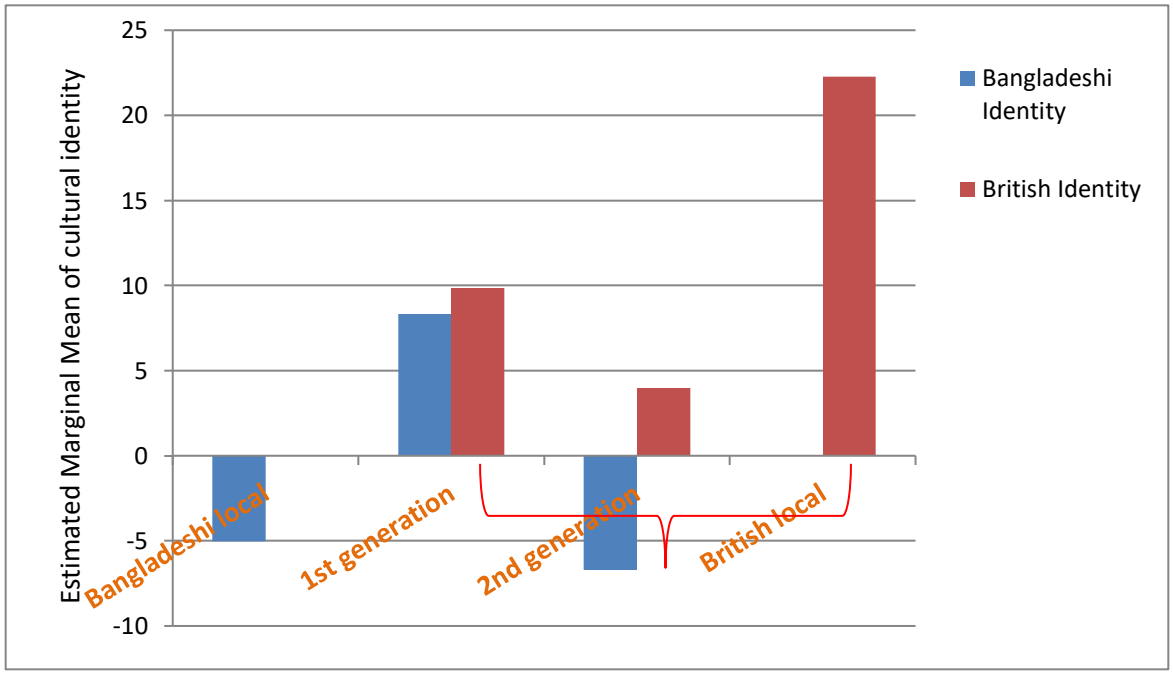
Bangladeshi and British identity

Testing H-1 and H-2, we wanted to see possible differences among participants in the strength of Bangladeshi and British cultural identities. The bicultural and the monocultural participants were compared in identity using one-way between-subject ANOVA with one cultural identity (Bangladeshi identity or British identity) as the dependent variable and cultural groups (bicultural 1st generation, bicultural 2nd generation, and monocultural British or Bangladeshi) as the factor.

Results showed a significant difference in mean Bangladeshi identity across 3 cultural groups (bicultural 1st generation and 2nd generation, monocultural Bangladeshi), F (2, 83) = 6.02, p = .004, η2 = 0.13. A follow-up analysis using the Bonferroni post-hoc test showed that 1st generation Bangladeshi in the UK has stronger Bangladeshi identity (M = 8.33, SD = 19.66) compared to the 2nd generation Bangladeshi in the UK (M = -6.71, SD = 11.79, p = .02) and the Bangladeshi living in Bangladesh (M = -5.03, SD = 19.75, p = .01).

A significant difference in mean British identity across 3 cultural groups (bicultural 1st generation and 2nd generation, British monocultural) has been found, F (2, 78) = 7.82, p = .001, η2 = 0.17. A follow-up analysis using the Bonferroni post hoc test showed that British monocultural has a stronger British identity (M = 22.29, SD = 14.96) than the 1st generation Bangladeshi (M = 9.86, SD = 17.01, p = .01) and the 2nd generation Bangladeshi (M = 4.00, SD = 16.79, p = .001).

Figure 3.
Cultural Identities of all Cultural Groups



It is particularly noteworthy in monocultural group comparison that British identity is highly positive while Bangladeshi identity scored negative.

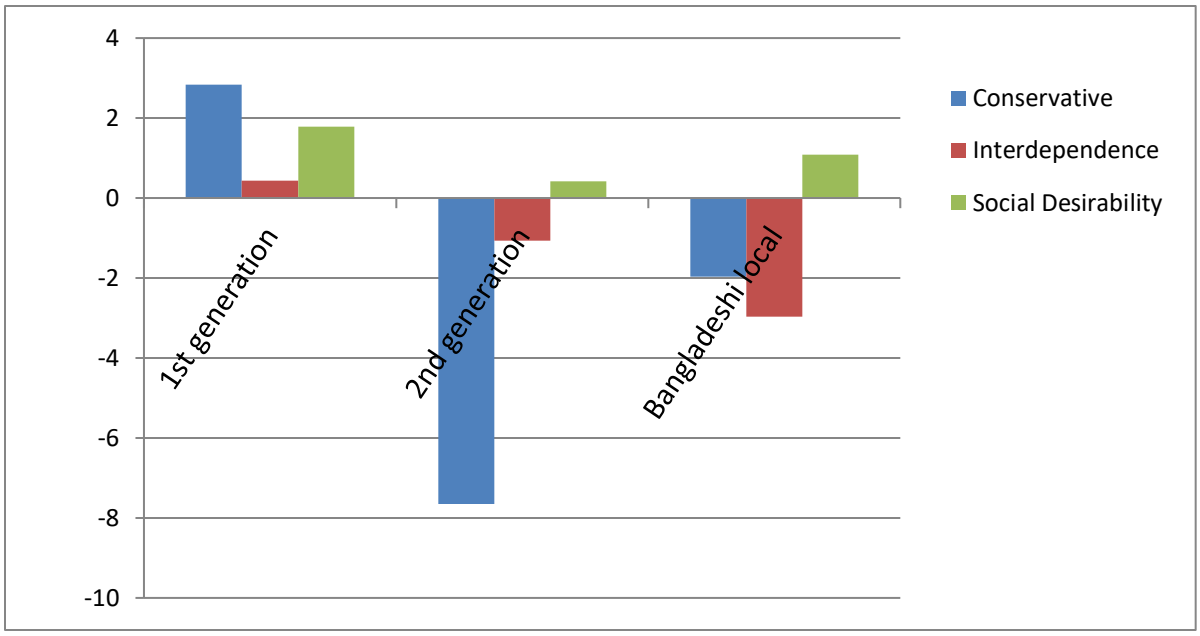
Cultural identities across dimensions (partial identities)

From the above analyses, a global cultural identity can be found, but we would like to identify possible dimensions of these cultural identities. Therefore, we needed to extract the factors and then compute partial bicultural identity for each dimension using Boski's (2022) approach (cultural descriptors of each dimension*personal preference).

At first, 36 items were factor analysed using principal component analysis with Promax rotation with Kaiser Normalization. 3 factors emerged from the factor analysis named Conservatism (e.g., Marrying someone from a different religion/ethnicity is discouraged), Interdependence (e.g., It is expected that individuals will sacrifice their own interests for the benefit of their family), and Social desirability (e.g., Warm hospitality towards guests is highly valued and practiced) and together they explained 35.80% variances.

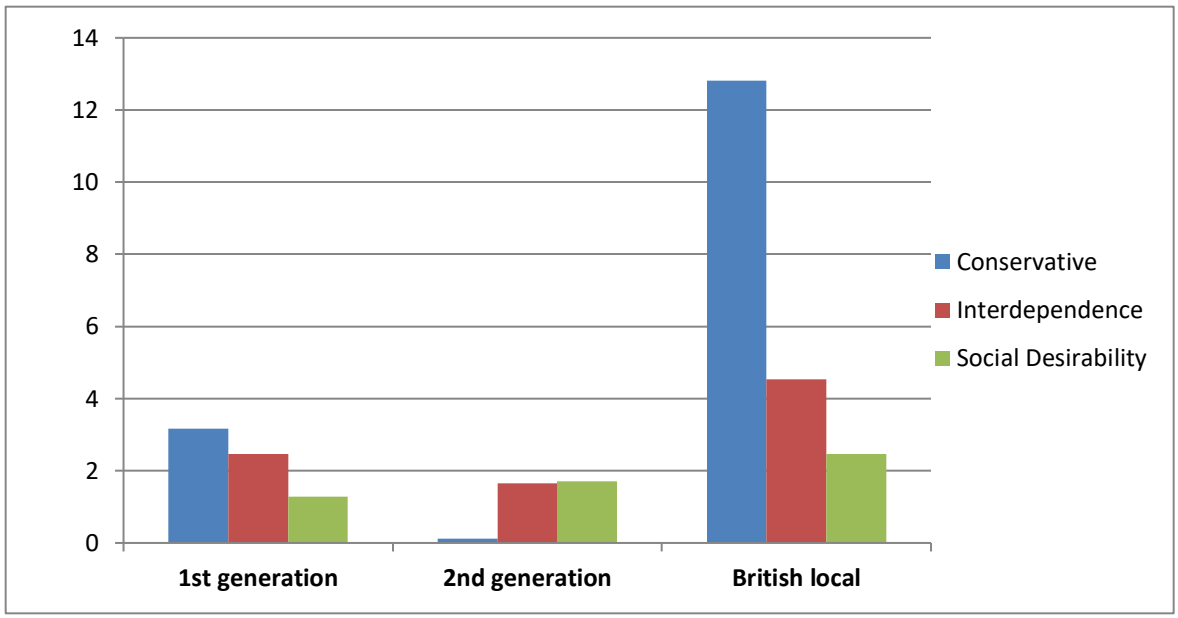
To see whether biculturals and monoculturals differ in these 3 identity dimensions, two 3*3 Mixed ANOVAs were conducted with 3 identity dimensions for each culture (Conservatism, Collectivism, and Behavioral Desirability) as within-subject variable and cultural groups (bicultural 1st and 2nd generation, and mono-cultural Bangladeshi/British) as between-subject variable.

Figure 4.
*Bangladeshi Identity (or person*culture fit) in 3 Dimensions Across 3 Groups*



The interaction effect between the Bangladeshi identity in 3 dimensions and the cultural groups was significant, F (3.19, 132.20) = 7.11, p < .001, ηp2 = 0.15 (Huynh-Feldt correction was applied, epsilon = .796). The Bangladeshi identity, or {culture * person fit} of 1st generation bicultural Bangladeshi is significantly higher in the conservative dimension (M = 2.83, SD = 9.36) compared to the 2nd generation bicultural Bangladeshi (M = -7.65, SD = 6.26, p = .001) and is marginally higher in the interdependence dimension (M = 0.44, SD = 6.01) compared to the monocultural Bangladeshi (M = -2.97, SD = 6.47, p = .054). A higher number of Bangladeshi descriptors in the conservative dimension and a stronger preference for conservative values among 1st generation Bangladeshi bicultural implied (+) scores and produced positive identities. This also means a higher identity fit for the 1st generation with Bangladeshi culture, which is comparatively conservative.

Figure 5.
*British Identity (or person*culture fit) in 3 Dimensions Across 3 Groups*



The interaction effect between the partial British identities and the cultural groups was also significant, F (3.17, 123.56) = 14.36, p < .001, ηp2 = 0.27 (Huynh-Feldt correction was applied, epsilon = .792). British monocultural participants are significantly higher in their conservative {person * culture} fit (M = 12.82, SD = 6.58) than both 1st generation (M = 3.17, SD = 8.32, p < .001) and 2nd generation bicultural (M = .12, SD = 8.81, p < .001). Here, we have an interesting case where descriptors in the conservative dimension did not apply to British culture, and British monocultural people had negative preferences for conservative values. So, the weights for the inapplicability of the descriptors were (-), and the low personal preferences for those descriptors were also (-), which eventually produced a positive {culture * person} identity fit. Based on cultural and personal rejection of conservative values led to a higher fit among British participants than among Bangladeshi, for whom cultural affirmation

often coincided with personal rejection. Moreover, Bangladeshi identity negatively correlates with the British identity, $r(53) = -.41$, $p = 0.002$.

Analysis of Bicultural Identity Integration

One of the purposes of this study was to cross-validate the new cultural identity measure with BIIS-2.

To test the validity of the model-based cultural identity measure with BIIS-2, a correlational analysis was performed with two cultural identities (Bangladeshi and British) and mean scores of harmony vs conflict and blendedness vs compartmentalization axis. Only Bangladeshi identity had a significant negative correlation with the blendedness vs compartmentalization axis, $r(53) = -0.30$, $p = 0.01$, meaning the higher Bangladeshi identity the lower cultural blendedness or the higher cultural compartmentalization. A stronger heritage identity might influence keeping both cultural identities separate from each-other.

Measuring cultural identity using Boski's model can also reveal Harmony vs Conflict between two cultural identities. Higher scores in both cultural identities represent harmony, whereas a higher score in one cultural identity but a lower score in another represents conflict. Only the blendedness vs compartmentalization axis of BIIS-2 was found to be negatively correlated with our model-based cultural integration, $r(53) = -0.32$, $p = 0.021$. That is, more integrated individuals had higher scores on compartmentalization.

Analysis of life satisfaction

Four linear regressions were performed to test whether cultural identities predict life satisfaction, with two cultural identities as predictors and two types of life satisfaction (personal and family) as outcome variables. Results showed that only global Bangladeshi identity predicts family life satisfaction ($\beta = .08$, $p = 0.032$). Regarding the 3 dimensions of cultural identity, only Bangladeshi conservative identity predicts family life satisfaction, $\beta = 0.15$, $p = 0.035$. Bangladeshi identity explained a significant proportion of variance in family life satisfaction, $R^2 = 0.05$, $F(1, 84) = 4.78$, $p = 0.03$. A stepwise regression analysis showed that higher fitness of Bangladeshi identity (cultural value*personal value) in items placing elderly in a care home is unacceptable ($\beta = .08$, $p = 0.032$), respecting personal privacy ($\beta = -0.88$, $p = 0.042$) and warm hospitality towards guests ($\beta = -1.35$, $p = 0.05$) predicted family life satisfaction significantly.

Discussion

This study aimed to see the bicultural identity integration among 1st generation (born in Bangladesh and came to the UK in adult life) and 2nd generation (born in the UK or were born in Bangladesh but moved to the UK with parents as a minor) Bangladeshi immigrants in the UK. In conceptualizing and measuring cultural identity, we used Boski's approach (2022, 2023) which is different from conventional approaches of cultural identity research. The conventional approach considered ethnic and national identity as cultural identity, but

these can be considered as social identities (membership of/attachment to a culture). The measure of Boski's approach considers customizing culture-specific elements, not cultural elements in general. For example, we prepared cultural descriptors (culture-level values) specifically for the Bangladeshi and British cultures. These descriptors might not apply to other cultures and therefore cannot be used in general. However, it gives more information about acculturation than just membership.

The two cultural identities of 1st and 2nd generations were compared with monocultural British (ethnic British in the UK) and Bangladeshi participants (ethnic Bangladeshi living in Bangladesh). Interestingly, we found that 1st generation had a significantly higher Bangladeshi identity than Bangladeshi monocultural people. Bangladeshi monocultural people have a lower personal preference for Bangladeshi cultural values, whereas 1st generation have a higher personal preference to those values than both 2nd generation and Bangladeshi monocultural. Higher personal preference to Bangladeshi values (particularly in conservatism) among 1st generation leads to a stronger Bangladeshi identity than Bangladeshi monocultural people. So, the 1st generation is more fit to Bangladeshi culture. Why did this happen, even though they have lived in the UK for long? One possible explanation might be the culture lag- 1st generation has retained their heritage cultural values in a foreign country while it's changing among people living in the home country. On the other hand, British identity was significantly stronger among British monocultural people compared to both generations, meaning that native British people fit well with their culture. British identity is generally much stronger than Bangladeshi identity; the latter had very low, even negative scores. Our findings provide a convincing argument for including monocultural controls when studying immigrants' bicultural identities. At times, paradoxical results may appear when ancestral cultural identity may be stronger among immigrants than at home.

Previous studies found that endorsement of values differs among immigrants across life domains, such as family, marriage, and work (Moghaddam & Taylor, 1987; Arends-Toth & Vijver, 2009). We also found that 1st generation had a significantly stronger Bangladeshi identity in conservativeness (e.g., obedience to parental authority, endogamous marriage, etc.) than 2nd generation, which was similar to the Bangladeshi monocultural. Values in the conservative domain were more applicable to Bangladeshi culture than British culture, and the 1st generation showed higher preferences for conservative values. This resulted in a more conservative Bangladeshi identity among them compared to the 2nd generation. This finding contradicts findings from previous studies, which showed that traditional values, especially family-related values, are maintained among immigrants across generations (Arends-Toth & Vijver, 2009; Phinney et al., 2000). On the other hand, British monoculturals had a higher cultural fit with their culture in the sense that they rejected conservative values, so as their culture did. This supported the findings of Berthoud (2000), which showed a tendency to reject the "old-fashioned" conservative values and embrace modern liberal values among native British people.

Cross-validation showed a negative correlation only between Bangladeshi identity and blendedness vs. compartmentalization axis, indicating that people with higher heritage identities keep their two identities separate to avoid conflict. This might have happened

because Bangladeshi and British identities were negatively correlated. These two cultures differ in cultural dimensions, including individualism-collectivism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance, indulgence (Hofstede, 2011), and autonomy vs embeddedness (Vauclaire et al., 2011). For these reasons, people with a stronger Bangladeshi identity might find it difficult to blend their Bangladeshi identity with the British identity. Therefore, we found that the 1st generation scored lower in BII than the 2nd generation, perhaps due to their stronger Bangladeshi identity. Neither identity was found to be associated with the harmony vs conflict axis of BIIS-2.

We also measured the integration vs conflict in our model-based approach and then correlated with two dimensions BIIS-2 separately. Only the blendedness vs compartmentalization axis of BIIS-2 was negatively correlated with cultural integration. That is, more integrated individuals had higher scores on compartmentalization. Although this result might create confusion, studies showed that bicultural individuals could choose to keep their two cultures separate in everyday life while perceiving harmony and compatibility between these (Hyuhn, 2009). Also, the concept of blendedness is quite confusing in the sense that performing two cultural activities at the same time seems difficult. Rather, people can keep their two cultures separate and switch from one culture to another according to situational cues (Hong et al., 2000). From blendedness, a new culture can emerge, which is neither completely heritage culture nor completely host culture. For example, if a bicultural person cooks any dish combining his/her two cultural components, this will be a new or hybrid form (not a hyphenated one). On the other hand, complete compartmentalization might not be possible in a host culture. People have to abide by the social rules, at least in public situations, and can switch to the home culture at home without a feeling of cultural conflict. All of these open a new way of thinking about bicultural identity integration for future research.

Finally, we tested whether cultural identities predict life satisfaction or not. We found that only Bangladeshi identity and Bangladeshi identity in the Conservative dimension predicted family life satisfaction, not personal life satisfaction. At a more specific level, singular items of Bangla identity, such as not placing the elderly at a care home, respecting personal privacy, and warm hospitality, contributed to high FSWLS. Coming from a collectivistic culture, Bangladeshi people emphasize family happiness and well-being more than personal satisfaction. Contrary to the previous findings (Diener et al., 1985; Krys et al., 2019), we did not find any relationship between the British identity and personal life satisfaction. Maybe other socio-demographic variables are more important for personal life satisfaction than cultural identity alone.

Conclusion

This study contributed to conceptualizing and measuring bicultural identity in a novel way. Current literature perceives cultural identity as belongingness or attachment to ethnic groups, whereas our approach focuses on cultural fitness. One of the limitations of this research was a small sample size for the 2nd generation. Future studies should include a large sample size from each generation. Several interesting findings emerged from this

study, such as a stronger heritage identity among the 1st generation immigrants than monocultural living in their home country. Future studies might explore the phenomenon of "culture lag or freezing."

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