Proximal and Remote Acculturation: Adolescents' Perspectives of Biculturalism in Two Contexts

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Abstract

Immigration and globalization are at historic highs, making biculturalism, whether by way of immigration-based proximal acculturation or globalization-based remote acculturation, increasingly a commonplace for adolescents. Using focus group interviews, this qualitative study explored Latinx adolescents' ($n = 19$, 13-19 years) views of proximal biculturalism in the United States, and Jamaican adolescents' ($n = 15$, 13-18 years) views of remote biculturalism in Jamaica in terms of the existence, adaptive value, and challenges of biculturalism. Findings of thematic analyses revealed that both groups of adolescents viewed biculturalism as possible in their respective contexts although differences in processes and mechanisms were evident. In addition, youth in both contexts saw biculturalism as beneficial for social and practical reasons. Finally, both groups acknowledged challenges related to biculturalism; however, internal conflicts based on physical appearance was a theme

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of discussion only among U.S. Latinxs, whereas problems fitting in were primary concerns for Jamaicans. Studying the similarities (and differences) between proximal and remote biculturalism can enrich biculturalism theory, and doing so from the adolescent point of view has important practical value by providing a fuller understanding of the experience of biculturalism among youth who are developing ethnic/cultural identities and planning their futures in diversifying cultural environments.

Keywords

acculturation, biculturalism, Latinx culture, American culture, Jamaica, adolescent perspectives

> Adolescents and emerging adults seldom grow up knowing of only one culture in a globalizing world. Rather, they increasingly have interactions with people from diverse cultures, either first-hand or indirectly through various media. Because two or more cultures can be incorporated into a person's identity in many different ways depending on individual choices and the status or power of the different cultures in question, cultural identities take highly diverse forms in a global world. (Jensen, Arnett, & McKenzie, 2011, p. 286)

In today's diversifying societies wherein transnational migration, global mass media, and social networking are common, individuals increasingly interact with multiple cultures near and far. In light of this, acculturation science now recognizes that acculturation can be prompted by intercultural contact that may be either firsthand and continuous (proximal) such as is the case in immigration-based acculturation, or indirect and/or discontinuous (remote) as facilitated by cultural globalization among nonmigrants (Berry & Sam, 2016; Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Bond, 2008; Ferguson, 2013). This modern reality has expanded the potential routes to biculturalism, especially for youth, who are actively forming identities, including ethnic/cultural identities, during the developmental stage of adolescence (Erikson, 1968; Phinney, 1990). This article explores the similarities and differences between adolescents' experiences of proximal and remote biculturalism using two adolescent case studies: proximally acculturating youth in the United Sates of Latin American origin (i.e., Latinx) and remotely acculturating youth in Jamaica. Qualitative group interviews within each sample assessed adolescents' views on biculturalism in terms of its existence, adaptive value, and challenges in their respective contexts.

Proximal and Remote Acculturation

Acculturation is the process that occurs when there is intercultural contact between people from two or more distinct cultures and there is a change in behaviors, attitudes, values, and/or identities experienced by one or more parties (Berry & Sam, 2016). The acculturation process encompasses some degree of retention of one's heritage culture and some degree of adoption of a second (or third, etc.) culture's attitudes, beliefs, values, and/or behavioral styles. When this process occurs at the individual level, it is referred to as *psychological acculturation* (Graves, 1967). According to the bidimensional acculturation theory (Berry, 1997), not all individuals acculturate in the same way. Berry (1997) described four possible acculturation strategies for immigrant acculturation involving two cultures but which also apply to remote acculturation in globalizing nonmigrant contexts (Ferguson, 2013; Jensen, Arnett, & McKenzie, 2011): *assimilation, separation, integration*, and *marginalization.* These strategies may be a result of an individual's personal choice or forced acculturation. *Assimilation* is associated with an individual adopting the second culture's attitudes, beliefs, and behavior and detaching from the heritage culture. With *separation*, the individual rejects the second culture's attitudes and beliefs and chooses to uphold the heritage culture. *Marginalization* is the imposed denial (by society) or (more rarely) self-denial of both the second and heritage cultures' attitudes and beliefs. Finally, *integration*, also referred to as biculturalism (Chen et al., 2008), is the blending of both cultures' attitudes, beliefs, and/or identities. There is both theoretical and empirical support for the notion that people, including youth, can be a part of two cultures without having to sacrifice their heritage culture; they do this by integrating aspects of each culture (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Mistry & Wu, 2010; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013).

The traditional understanding of acculturation suggests that the individual who is acculturating is in direct, proximal contact with the new culture and, thus, has many opportunities for continuous interaction (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). This conceptualization applies most readily in the context of migration where the movement of people from one place to another prompts intercultural interaction. However, modern life presents new pathways to biculturalism. The contemporary realities of cultural globalization result in the flow of goods and ideas across borders in the absence of migration facilitated by modern technology (e.g., cable and Internet penetration) and short-term travel (Karraker, 2013). For this reason, remote acculturation was introduced as a modern form of nonmigrant acculturation prompted by indirect and/or intermittent intercultural contact (Ferguson & Bornstein,

2012). Ferguson and colleagues have empirically demonstrated the presence of remote acculturation in several countries, starting with Jamaican adolescents living on the Caribbean island, some of whom orient both toward European American culture and local Jamaican culture (Ferguson, Tran, Mendez, & van de Vijver, 2017 for review). Two quantitative studies in urban Jamaica estimate that at least one in three adolescents has a remotely bicultural "Americanized Jamaican" acculturation profile compared to their culturally traditional Jamaican peers due to their significantly stronger European American affinity, entertainment preferences, and even self-identification alongside their strong Jamaican identity (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012, 2015). There is a compelling set of quantitative studies documenting remote biculturalism in various other samples across Africa, Asia, and Europe, albeit using different terminology and methods (Chen et al., 2008; Ferguson et al., 2017; Giray & Ferguson, 2018; McKenzie, 2018).

Much less qualitative research has been conducted to explore how adolescents experience biculturalism—whether proximally or remotely. To our knowledge, this is the first study to consider the similarities and differences between adolescent experiences of remote versus proximal biculturalism.

Adaptive Value of Biculturalism

Bicultural individuals (i.e., engaged with both their heritage and second culture) are able to conduct themselves in a culturally appropriate manner in multiple settings because they understand the social norms for both cultures. Most of this work has been conducted with proximally acculturating individuals, and much of what is known about proximal biculturalism in adolescence comes from questionnaire-based studies examining the existence/prominence and adaptiveness of integration (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006; Gonzales, Fabrett, & Knight, 2009; Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). Studies of immigrant-background youth across cultural groups generally indicate that biculturalism is prominent and adaptive both psychologically and socioculturally (e.g., Berry et al., 2006; Schwartz & Unger, 2010). Findings among U.S. Latinx bicultural youth in particular support this consensus, showing that many report an affinity for both Latino and mainstream U.S. cultures (confirming the existence of biculturalism), and that the benefits of biculturalism for these youth run wide (spanning several domains of competence) and deep (biological and neuropsychological). For example, one foundational study found that biculturalism scores of nearly 200 Latinx adolescents were positively associated with teacher ratings of their positive school adjustment, meaning grades as well as social aspects of school participation (Szapocznik,

Kurtines, & Fernandez, 1980). Another subsequent study of over 300 Latinx adolescents with immigrant backgrounds found that bicultural youth had significantly higher academic competence, peer competence, and parental monitoring than all other acculturating groups of youth, as well as fewer problem behaviors than assimilated peers (Coatsworth, Maldonido-Molina, Pantin, & Szapocznik, 2005). Bicultural adolescents have also been shown to have high cortisol responsivity relative to mono-culturals, which facilitates adaptive responses to strong acute stressors (Gonzales et al., 2018), and bilingualism (which was positively correlated with biculturalism in the sample) has been found to predict higher executive functioning and working memory 1 year later among preadolescent Latinx youth (Riggs, Shin, Unger, Spruijt-Metz, & Pentz, 2014).

In contrast to the wealth of quantitative research on adolescent biculturalism, there is limited research examining Latinx adolescents' *own* perspectives on proximal biculturalism (for review, see Gonzales et al., 2009). In one relevant study, Phinney and Devich-Navarro (1997) interviewed 46 Mexican American adolescents about their sense of being ethnic, American, and bicultural. Several patterns of identification were found; however, adolescents were not asked about their views on the adaptiveness or challenges of being bicultural. Similarly, in Marks and colleagues' mixed-methods study of ethnic identification among immigrant-origin U.S. adolescents, 86% of younger Latinx adolescents and 94% of older Latinx adolescents self-identified with "being bicultural"; however, interviews did not inquire about the positives and negatives of being bicultural (Marks, Patton, & García Coll, 2011).

Remote acculturation studies also show biculturalism is common but there are mixed findings regarding adaptiveness (see Ferguson & Dimitrova, 2019; Ferguson et al., 2017). There are two relevant published qualitative studies on youths' perspectives on remote biculturalism. Recent qualitative interviews with nonimmigrant urban adolescents in Thailand revealed both advantages and challenges of actively blending local and global cultures (McKenzie, 2018). On one hand, alternating between one's local self with family (i.e., local language and food) and global self with friends (i.e., English use and Western fast foods) was seen as a major advantage which preserved social hierarchies within family while boosting social capital with peers and future educational and employment competitiveness. On the other hand, challenges to this remote biculturalism included environmental restrictions on local culture expressions (e.g., local language use disallowed at school or discouraged when socializing with peers), and feared peer rejection/judgment if global culture performance was poorer than hoped (e.g., imperfect English). Findings from qualitative interviews among emerging adults experiencing

Ladakhi and Western cultures in northern Himalayan India lend support to Thai findings (Ozer, Bertelsen, Single, & Schwartz, 2017). Ozer and colleague found that even youth with low bicultural identity integration acknowledged the existence, advantages (e.g., heritage culture preservation, education, and technology), and disadvantages (e.g., inauthentic heritage culture promotion, fear of Western assimilation, and identity conflict/confusion) related to local-global hybrid cultural identities.

The Current Study

The degree of similarity (and difference) in adolescents' perspectives on proximal and remote biculturalism is unknown, and our article addresses this gap in the literature by examining Latinx adolescents' views of proximal biculturalism in the United States, and Jamaican adolescents' views of remote biculturalism in Jamaica. We assess three aspects of adolescents' views of biculturalism: (1) Is biculturalism possible? (2) How adaptive is biculturalism? and (3) What are the challenges of biculturalism? Exploratory qualitative methodologies such as group interviews are ideal for answering research questions in relatively new or understudied content areas such as these (Umaña-Taylor & Bámaca, 2004). As discussed more in detail, group interviews permit interactions between the researcher and participants, encourage exchange of ideas, and support participants' responses (Vaughn, Schumm, & Sinagub, 1996).

U.S. Latinx culture and context. The United States has undergone profound shifts in its youth population. In 1980, 9% of the nation's young people were Latinx, and just 30 years later, around 25% of U.S. children under the age of 18 were Latinx (Colby & Ortman, 2015). Although few of these Latinx youngsters are themselves immigrants (11%), over half (52%) are "second-generation" immigrants, defined as having at least one foreign-born parent (Fry & Passel, 2009). Given this demographic shift, it is important to examine the developmental experiences of Latinx youth as they move through adolescence, while being exposed to multiple cultures that influence them socially, emotionally, and otherwise. We explore how Latinx adolescents make sense of cultural influences as they negotiate mainstream American and Latinx cultures and develop a sense of cultural identification.

Jamaican culture and context. Located just over 500 miles south of Miami, Florida, Jamaica is the largest English-speaking country in the Caribbean. Globalization has brought about a significant influx of U.S. culture into Jamaica, especially over the last 50 years (see Caribbean Tourism

Organization, 2018). The United States is the primary destination for Jamaican emigrants (Thomas-Hope, 2002), so there are strong transnational ties between Jamaicans on the island and Jamaican immigrants in the United States, maintained by social and monetary remittances (Ferguson, 2016). Jamaicans are an ideal population to profile as a case study for remote acculturation to consider alongside proximally acculturating Latinx adolescents, who in this sample are nearly 50 Mexican-origin because they are geographically close and culturally similar to Mexicans. Jamaican culture endorses a collectivistic and familistic orientation owing to its prominent African heritage (92% Black, Jamaican Census, 2001) and vestiges of indigenous Taino culture (Ferguson & Iturbide, 2013). This feature of Jamaican culture bears similarities to Mexican "familismo," a core cultural value pertaining to close familial bonds and goals, mutual support, and shared living (Calzada, Tamis-LeMonda, & Yoshikawa, 2012). Objectively speaking, Jamaica's individualism/collectivism index score and rank in Hofstede's (2001) 50-country global sample (39/#25) is very similar to that of Mexico (30/#32).

Method

Participants

Proximal acculturation: Latinx Americans. Eleven girls and eight boys (age range = 13-19 years; M = 15.89, SD = 1.97) participated in the U.S. study, which was part of a larger mixed-methods study taking place in the midwestern United States (Iturbide, 2012: see Table 1 for participant demographics using pseudonyms). Adolescents were initially recruited from a Latinx mentoring program using recruitment letters sent home to the parents of attending adolescents. Parents who were interested in having their adolescents participate then contacted the researchers (17% responses rate, n = 2). Researchers then chose to recruit through organizations that were frequented by Latinxs (n = 5) and also used snowball sampling (n = 12). Thirteen adolescents had been born in the United States, and all were Latinxs. Thirteen adolescents self-identified as Mexican, four as South American, one as Hispanic, and one as multiracial Mexican. Fourteen adolescents reported their native language as Spanish, four as English, and one reported both languages. Fourteen adolescents lived in a two-parent home (e.g., biological/adoptive parents or two parents with one being a step-parent); four lived in a single-parent home (two with mother only and two with father only), and one lived with one parent and another individual. On average, boys (M = 14.88 years, SD = 1.25) were younger than girls (M = 16.64, SD = 2.11),

Table 1. Pseudonyms and Demographic Information for Latinx Participants in the United States.

Pseudonym	Age	Place of birth (POB)	Mother		Father	
			POB	Education	POB	Education
Javier	13	U.S.	El Salvador	High school	Mexico	Don't know
Pablo	13	Panama	Ecuador	Graduate degree	Panama	Graduate degree
Luis	15	U.S.	U.S.	High school	Mexico	<High school
Mario	15	U.S.	Mexico	High school	Mexico	Some college
Victor	15	U.S.	U.S.	Graduate degree	Mexico	Some graduate school
Cristóbal	16	U.S.	U.S.	Some graduate school	U.S.	Graduate degree
Jorge	16	Mexico	Mexico	Graduate degree	Mexico	Graduate degree
Sebastián	16	U.S.	U.S.	High school	Mexico	High school
Daniela	13	Columbia	Columbia	Some graduate school	Columbia	Graduate degree
Guadalupe	13	U.S.	U.S.	Graduate degree	U.S.	High school
Gabriela	16	U.S.	Mexico	High school	Mexico	<High school
Paulina	16	Mexico	Mexico	High school	Mexico	High school
Teresa	16	U.S.	Mexico	<High school	Mexico	Don't know
Isabel	17	U.S.	Mexico	Some college	U.S.	Some college
Ana	18	Mexico	Mexico	<High school	Mexico	Not applicable
Josefina	18	U.S.	U.S.	BA/BS	U.S.	Graduate degree
Rosario	18	Argentina	Argentina	High school	Argentina	<High school
Amelia	19	U.S.	Mexico	Some college	U.S.	High school
Natalia	19	U.S.	Mexico	<High school	Mexico	Missing

but the age difference was not statistically significant ($p > .05$).

Remote acculturation: Jamaicans. Fifteen boys (age range = 13-18 years; $M = 14.46$, $SD = 1.30$) participated in the Jamaican study, which was part of a larger sequential mixed-methods study taking place in a number of high schools in the capital city, Kingston (see Table 2 for participant demographics using pseudonyms). Focus group interviews were conducted near the end of the study period, and given that fewer schools were still participating at that time, boys were the only available participants. All boys were born in Jamaica (as were both parents) and had lived their entire lives on the island. Most boys (80%) had never visited the United States. In addition, all boys spoke English primarily, as it is the sole official language of Jamaica (Jamaican Patois is a spoken dialect but it is not an official language). This sample was comparable to the U.S. Latinx sample in most ways (e.g., parental education) besides gender.

Procedures

Focus group interviews were conducted in both studies. Focus group interviews allow researchers to gather qualitative data about a particular topic by fostering discussion in a group of individuals who share a particular experience (Stewart, Shamdasani, & Rook, 2007). There are several benefits to using group as opposed to individual interviews to study adolescents' perspectives of their experiences. Group discussions can mirror the social contexts in which adolescents experience the phenomenon of interest, and empower youth to share their views (Letendre & Williams, 2014). They also foster an exchange of opinions and ideas among participants, generating in-depth information (Letendre & Williams, 2014; Stewart et al., 2007). The moderator only asks the interview questions and probes participants for clarification of their responses; as all participants are not required to answer each question, responses may be more spontaneous and authentic than those obtained in one-on-one interviews (Vaughn et al., 1996). As described below, the interview questions for both U.S. Latinx and Jamaican adolescents focused on biculturalism in terms of its existence, adaptiveness, and challenges. The moderator in both studies used follow-up questions/probes when clarifications or elaborations were needed, taking care to avoid priming adolescents' responses.

Latinx Americans. Following institutional review board (IRB) approval, adolescents were recruited from Latinx-focused programs and organizations in a mid-size mid-western city. Researchers also used snowball sampling, asking

Table 2. Pseudonyms and Demographic Information for Participants in Jamaica.

Pseudonym	Age	Place of birth	Mother's education	Father's education[a]
Alex	14	Jamaica	4-year college or university degree	Not applicable
Carl	14	Jamaica	Completed 7th, 8th, or 9th grade	High-school graduate
Christopher	14	Jamaica	4-year college or university degree	Not applicable
Damon	14	Jamaica	4-year college or university degree	Not applicable
Hunter	14	Jamaica	4-year college or university degree	Not applicable
Jonathan	15	Jamaica	High-school graduate	Completed 7th, 8th, or 9th grade
Justin	18	Jamaica	4-year college or university degree	Not applicable
Keon	14	Jamaica	Not reported	High-school graduate
Kevin	17	Jamaica	Completed 7th, 8th, or 9th grade	Completed 10th or 11th grade
Lamar	14	Jamaica	Completed 10th or 11th grade	Not applicable
Naresh	13	Jamaica	Graduate professional degree	High-school graduate
Patrick	14	Jamaica	High-school graduate	High-school graduate
Richie	14	Jamaica	Completed 10th or 11th grade	Completed 10th or 11th grade
Sebastian	14	Jamaica	Completed 10th or 11th grade	Completed 10th or 11th grade
Stephan	14	Jamaica	4-year college or university degree	Not applicable

Note. All parents and adolescents were born in Jamaica.
[a]Fathers include two step-fathers. "Not applicable" largely because father did not live in the same household as the adolescent.

participants to pass on recruitment materials to other Latinx adolescents who might be interested in the study. Recruitment materials were addressed to parents; if a family expressed interest in the study, they were sent a parental consent and a youth assent form (age of majority is 19 in the state where the research was conducted). Signed parental consent and youth assent forms were collected before data collection began. Eight group interviews were conducted, stratified by age and gender to maximize participants' ease of response. At the start, the moderator explained the interview process, and youth verbally confirmed that they wanted to participate.

A Latina moderator conducted the group interviews, posing the study questions, facilitating the group's conversation, and taking notes during the interview. The moderator was trained in qualitative interviewing. The interviews lasted between 8 to 51 minutes (*M* for boys = 14 mins, *M* girls = 27.5 mins). Although 20 to 75 minutes is the recommended duration for focus group interviews in this age group (Vaughn et al., 1996), the duration of interviews varied by the number of participants in each. The 8-minute group interview consisted of two early adolescent boys who seemed shy and provided mostly one or two word responses (e.g., "yes," "no," and "I guess"). On the contrary, the longest interview involved six to seven girls. Older participants tended to be more talkative, which was to be expected, given that they had more life experience and were able to think more abstractly about their cultures and identities. Interviews were videotaped and transcribed. Youth completed demographic questionnaires the same day as their group interview. Participants received $20 for completing the study.

Questions for the group interview were drawn from a cultural attachment interview (Hong, Roisman, & Chen, 2006). The interview questions were originally asked of Chinese Americans; for this study, questions were modified to reflect Latinx American culture. In a pilot test, the interview questions were presented to college-aged students of various ethnicities enrolled in a senior-level class about Latinx families at a Midwestern university. Students reviewed the questions for clarity and made suggestions for improvement. A subset of the interview questions was used in the current analysis. The questions investigated views on the possibility of biculturalism, adaptive value of biculturalism, and challenges of biculturalism (see Table 3 for exact wording of questions).

Jamaicans. A subset of male students from a socioeconomically diverse all-boys high school participating in a larger IRB-approved study of remote acculturation took part in the group interviews. Boys who had completed all prior aspects of the larger study were invited to participate in interviews, and those who responded and received parental consent were included. Four

Table 3. Illustrative Quotes on Biculturalism for the Latinx Adolescent Sample in the United States.

Question	Illustrative quote
Do you think people can belong to two or more different cultures? Are you a part of two or more cultures? If so which cultures?	Pablo: Yes, I do. Cause I belong to two or more different cultures and actually like it get a sense of different cultures, see how each one is different and all their traditions and customs and see how they vary from cultures, such as America.
	Paulina: Well, I'm American culture and Colombian culture. Because I have a boyfriend that, he's Colombian, so I feel a part of their culture. You know, since I'm always talking to them, always with them, I feel like a part of their culture. It's not like I was born in their culture, but I feel part of it.
	Isabel: No. Cause, I don't look white, I can't fit into white people's culture . . . No. I can fit into others, just not the white part. I can be considered as a colored person, like, the blacks.
Do you think being a part of more than one culture can be useful? Why?	Cristóbal: Yeah, I think it definitely could be useful cause well, there's the language thing, cause I think knowing more than one language is probably a good thing to know in general, and I guess you can, well, you don't have to be a translator but you can communicate with more people that way, and also I think just helps you understand more about different people or, or being understanding of different people, and that can always be good.
	Josefina: Or that you can understand better some aspects of another culture. If, like in the United States if you're from a minority in your, in the minority group, then you have a greater understanding of, like I was saying earlier like American culture and this idea of the American dream, and you kinda have a better understanding of whether or not that's hypothetical or realistic or like equal opportunity- does it actually exist? You know.
Do you have moments when you feel that you don't know whether you are Latino or American?	Sebastián: No. Well, I feel Latinx all the time and then I feel American all the time, because I don't just do this one certain thing that a real Latinx would just do. I speak more Spanish.
	Rosario: Um, because I'm white, it tends to be a lot easier to be what people think I am than to be what I know I am. It's really, really hard because I can just fit into the white culture so easily that sometimes I can forget about my Hispanic culture. I realized how much I had been forgetting when I went to Argentina this summer.
	Natalia: My parents would be saying, "*Mira al nopal que tienes en la frente*" [look at the prickly pear cactus you have on your forehead]. Look at the, look at your face. Look at it. You're Hispanic.

group interviews were conducted with two to six boys each, some consisting of 9th graders and others of 12th and 13th graders.

A female Jamaican moderator who had built a rapport with participants through prior data collection in the study conducted the group interviews after school. The moderator posed the study questions, facilitated the group's conversation, and took notes. Interviews lasting approximately 60 minutes each were videotaped and audiotaped, then transcribed. Questions were posed in English; however, boys' responses and the ensuing discussion often contained a mixture of English and Jamaican Patois. Additional data were collected from participants as part of the larger remote acculturation study, including demographic information. Boys were given a movie ticket voucher for their participation. A set of questions was developed to explore Jamaican adolescents' views on the possibility of biculturalism, adaptive value of biculturalism, and challenges of biculturalism (see Table 4 for exact wording of questions).

Coding and Analysis

Thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) was used to code and analyze the data. Interviews were coded by two separate teams: for Latinx interviews two coders of Latinx descent participated, and for Jamaican interviews there were three coders, two of Jamaican descent (one living in Jamaica, one living in the United States) and one Latina (this same person also coded U.S. interviews). The initial step in the coding process was for coders to become familiar with the corpus of data by reading the group interview transcripts in their entirety (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Coders identified initial codes (i.e., "coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set"; Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87) independently of each other. Coders met on several occasions to discuss their codes/themes and to resolve any discrepancies between coders to establish consensus between them (Hill et al., 2005). Finally, coders refined their themes and selected text to represent each theme (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Negative cases were discussed for each question to provide an inclusive interpretation of the data. Negative cases were responses given by adolescents who were in direct contrast to the other responses to the question. Given the presence of boys and girls in the U.S. Latinx sample (unlike the Jamaican sample), gender-based analyses were carried out on those interview transcripts.

Table 4. Illustrative Quotes on Biculturalism for the Adolescent Sample in Jamaica.

Question	Illustrative quotes
Do you know any Jamaican teenagers that feel strongly Jamaican but also somewhat American? Describe Americanized Jamaican teenagers.	Justin: Like two cultures . . . in one . . . and Jamaican . . . Yeah, I would I would say myself is probably in that group . . . Because I'm more like MTV kinda guy. Naresh: Well, for me, sometimes a feel American when I'm around certain friends . . . sometimes I feel Jumiekan . . . when I'm at [school], I'm a Jamaican but when I'm elsewhere, in a {inaudible}, a feel like . . . cuz me and my, me and my friends, ahn I mean FRIENDS, when we go out, we don't behave like Jumiekans [Jamaicans] cuz we don't speak patwa [Jamaican Patois] for one . . . I don't speak patwa . . . so . . . sometime- I'll act, sometimes the way my [American/-ized] friends speak, I will sometimes adapt to their accent . . . Richie: Tings a si people do . . . si, somebody di deh America ahn you style Miss ahn you pick it up yu feel American now, cuz yu doing it. [Things I see other people do . . . I see somebody who was visiting America and is now fashionable, you pick it up, you feel American now because you are doing it.]
What would you call a Jamaican teenager that feels strongly Jamaican but also somewhat American?	Kevin: Jam-American. Keon: Jahmerican. Justin: I guess you'd refer to that person like a mixed culture person, or something like that.
What are the advantages of being an Americanized Jamaican teenager [or insert the label participant used]?	Stephan: Like yu listen both themes and yu listen what deh have to say {inaudible} yu doh have to be on jus' one side ar one side [Like you listen to both themes and you listen to what they have to say. You don't have to be on just one side or the other.] Jonathan: Like if yu go to a hotel Miss . . . and yu can speak to people in the propa way Miss but if yu goh to di ghetto Miss, yu can know how to socialize wid dem [Like if you go to a hotel and you can speak to people in the proper way, but if you go to the ghetto you know how to socialize with them.]
What are the disadvantages of being an Americanized Jamaican teenager [or insert the label participant used]?	Patrick: [Boys] Dem girlish . . . Miss more dan problem miss Miss him is a bwoy miss . . . him a tah . . . if him a go ack like a girl miss people ago pick pan him. [They are girlish. This is more than a problem; he is a boy and if he is going to act like a girl people will pick on him.] Sebastian: What if deh are talking standard English ahn patwa [Jamaican Patois]? There's like a mix, mix-up.

Results

In this section, we describe adolescents' perspectives on proximal and remote acculturation in the two contexts organized around the three major research

questions: (1) Is biculturalism possible? (2) How adaptive is biculturalism? and (3) What are the challenges of biculturalism? Specific interview questions asked in each country to answer these research questions were tailored to suit the cultural context. Tables 3 (United States) and 4 (Jamaica) contain interview questions and illustrative quotes for each question.

Question #1: Is Biculturalism Possible?

Proximal acculturation: Latinx American adolescents in the United States. Latinx adolescents felt that biculturalism was possible, but there were variations in their personal experiences of biculturalism. Most of the boys felt that individuals could belong to two or more cultures, and all felt that they belonged to more than one culture. Pablo, for example, stated, "I'm American and I'm South American, because I'm Hispanic." Some of the boys also described personal experiences of biculturalism, stating that they were a part of two cultures because they were born in two cultures and lived in two cultures. Most of the girls agreed that they could be a part of two cultures, explaining they lived in two cultures. For example, Amelia explained why she felt biculturalism was possible by referring to her own experience, "Because I'm Mexican, because of your parents, they were in Mexico, and that's where they lived. And American because they moved here so, pretty much another culture too").

In contrast to the boys, however, several girls described their feelings of cultural identification and belonging as varying by context or depending on their physical appearance. For example, Gabriela stated ". . . you have a different culture, with like your family and with like your friends or . . . the groups you're involved in at school, they're all like different." Guadalupe explained that she was Mexican but she acted "white" meaning she behaved American because most of her friends were white and because of school. Others specified that their skin color was very influential in the way they behaved and were treated; for some (like Isabel, quoted in Table 3), physical appearance could a barrier to belonging to multiple cultures.

Remote acculturation: Jamaican adolescents in the Caribbean. Boys felt that being bicultural was possible, including being remotely bicultural—that is, being a teenager who may feel very Jamaican but also somewhat American. Boys discussed various reasons for remote biculturalism. For example, Patrick said "Cause ahh . . . {hiss teeth} like deh love to eat certain things . . . like pizza". Hunter pointed to "the music deh listen to" as the reason for remote biculturalism. Other boys like Naresh responded by discussing their own identification as a remotely bicultural adolescent and how that experience shifts across contexts:

Well, for me, sometimes a feel American when I'm around certain friends . . . and sometimes I feel Jumiekan . . . when I'm at [school] [Well, for me, sometimes I feel American when I'm around certain friends . . . and sometimes I feel Jamaican . . . when I'm at [school].

Boys offered various terms that they would call a remotely bicultural Jamaican teenager who Ferguson and Bornstein, 2012, labeled as "Americanized Jamaican". Several boys proposed labels combining the ethnic identifiers of "Jamaican" and "American" such as "Jam-American," "Jahmerican,"[1] "Jamaican-American," "Jamarican," and "Black African American Jamaican." Other boys offered labels that emphasized the intertwining of two or more cultures or the embedding of one within another, with less focus on specific ethnicities. For example, "Mixed-Culture person," "Two personalities," "Internal Jamaican," and "Multicultural" were suggested by four different participants. The racial aspect of remotely bicultural Jamaican youth was prominent in other boys' responses, and there was a focus on white skin. Carl, who had indicated that he felt "Americanish" due to his lighter-skinned "Jamaican brown" complexion among other physical features, suggested the term "White Jamaicans," whereas Damon offered the term "Bleachicans," referring to the practice of bleaching one's skin to lighten the complexion. For simplicity, the term Jahmerican will be adopted to refer to Americanized Jamaicans henceforth.

Integration. There were similarities and differences across contexts in adolescents' perceptions of the existence of biculturalism. Findings showed that youth in both groups, whether acculturating proximally or remotely, saw biculturalism as possible and evident around them, including, for many, in their own lives. Adolescents in both contexts also readily described themes regarding how individuals can belong to more than one culture, exemplify different degrees of biculturalism, and code-switch between cultural frames in different contexts (e.g., home versus school). Other common themes in these adolescents' understanding of biculturalism included skin color (lighter skin tone associated with American culture by both Latinx and Jamaican youth) and school/peers (feeling more American in school). On the contrary, some processes or mechanisms of acculturation differed across samples such as the mode of intercultural contact prompting the biculturalism: everyday interactions within and outside of the home facilitated proximal biculturalism, whereas music, food, and peers were the primary modes for remote biculturalism. Although gender differences could not be assessed in the Jamaican sample, in the Latinx U.S. sample, the similarities across genders on this research question were more striking than the differences: both boys and girls agreed that they could belong to more than one cultural group.

Question #2: How Adaptive is Biculturalism?

Proximal acculturation: Latinx American adolescents in the United States. Latinx adolescents agreed that being a part of multiple cultures could be useful. Boys identified multiple advantages to biculturalism such as social advantages (e.g., being able to see other people's perspective and understand their thinking), language skills (e.g., Luis: "Like in jobs where they need you to speak another language"), financial prospects (e.g., Javier: "Yeah cause you can probably get more money"), and employment opportunities (e.g., hired because they are bilingual). Girls agreed with these benefits and identified additional advantages of biculturalism, noting that being part of more than one culture gave them an appreciation of others and allowed them to learn different things. Natalia explained,

> That it helps you relate to people. Like, even people that do business . . . they have to learn what, what a certain gesture means. 'Cause if you want to do business with someone, you have to kinda go with what you know, could, you have to do, you have to have manners, you know, if you want to sell something. 'Cause, people don't buy your stuff if you're grouchy and rude or stuff like that, you know?

Remote acculturation: Jamaican adolescents in the Caribbean. Boys saw remote biculturalism as beneficial in many ways. They thought that being bicultural gave individuals the ability to have a dual frame of reference (e.g., Alex: "Miss because it teach yu, teaches yu how to interact with odda people Miss, cah like seh if yu go to America Miss?" [Because it teaches you how to interact with other people, like if you go to America]). Boys also believed that the ability to code-switch as one transitions between social environments was a benefit of remote biculturalism (e.g., Sebastian: "Two personalities {lifting up two fingers}"). On that point, Jonathan commented,

> . . . and yu can speak to people in the propa way Miss but if yu goh to di ghetto Miss, yu can know how to socialise wid dem. [And you can speak to the people in the proper way, but if you go to the ghetto, you can know how to socialize with them.].

In addition, some boys described that if an individual was bicultural, he would receive better treatment from others as Keon explained: "Miss some people treat yuh better cause day want things from dem." Remotely bicultural individuals were also viewed as less likely to commit a costly cultural faux pas because they understand multiple cultures. For example, Stephan noted,

If you're like a all-rounder and know what ahn what yu must not say, di person not goin' just turn roun' ahn kill yu fo dat [If you are like an all-rounder and you know what not to say, the person isn't going to turn around and kill you for that]).

Other perceived advantages were associated with language (e.g., Patrick: "Cause the English deh speak is proper English . . . So it 'elps you understand American") and travel (e.g., Justin: "For example when you travel oversees . . . And um you want a job you basically know what the culture . . . is like already . . . So it's going to be easier for you to fit in . . . Fit in, or settle in that country"). In regard to future travel opportunities, boys described that remote biculturalism provided the advantage of practicing key behavioral skills on the island to ensure one's ability to successfully demonstrate these skills in a foreign culture. For example, Naresh explained that "A would refer to a Jamaican proverb 'if yu cyan dance a yaad, yu cyan dance abraad'." [I would refer to a Jamaican proverb: "If you can't dance at home, you can't dance abroad/overseas."]

Integration. There were three common themes across both case studies, the first of which highlighted the social and personal advantages of biculturalism (e.g., perspective-taking/dual frame of reference, behavioral code-switching abilities, and learning). Second, there was a related theme regarding the linguistic advantages of biculturalism including speaking a second language/dialect or otherwise modifying one's use of language to conform to the immediate context. Third, adolescents in both groups highlighted future advantages of biculturalism including professional benefits (e.g., bilingualism as a marketable skill that improves competitiveness on the job market; fostering preparedness for travel opportunities) and interpersonal skills (e.g., avoiding cultural gaffes). There were also unique aspects to perceived benefits of biculturalism by adolescents across the two case studies. U.S. Latinxs perceived that biculturalism had financial benefits of higher earnings, whereas Jamaicans viewed biculturalism as allowing better treatment in society. On this research question also, the similarities across genders in the perceived advantages of biculturalism (e.g., facilitating employment) outweighed the differences for U.S. Latinx adolescents.

Question #3: What are the Challenges of Biculturalism?

Proximal acculturation: Latinx American adolescents in the United States. There were variations in adolescents' perspectives about challenges associated with biculturalism. Some of boys felt conflict in their ethnic identification when

they were at school (where they were surrounded by peers and teachers from different ethnic and racial backgrounds). However, some of the other boys felt that they were able to determine which ethnic group they belonged to and with which they were identified without confusion regardless of their immediate context. For example, Jorge stated that he was not conflicted in his ethnic identification because he knew he was both Latinx and American: "I don't think there exists that divide between being Latino and American. I think you can be Latino-American and still be part of both cultures." In some cases, boys said that they were not confused about their identification because they were often reminded by their family that they are Latinx (Pablo: "I have always known that I am Latino and American. My parents always remind me of that, and I've always known about it since I was a kid.").

Almost all the girls agreed that they knew they were Latinx and that there was no confusion. Girls gave various reasons for the lack of confusion. Like boys, some girls reported that their family reminded them of who they were culturally (e.g., Natalia). Some girls remarked that their physical appearance was tied to their identity (Ana: "Our color does not lie to us"). However, Rosario explained that her appearance led to some conflict, explaining that looking white led to her forgetting her "Hispanic" side. Guadalupe (who described herself as "acting white" despite being Mexican) was the only girl who could be classified as marginalized; she explained that she did not fit into either group but that this did not cause confusion.

Remote acculturation: Jamaican adolescents in the Caribbean. When speaking about Jahmerican individuals who were remotely bicultural, or Jahmericans, some of the boys' reflections were negative, reflecting perceived challenges. Jahmericans were viewed as people who did not fit in with other Jamaicans (e.g., Richie: "Disadvantage Miss . . . everibadi ack a different way dan yu . . . yu feel lef' out" [Disadvantage . . . everybody acts differently from you and you feel left out]). There was also a concern that remote biculturalism could result in becoming assimilated to the U.S. culture and abandoning with Jamaican culture (E.g., Justin: "Yeah, I think if you're not careful then, you might jus drift like one side completely").

In boys' opinion, another set of challenges faced by Jahmericans was peer rejection due to the shared perception that these boys are girly, puny, and whiny. For example, Patrick said,

> Miss more dan problem miss, Miss him is a bwoy miss . . . him a tah . . . if him a go ack like a girl miss people ago pick pan him [This is more than a problem; he is a boy . . . if he is going to act like a girl people will pick on him].

Carl added that Jahmericans are too soft: "Miss dem too sof." As an example, Patrick recounted an incident in which he and others teased a Jahmerican boy at his school, who responded in a childish American accent threatening to call for adult help. The boys also felt that Jahmericans were gay and, therefore, bullied with physically aggressive acts. Damon stated that "Di homosexuals miss . . . You see Jamaica miss . . . if a homosexual was at a Jamaican miss we beat dem."

Integration. Adolescents in both contexts described ways that being bicultural can be a challenge. There was more divergence in those views rather than commonalities, which we attribute to contextual differences. The Latinx adolescents experiencing proximal acculturation did not describe much identity confusion because their families keep them grounded. However, they described challenges to their bicultural identities relating to contextual and personal factors, physical appearance in particular. Jamaican adolescents, on the contrary, identified challenges of remote biculturalism largely as a result of becoming too different which puts one at higher risk for becoming a target of bullying or other marginalization. This was primarily evident in boys' comments that becoming Americanized involved the adoption of less gendered behavioral norms that contrast markedly with the idealized hyper-masculine style expected of men and boys in Jamaican society. In the U.S. Latinx sample, once again, the similarities across genders overshadowed the differences, this time in regard to perceived challenges associated with biculturalism. In particular, bolstered by their families, most male and female U.S. Latinx youth felt clear about their Latinx ethnic identification.

Discussion

In this era of rapid globalization characterized by advancing immigration and technological savvy, it is important to acknowledge and better understand adolescents' varied experiences of biculturalism in both immigrant and non-immigrant contexts (Jensen et al., 2011). An appreciation of the similarities and differences in how adolescents experience proximal (immigrant) biculturalism and remote (nonimmigrant) biculturalism has important theoretical and practical value. Therefore, our article contributes to the expanding biculturalism literature, in which it is the first to examine adolescents' views of proximal biculturalism and remote biculturalism. Using qualitative group interviews with Latinx American and Black Jamaican youth, we assessed views on the (1) existence, (2) adaptiveness, and (3) challenges of biculturalism. These two case studies shed light on modern acculturation in two contexts revealing both cultural universals and specificities of biculturalism.

Biculturalism is Possible

This study found both common and unique themes that shed light on similarities and differences in dynamics of proximal and remote acculturation relating to biculturalism. Both proximally acculturating (Latinx in United States) and remotely acculturating adolescents (in Jamaica) see biculturalism as possible, which is consistent with qualitative findings among U.S. immigrant-background youth including Latinx (Marks et al., 2011) and with qualitative research findings from interviews with globalizing adolescents in Thailand (McKenzie, 2018) and emerging adults in India (Ozer et al., 2017). Given that many Latinx adolescents in this study were born in the United States rather than in their Latinx heritage countries, and all Jamaican adolescents were nonmigrants who had never lived in the United States, this finding of a strong belief in biculturalism underscores a deterritorialized experience of cultures (Ferguson et al., 2017; Jensen et al., 2011). Endorsing the reality of biculturalism while living apart from one of the heritage countries to which one is oriented also aligns with polycultural psychology's "plural" and "partial" view of cultural acquisition during acculturation, meaning that individuals can affiliate with multiple cultures simultaneously, and generally acquire parts of cultures versus whole cultures (Morris, Chiu, & Liu, 2015).

Relational contexts influenced adolescents' experience of biculturalism in both proximal and remote acculturation. Adolescents described changes in their cultural identification and expression based on who they were with, and their movement across relational contexts prompted seamless code-switching. For example, U.S. Latinx youth embodied "a different culture" with family versus friends, and made changes in their cultural self across different peer groups at school. Similarly, Jamaican youths' sense of Jamaicanness surged when at school, whereas their sense of Americanness came to the forefront when in certain peer groups outside of school. The importance of relational context was also evident in adolescents' experience of rootedness, or lack thereof, in their ethnic cultures and ethnic identities. For example, those U.S. Latinx youth who reported conflict in their ethnic identification tended to experience this internal conflict at school, whereas those adolescents who did not experience confusion about their ethnic identification credited their families' constant reminders about their ethnic heritage.

Physical appearance, skin tone in particular, also played a role in adolescents' understanding of both proximal and remote biculturalism. Especially for Latinx girls, it appears that skin color can either reinforce their ethnic identity as Latinx ("Our color does not lie to us") or detract from it (having whiter skin causing one to forget one's "Hispanic" side).

Similarly, Jamaican boys associated lighter skin tone with being somewhat American, whether that be one's self-identification (feeling "Americanish" due to one's complexion) or perceived efforts to appear American (e.g., skin bleaching to lighten skin tone).

Most avenues by which adolescents became immersed in the ethnic culture were similar across both forms of biculturalism (peers, school), whereas some of the avenues of engagement with mainstream U.S. culture were non-shared. For example, the salience of family as a way to maintain connections to their heritage culture was more prominent in proximal acculturation among U.S. Latinx adolescents, which is consistent with prior research (e.g., Gonzales et al., 2009). On the contrary, media and food were only mentioned in the context of remote biculturalism in interviews with Jamaican adolescents, which aligns with quantitative findings in Jamaica and Thailand (see review in Ferguson et al., 2017; McKenzie, 2018).

Biculturalism Can Be Adaptive

Adolescents in both proximal and remote acculturation contexts were able to describe ways in which being bicultural could be advantageous. Code-switching was done to promote better fit to each relational context such as acting "white" because most of one's friends were white or acting "white" to fit in at school (U.S. Latinx), or language code-switching to facilitate better socializing across low- and high-income communities (Jamaican). This is consistent with findings of greater peer competence among bicultural Latinx adolescents (Coatsworth et al., 2005; Szapocznik et al., 1980) and likely undergirded by their strong executive functioning (Riggs et al., 2014). Relatedly, the authors of the now classic meta-analysis showing a positive biculturalism-adjustment association (unweighted mean $r = .60$ for the Latinx sample) explained this finding in terms of biculturals having greater social flexibility/adaptability and having dual social networks that may provide social fit, support, and belonging (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013). The social, personal, linguistic, and future professional advantages of biculturalism which emerged from discussions regarding both proximal and remote acculturation are also consistent with interview findings among globalizing nonmigrant urban Thai adolescents (McKenzie, 2018).

Differential adolescent viewpoints regarding the benefits of proximal biculturalism (higher earnings) versus remote biculturalism (can avoid discrimination) also emerged and are likely aligned with differing contextual realities in the United States versus Jamaica. That is, U.S. Latinx adolescents' perceptions that biculturalism affords higher earnings may be linked to the fact that English-Spanish bilingualism is increasingly demanded in

the United States, especially in high prestige jobs (New American Economy, 2017). On the contrary, Jahmericans in Jamaica who have a strong command of both formal English and Jamaican Patois are expected to have smoother interactions as they traverse multiple sectors of Jamaican society because they can seamlessly switch between speaking standard English in formal settings (e.g., classroom) and local Patois in less formal contexts (e.g., playground). Westphall's (2015) research shows that students in Jamaica show a clear preference for the use of standard English in formal radio newscasts versus in less formal programming, demonstrating the normative demands for flexibility in language/accent.

Biculturalism Can Be Challenging

Despite recognizing the potential benefits of biculturalism, some challenges or disadvantages of biculturalism were also clear to adolescents, although they tended to differ across the two societal contexts. For some proximally acculturating U.S. Latinx adolescents, internal conflicts due to physical appearance presented a challenge to their bicultural identities. For example, one light skinned girl described identity conflicts due to neglecting her Mexican heritage. This finding resonates with prior research on Latinx phenotype and acculturation: Vázquez, García-Vázquez, Bauman, and Sierra (1997) found darker skinned U.S. Latinx youth were more Mexican-oriented than lighter skinner peers. The nuanced ways in which colorism complicates racial-ethnic identity among Latinas is a topic of salience for Latinx scholars (Quiros & Dawson, 2013) and general community members (Lozado-Oliva, 2015).

On the contrary, Jamaicans viewed many disadvantages of remote biculturalism through the lens of relational fit. For example, interviews revealed that Jahmericans are seen as not fitting in with other Jamaicans and consequently are more vulnerable to peer rejection. Here also, there is some similarity between these findings and the disadvantages communicated by youth in Thailand (fear of peer rejection: McKenzie, 2018) and India (fear of local cultural loss/assimilation: Ozer et al., 2017). The need to manage one's social fit is both developmentally normative (McElhaney, Antonishak, & Allen, 2008) and culturally normative (human need for optimal distinctiveness: Brewer, 1991), but may be intensified for remotely bicultural youth who are not residing in one of the culture to which they are acculturating.

Limitations

There are certain study limitations that should be considered when evaluating the results of this study. First, the interviews were conducted with small regional samples of adolescents in both countries. Sample selection was guided partially by theoretical considerations and partially by practical constraints. Remote acculturation is a largely urban phenomenon (Ferguson, Desir, & Bornstein, 2014; McKenzie, 2018); thus, the Jamaican sample was of urban adolescents in the capital city of Kingston. The U.S. sample was predominately Mexican and from a mid-western city that had experienced rapid growth of its Latinx population in recent decades. In addition, due to practical constraints, the Jamaican sample was all male. Therefore, the findings are intended to be illustrative of proximal and remote acculturation in two samples drawn from populations known to experience each form of acculturation; but we do not intend them to be representative findings for all Latinx or Jamaican youth. Empirical findings (e.g., advantages and challenges of biculturalism) may differ for Latinx adolescents from established Latinx communities in metropolitan areas and for female adolescents in urban Jamaica. Therefore, similar work in these communities would be beneficial.

Implications

Despite its limitations, this study has some potential theoretical and practical implications. Theoretically speaking, the commonalities in adolescents' perspectives on biculturalism across samples underscore that remote biculturalism is as much a form of biculturalism as is proximal biculturalism. That both immigrant-background Latinx adolescents in the United States and remotely acculturating adolescents in Jamaica view biculturalism as possible and having positive and negative implications for youth development, and well-being is a strong statement about the applicability of the construct of biculturalism. Another theoretical contribution is that the experience of belonging to two cultural worlds may be navigated in some similar ways across the two types of biculturalism. In particular, although the two contexts differed significantly (i.e., United States versus Jamaica), code-switching was a strategy described by both sets of adolescents as common and beneficial in managing biculturalism. Clearly, biculturalism involves significant intrapersonal flexibility for adolescents regardless of how that biculturalism comes about.

Current findings may also have important practical implications. First, institutions, parents, and other adults serving Latinx and Jamaican youth in the United States and Jamaica, respectively, should bear in mind that

adolescents view biculturalism as possible, and that this phenomenon is commonplace in their personal and peer group experiences, as well as in their parlance. Therefore, adults serving adolescents in these communities do not need to shy away from conversations about biculturalism, but should probably do the opposite. That is, asking youth about their perspectives, observations, and experiences of biculturalism may deepen relationships and provide timely opportunities to support their positive development as they experience the perceived advantages (e.g., code-switching and identity/social flexibility) and challenges (e.g., discrimination) of biculturalism. Adult-youth conversations on biculturalism can emerge organically or can be planned through mentoring programs or mental health preventive interventions such as is the case with the "Entre Dos Mundos" intervention. Entre Dos Mundos (translated "Between Two Worlds" is an 8-session intervention for parent-adolescent dyads which centers around facilitated conversations on topics such as "How do we as a family balance demands from two different cultures . . . ?" (Smokowski & Bacallao, 2009, p. 168).

Conclusion

This study explored adolescents' views of proximal biculturalism and remote biculturalism, using qualitative group interviews with Latinx youth in the United States and Black youth in Jamaica, respectively. Findings supported both cultural generalities and spcifics of biculturalism across forms and contexts. Generalities included that both forms of biculturalism were viewed as possible and adaptive, although challenging in some ways. However, more in line with culture specifics, advantages and challenges of biculturalism were tailored to the respective societal contexts. Studying the similarities (and differences) between proximal and remote biculturalism can enrich biculturalism theory, and doing so from the adolescent point of view has important practical value by providing a fuller understanding of the experience of biculturalism among youth who are developing ethnic/cultural identities and planning their futures in diversifying cultural environments.

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Note

1. The adolescent who suggested the term "Jahmerican" emphasized the "Jah" portion of the word, which has cultural significance to Jamaicans. Jah is a shortening of the name "Jehovah" or God as used in Rastafarianism, which is an indigenous Jamaican religion. One interpretation of Jahmerican, then, is a desired emphasis on the presence of a strong Jamaican component to this remote bicultural identity (as opposed to remote assimilation, meaning the abandonment of the local Jamaican culture in favor of the U.S. culture). This "Jah" emphasis also distinguishes this term from "Jamerican," which is commonly used to refer to Jamaican immigrants living in the United States (http://jamaicans.com/whoisjamerican/).

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