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Abstract and Keywords

Globalization refers to the global integration of regional economies, societies, and cultures through international trade, capital flows, advanced communication technology, and migration. Globalization's rapid increases in interdependencies among regional economies, societies, and cultures have resulted in unprecedented opportunities for multicultural interactions. This chapter proposes an integrated theoretical framework and research agenda for a *psychological science* of globalization that focuses on individuals' understanding of globalization and how they relate to the cultural implications of globalization. The chapter examines individuals' lay theories of and attitudes toward globalization and possible psychological reactions to global culture, ranging from appreciative integrative responses to foreign culture to nationalistic exclusionary responses. An in-depth analysis is provided of conditions that mitigate and facilitate these reactions, as well as a review of areas of further study, such as the emerging notions of cosmopolitan and global identities, and ramifications relating to the media, international relations, and social health.

Keywords: lay theories of globalization, integrative responses, exclusionary responses, cosmopolitanism

In most parts of the world, globalization, broadly defined as a process of interaction and integration among the people, companies, and governments of different nations, has become an unstoppable and potent force that impacts everyday life and international relations (Chiu, Gries, Torelli, & Cheng, 2011). As a multifaceted, dynamic, and highly complex concept (Appadurai, 1996; Croucher, 2004; Fiss & Hirsch, 2005; Kellner, 2002; Robertson & White, 2007), globalization embodies a contradictory and ambiguous set of institutions and social relations, involving global flows of goods, services, ideas, technologies, cultural forms, and people (Kellner, 2002). Aside from speeding up the transnational circulation of ideas, languages, and popular cultures, globalization also increases the inflow of capitalist values, neo-liberal economic thoughts, and instrumental rationality into many regional economies. These ideas and their attendant practices have transformed individuals' relations to their nations and their cultural traditions, work, and families. Successes and failures in global competition for foreign investments, capital flows, and talents between world cities have become a major source of national pride and shame, respectively.

A favorite topic in globalization scholarship concerns the cultural consequences of globalization. An unsettled debate in globalization studies, for example, relates to whether globalization would lead to homogenization or diversification of cultures. Although some writers hold that the hegemonic dominance of global culture will eventually lead to erosion of local cultures, others argue that globalization tends to spur local reactions (e.g., contestation/competition, differentiation, glocalization) directed toward maintaining heritage cultures and/or creating new fusion cultures (see Chiu & Cheng, 2007, 2010; Chiu & Hong, 2006, Kecmanovic, 1996; Kelman, 1997; Marsella, 2008).

Against this context, we propose a research agenda for a *psychological science* of globalization, one that focuses on individuals' understanding of globalization and how they relate to the cultural implications of globalization. Despite the centrality of globalization in contemporary social science discourse, until recently, with few exceptions (Hermans & Kempen, 1998), psychologists have remained impassive toward globalization as a topic of psychological inquiry (Bandura, 2001; Chiu, Gries et al., 2011). In this chapter, drawing on the results of several recent research programs on the psychology of globalization, we seek to provide a behavioral science perspective on the cultural dimension of globalization.

Globalization is a complex phenomenon that includes many aspects (e.g., cultural, economic, and political) and has important implications for intercultural contacts (cultural implications), global exchange of goods and services (economic implications), and global governance (political implications). We choose to focus our discussion on the cultural aspects of globalization largely due to the focus of this volume. Specifically, we build on the analysis that globalization has, on the one hand, increased the frequency of intercultural encounters; raised the intensity of intercultural contacts; magnified the interconnectedness of world cultures; enlarged the volume of international flow of cultural ideas and practices; inspired innovative ideas, practices, technology and products; and created new forms of culture by combining ideas and practices of several existing cultures. On the other hand, however, globalization has also elevated concerns about cultural colonization of the economically less developed cultures by the economic powers, and, in some societies, such concerns have resulted in xenophobic anxiety, as well as fear of cultural contamination and erosion resulting from inflow of materialistic, capitalist culture.

Here, we will review recent research findings on five major research topics in the psychological science of globalization. First, how do people understand the concept of globalization? Second, what are people's attitudes toward globalization? Third, what are the cognitive consequences of living in global, multicultural cities? Fourth, how do people respond to the inflow of foreign and global cultures? Finally, what are the broader implications of globalization, such as those for identity construction, international relations, and mental health?

The relevance of globalization to culture and psychology cannot be overstated. Multicultural psychology, with its focus on the psychology of *belonging to* multiple cultures, has drawn research attention from static psychological differences among cultures to the dynamic processes of how an individual acquires, organizes, and reacts to two or more cultures (Leung, Chiu, & Hong, 2010). The psychological science of globalization further advances this research agenda by offering nuanced analysis of the psychological consequences of *living in* the multicultural space of globalized communities, where individuals are exposed to and often find themselves deliberating how they would relate to their own as well as foreign cultures.

Lay Understanding of Globalization

Lay Understanding of Globalization

A major topic in the psychological science of globalization concerns how lay people understand the meaning of globalization. Can lay people differentiate among related concepts such as globalization, modernization, Westernization, and Americanization? Recent research (Fu & Chiu, 2007) showed that, in Hong Kong, people treat Westernization and modernization as distinct concepts. They see Westernization as a process of assimilating popular Western social-moral ideals, such as individual freedom, human rights, and democracy, into local cultural value systems. In contrast, they view modernization as a process that integrates evidence-based, scientific, instrumental knowledge and practices into extant educational, knowledge production, and management practices. Hong Kong people also expect Westernization to result in the replacement of local social-moral values with Western ones and modernization to increase the global competitiveness of the local

political economy through scientific research and development, as well as through the creation, dissemination, and application of objective, instrumental knowledge. In general, Hong Kong people are more receptive to modernization than to Westernization, probably because they view Westernization as a potential source of cultural erosion or contamination that may threaten the continuity and integrity of the local culture.

Other studies (Yang et al., 2011) showed that in the United States and Greater China (consisting of Mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan), people tend to associate Americanization with Westernization probably because the United States is a major exporter of Western social-moral values and practices. In addition, people from both the United States and Greater China perceive globalization to be connected to but different from modernization, Americanization, and Westernization. In one study (Yang et al., 2011, study 1), participants from the United States and the three regions in Greater China (Mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan) were presented with a representative list of fifty-three globalization-related items (e.g., American Express, computer, Disneyland, eBay, Facebook, global warming, HIV/AIDS, and YouTube) and asked to freely generate additional related items. Next, participants rated each item on how strongly it is associated with each of the following four concepts: globalization, modernization, Americanization, and Westernization. In all four regions, the ratings of the items on Westernization corresponded closely with those on Americanization, indicating that the participants perceived Americanization and Westernization to have similar meanings. Despite this, the ratings of the items on globalization were only moderately correlated with the items' ratings on modernization, Westernization, and Americanization, indicating that the participants considered globalization to be related to but different from modernization, Westernization, or Americanization.

Some interesting regional differences emerged. For example, participants from the Greater China regions perceived a relatively stronger association between globalization and modernization than did participants from the United States. This pattern of results may reflect the different experiences with globalization in Greater China and the United States. In Greater China, the wheels of globalization and modernization rolled in at about the same time. In contrast, the United States was already a highly modernized country before it began to experience rapid globalization. The onset asynchrony of modernization and globalization in the United States allows perceptual separation of modernization and globalization among Americans.

Another study (Yang et al., 2011, study 2) found that lay people in the United States and Greater China agreed that globalization-related items can be classified into five major groups: (a) information technology that promotes global connectivity (e.g., the Internet, Apple computer), (b) global consumer brands (e.g., Hollywood, Coke), (c) global trade and international regulatory institutions (e.g., the World Trade Organization [WTO], Wall Street), (d) geographic mobility (e.g., passport, air travel), and (e) global calamities (e.g., global warming, HIV/AIDS). Based on the results of the first study, Yang and colleagues (2011, study 2) selected twenty-six items that had the strongest associations with globalization. Next, the investigators had participants from the United States and the three Greater China regions categorize these twenty-six globalization-related items into self-generated categories. Multidimensional scaling results revealed that participants in all four regions grouped the twenty-six items into five major clusters: global consumer brands, information technology, geographic mobility, global calamities, and international trade and regulatory bodies. Furthermore, in all four regions, participants used a two-dimensional structure to organize the five clusters of globalization-related items. The first dimension pits global consumer brands against global calamities and geographic mobility. This dimension highlights the tension between rapid expansion of global businesses and its global consequences (e.g., increased geographic mobility and more frequent world calamities). The second dimension pits international trade and international institutions against information technology; it separates the economic aspects of globalization (e.g., world trade) from its technological aspects (e.g., the Internet). Finally, participants from all four regions evaluated most globalization-related items favorably on the dimensions of competence and warmth, and particularly on the dimension of competence. However, two items that fall in the category of global calamities—global warming and HIV/AIDS—were evaluated negatively.

Attitudes Toward Globalization

A related question concerns how people evaluate the societal consequences of globalization. In Yang et al.'s (2011, study 2) multidimensional scaling study, the participants from all four regions perceived most globalization-related items to have more positive impact on people's competence than on their warmth. This result is consistent with the past finding that people generally believe that economic development has positive effects on people's competence and negative effects on people's warmth (Kashima et al., 2009, 2011). That is, although economic development increases the society's effectiveness and efficiency in attaining material goals, economic development also tends to break up communities, creating colder and more dehumanized social milieus (Cheng et al., 2010; Kashima et al., 2009, 2011). For example, in a study conducted during the 2008 Olympics (Cheng et al., 2010), Chinese participants were asked to compare contemporary China with China in 1988, when China had just started its economic modernization. The Chinese rated China in 1988 as more moral and warmer. This is referred to as the *good old days effect*. In contrast, when asked to compare contemporary China with China 20 years from now, the Chinese rated China in 2018 as more competent. This is referred to as the *better tomorrow effect*. The good old days and better tomorrow effects were observed in Japan and Australia as well (Kashima et al., 2009, 2011).

Taken together, these initial results show that lay people can distinguish globalization from modernization, Westernization, and Americanization. Furthermore, they feel that globalization can promote economic development. Because people share the assumption that economic development will break down communities and lead to erosion of traditional values, they expect globalization to have similar negative social and moral effects on the society. In addition, people share the assumption that economic development will raise the level of global competitiveness and associate globalization with increased competence.

Perceptual Consequences of Minimal Multicultural Exposure

People in both developed and developing countries seem to have similar subjective understandings and evaluations of globalization. However, what are the objective psychological consequences of living in a culturally mixed globalized environment?

Some globalization scholars (Giddens, 1985; Robertson, 1992) have used the expression "experiential compression of time and space" to characterize the experience of living in a globalized community. In a globalized environment, individuals often experience traditional and modern cultures at the same time, as well as local and foreign cultures in the same space. Encountering dissimilar cultures at the same time in the same space activates learned representations of the dissimilar cultures concurrently (Chiu, Mallorie, Keh, & Law, 2009). The concurrent co-activation of dissimilar cultural representations places these representations in cognitive juxtaposition. As a consequence, the individuals become more aware of the contrast between cultures. The perceptual salience of cultural differences renders culture a prominent mental construct for interpreting current experiences. As explained later, this perceptual effect, which we refer to as the *joint culture activation effect,* could have important downstream consequences in the individual's reactions to the inflow of foreign cultures and culture mixing.

Globalization can, through various means, increase intercultural contacts, including through the increased geographic mobility of people; more people now have the experience of traveling and living abroad. In addition, cultures also travel across space through different media; many global cities are now outposts of globalization where their residents can easily encounter elements of diverse cultures in the same space. Regardless of whether intercultural contacts result from living abroad (cultural immersion) or from mere exposure to symbols or images of different cultures at the same time (minimal intercultural contacts), such contacts are expected to

have the hypothesized joint culture activation effects described in the previous paragraph.

To demonstrate that the joint culture activation effect can occur even with minimal intercultural contacts, several experiments have examined this effect using different joint culture activation experimental paradigms. In one study (Chiu et al., 2009, study 1), Mainland Chinese participants saw (a) two McDonald's hamburger print advertisements placed next to each other (single culture activation condition), or (b) a McDonald's hamburger print advertisement and a Chinese moon cake print advertisement placed side-by-side (joint culture activation condition). Following this manipulation, in an allegedly unrelated study, the participants read two commercial messages for Timex, one appealing to individualist values and one to collectivist values. The individualist message was: "The Timex watch. It embodies so much. It's like a person. It has an impressive personality, very individualistic, and with a strong focus and concern for oneself—in a positive way." The collectivist message was: "The Timex watch. It embodies so much. It's like a person. It's an impressive social being, very concerned with others, and with a strong focus and concern for others—in a positive way." The participants' task was to estimate how favorably the two advertisements would be received in China. Past studies have shown that the individualist message is more popular in the United States than in China and vice versa for the collectivist message (Aaker & Schmitt, 2001). Consistent with the idea that even minimal intercultural contact would increase the perceptual salience of cultures and the corresponding cultural differences, the Chinese participants in the joint culture activation condition expected the collectivist (vs. individualist) message to be more warmly received in China than did those in the single culture activation condition.

In a conceptual replication of this study (Torelli, Chiu, Tam, Au, & Keh, 2011, study 1), American participants were asked to evaluate (a) products that are iconic to the United States (e.g., jeans, breakfast cereals) with Chinese brand names (joint culture activation condition) or (b) products that are not icons of any culture (e.g., bread toaster, umbrella) with Chinese brand names (single culture activation condition). Following this manipulation, the participants in the joint culture activation condition estimated the individualist (vs. collectivist) Timex advertising message to be more popular among Americans, compared to the participants in the single culture activation condition.

In another conceptual replication of this study (Chiu et al., 2009, study 2), American participants were incidentally exposed to two individualist print advertisements (single culture activation condition) or to one individualist and one collectivist print advertisement (joint culture activation condition). Compared to those in the single culture activation condition, those in the joint culture activation condition subsequently believed more strongly that (a) Americans would possess the cognitive styles (e.g., dispositional attribution) that are common in the United States, (b) cultural boundaries are not permeable, and (c) American values and beliefs are organized into a coherent meaning system.

A fourth study (Torelli et al., 2011, study 2) further confirms that joint culture activation can increase the perceived distance between cultures. In this study, American participants were exposed to (a) products that are symbols of Mexico (e.g., tequila, tacos, corn tortilla) but had English brand names ("Jones," "Williams"; joint culture activation condition) or (b) products that are not symbols of any culture (e.g., backpacks, toasters) and that had English brand names (single culture activation condition). Following this manipulation, in an allegedly unrelated study, the participants were asked to draw on a half sheet of paper in any way they deemed appropriate a bubble to represent each of the following cultures: Mexican, Puerto Rican, Canadian, and British. The distance, in millimeters, between each pair of cultures, was used to represent the degree of perceived similarity or difference between the culture pair. Participants in the joint culture activation condition drew the bubbles representing dissimilar cultures (e.g., Puerto Rica and Canada) farther apart than did the participants in the single culture activation condition. In addition, the experimental manipulation did not affect the distances between the bubbles representing similar cultures (e.g., Canada and the United Kingdom), and the effect of joint culture activation was equally strong in the perception of the distance between British and Mexican

cultures (the two cultures involved in the product evaluation task) and of that between Canadian and Puerto-Rican cultures (the two cultures not involved in the product evaluation task). Furthermore, in this study, to ensure that the joint culture activation effect is a perceptual effect instead of a cultural identity effect, the American participants were not exposed to symbols of US culture, and the dependent measure did not include perceived distances between American and out-group cultures. The robust joint culture activation effect observed in this study indicates that this effect can occur without involving self-categorization or perceived competition with or without threat to in-group culture. Indeed, past research has shown an analogous perceptual effect of joint presentation of dissimilar concepts when consumers evaluate two dissimilar products simultaneously versus sequentially (Hsee, 1996; Hsee & Leclerc, 1998; Hsee, Loewenstein, Blount, & Bazerman, 1999; Hsee & Zhang, 2004).

Experiential compression of time and space is a common experience in a globalized space. This experience can be operationalized by the joint culture activation manipulations in the studies just reviewed. Findings from these studies show that even minimal intercultural contacts (seeing symbols or images from two seemingly dissimilar cultures simultaneously) can increase individuals' sensitivity to the prototypic characteristics of a cultural group and the tendency to use culture as a schema to organize perceptions. As a consequence, individuals tend to enlarge the perceived incompatibility between cultures and expect members of a culture to possess the characteristic psychological attributes of the culture.

The joint culture activation effect may account for urban-rural variations in the perception of cultural differences. In most countries, compared to rural residents, urban dwellers encounter co-presence of images and symbols from dissimilar national cultures more frequently. Thus, urban dwellers, more influenced by the joint culture activation effect than are rural residents, should perceive greater differences between cultures. Consistent with this idea, a study conducted in China (Chen & Chiu, 2010) showed that, compared to rural residents, urban dwellers tend to anticipate greater cultural differences in values; they expect Chinese people to adhere more strongly to Chinese values (filial piety, modesty) and Western people to adhere more strongly to Western values (individuality, freedom).

A Dual Model of Psychological Responses to Globalization

Exclusionary and Integrative Responses

In the face of rapid globalization, people may react favorably or unfavorably to the inflow of global or foreign cultures. As mentioned in the previous section, encountering local and foreign cultures simultaneously in the same globalized space can sharpen the perceived cultural contours, making apparent the contrast between cultures (Chiu & Cheng, 2007). Furthermore, people's heightened attention to cultural differences may lead to two different psychological reactions—*exclusionary* and *integrative* responses—to the inflow of global or foreign cultures (Chiu & Cheng, 2007; Chiu, Gries et al., 2011).

Exclusionary Responses

Table 1 summarizes the characteristics of exclusionary and integrative responses. Exclusionary responses are generally reflexive, emotion-laden responses triggered by the fear that the inflow of global or foreign culture will cause cultural contamination or erosion, thus compromising the integrity and vitality of the local heritage culture.

Table 1. Exclusionary and integrative reactions to global culture

Exclusionary Reactions	Integrative Reactions
Emotional reactions to fear of cultural contamination/erosion	Goal-oriented reactions geared toward problem solving
Quick, spontaneous, reflexive	Slow, deliberate, effortful
Perceptions of global/foreign cultures: Cultural threats	Perceptions of global/foreign cultures: Cultural resources
High identity salience	Low identity salience
Negative intercultural affect: Envy, fear, anger, disgust, pity	Positive intercultural affect: admiration
Exclusionary behavioral reactions: isolation, rejection, aggression	Inclusionary behavioral reactions: acceptance, integration, synthesis
Accentuated by the need to defend the integrity and vitality of the heritage culture	Accentuated by a cultural learning mindset
Attenuated by the need for cognition	Attenuated by the need for firm answers and cultural consensus

From Chiu, C. -.Y., Gries, P., Torelli, C. J., & Cheng, S. Y. -Y. (2011). Toward a social psychology of globalization. *Journal of Social Issues, 67,* 663–676.

The activation threshold of exclusionary responses to inflow of global or foreign cultures is lower in non-Western than Western cultures (Cheng, 2010). In non-Western countries, people are fearful of Western countries' hegemonic cultural influence. Most Western countries, being global economic powers, have been major exporters of global capitalism. The economic and military superiority of the Western powers and the largely unidirectional flow of cultural influence, when interpreted in the context of many non-Western countries' past colonial experiences, may evoke strong exclusionary reactions toward foreign, global cultures among people in non-Western countries. Recently, in an edition of the Communist Party periodical *Seeking the Truth*, Chinese President Hu Jintao had warned the country that, "hostile international powers are strengthening their efforts to Westernize and divide us," and, as he sees it, these hostile forces are particularly targeting the ideological and cultural domains of the Chinese community (Straits Times, 2012). Such blatant expression of cultural contamination anxiety is not new in China. In 2007, Rui, a television show anchor, started an online campaign attacking a Starbucks coffee shop inside the Forbidden City in Beijing. Rui maintained that Starbucks coffee is an icon of globalization and Western middle-class culture. Its presence in the Forbidden City—a sacred cultural space in China—is an act of cultural contamination. This attack, which had received support from tens of thousands of Chinese netizens, ended six months later with the removal of the Starbucks coffee shop from the Forbidden City.

Despite the relatively higher threshold of exclusionary reactions in Western countries, similar culturally motivated exclusionary reactions to global, foreign cultures have also been observed in Western countries. An

example is the protest in France against the plan to open a McDonald's Café at the Louvre in 2009 (Schofield, 2009). From the perspective of the French protestors, the opening of a McDonald's at the Louvre is a blatant expression of "coca-colonialism."

Integrative Responses

In contrast, integrative responses toward global and foreign cultures are generally relatively effortful, goal-oriented cognitive responses deliberated for problem solving. Instead of perceiving the inflow of foreign or global cultures as a threat, individuals displaying integrative responses recognize that foreign cultures can be versatile intellectual resources. They appreciate the complementary strengths of dissimilar cultures and aspire to learn from other cultures (Chiu & Cheng, 2007). Such integrative reactions toward foreign or global cultures may broaden one's intellectual horizons. Individuals exhibiting the integrative responses may synthesize ideas from foreign and global cultures to generate novel ideas, leading to creative innovations (Leung, Maddux, Galinsky, & Chiu, 2008). Thus, integrative responses toward global and foreign cultures have been most extensively studied in the context of intercultural contacts and creativity.

Globalization has increased the amount of opportunities for intercultural learning and for novel synthesis of foreign and local ideas to generate creative ideas (Leung & Chiu, 2008, 2010; Leung et al., 2008; Maddux & Galinsky, 2009). As individuals navigate between diverse cultures, they learn about different cultural frames of mind and acquire multicultural experiences. The effect of increased intercultural contacts via globalization on creative idea generation is consonant with the basic tenet in the *creative cognition approach*, which theorizes that the acquisition of different knowledge systems is precursory to the generation of creative ideas (Finke, Ward, & Smith, 1992; Ward, Smith, & Vaid, 1997).

Enduring creative advantages could emerge from the integrative responses toward foreign and global cultures through at least four mechanisms (Leung et al., 2008; Leung, Chen, & Chiu, 2010). First, globalization brings together disparate ideas originated from different cultural sources and facilitates development of a broad knowledge base about different cultural experiences (Cheng, Sanchez-Burks, & Lee, 2008; Leung et al., 2008). As a result, individuals have more ideas at their disposal to experiment with in their creative pursuits.

Second, multicultural interactions increase awareness of the different functions of the same social behavior (Maddux, Adam, & Galinsky, 2010). For example, having food left over at a host's house symbolizes appreciation for the host in some cultures but is an insult to the host's hospitality in others. Exposure to these different conceptions and meanings of the same surface behavior helps to destabilize people's structured and routinized mindsets. It also enhances individuals' capability to appreciate and consider seemingly incompatible perspectives when exercising their creative muscle.

Third, the benefit of multicultural exposure can strengthen the generalized ability to think creatively (Leung & Chiu, 2010). For example, multicultural exposure can increase receptiveness to ideas from cultures that individuals have not yet encountered personally. Accordingly, multicultural exposure can also benefit performance in creativity tasks that do not require acquisition of knowledge from the cultures one has been exposed to.

Finally, globalization inevitably brings conflicting ideas, values, and beliefs from different cultures together. Multicultural navigators exhibiting integrative responses toward foreign cultures are prepared to explore and exploit the interrelations of these incongruent concepts. Placing these discrepant ideas in cognitive juxtaposition promotes cognitive or integrative complexity (Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006), which in turn enhances two important creativity-supporting capacities: (a) *differentiation*, or the willingness to acknowledge competing perspectives on the same issue, and (b) *integration*, or the ability to forge conceptual links between these perspectives (Suedfeld, Tetlock, & Streufert, 1992). The capacities to differentiate and integrate facilitate *creative conceptual expansion*, the process of expanding the conceptual boundaries of an existing concept by

combining it with other seemingly irrelevant concepts. From the creative cognition perspective, creative conceptual expansion is an ordinary cognitive process responsible for producing extraordinary results (Ward et al., 1997).

There is clear evidence for the proposed link from frequent intercultural contacts to creative outcomes and processes. There is both correlational evidence for the creative benefits of foreign living experience and experimental evidence for the creative benefits of joint culture activation (or minimal intercultural contacts). Specifically, there is correlational evidence that individuals with more extensive exposure to foreign cultures perform better in creative idea generation or creative insight tasks (Leung & Chiu, 2008, 2010; Maddux & Galinsky, 2009). For example, spending longer time living in a foreign country predicts success in solving creative insight problems (e.g., the Duncker candle problem) and in generating creative deal-making solutions (Maddux & Galinsky, 2009).

Experimental support for the causal link between intercultural contacts and creativity was reported in a recent study (Leung & Chiu, 2010) in which different types of multicultural exposure were created in an experimental session. In this experiment, American students with little exposure to Chinese culture took part in a cultural induction session, which involved watching a forty-five-minute slideshow depicting different representative elements of (a) American culture only, (b) Chinese culture only, (c) both American and Chinese cultures, or (d) a hybrid culture that fuses together American and Chinese characteristics (e.g., an art piece made of a ceramic-coated Coca-Cola bottle with a lively dragon figure attached to the side). Control participants did not experience any cultural induction.

Next, all participants performed a creative writing task, rewriting the Cinderella fairytale for Turkish children by adding as many creative elements as they wished. This task was chosen to ensure that the specific Chinese knowledge that participants acquired from the cultural induction session would not directly benefit their performance. To examine if the expected creative advantage of multicultural exposure would persist after a delay, the same group of participants were invited back about a week later to complete another creative task, generating analogies of time. Again, in this creativity task, the specific cultural knowledge acquired from exposure to Chinese culture would not directly benefit the participants' creative performance.

In both creativity tasks, participants who were exposed to American and Chinese cultures jointly or in a hybrid manner were more creative than those in the single culture activation condition or the control group. This research provided the first experimental evidence that joint culture activation or exposure to two cultures simultaneously can facilitate integrative responses toward foreign culture.

Research has also shown that individuals with richer intercultural experiences are more inclined to sample ideas from foreign cultures for creative idea expansion and to spontaneously retrieve unconventional knowledge from memory, which are cognitive processes implicated in creative thinking (Leung & Chiu, 2010). In one study, American students with different degrees of multicultural exposure were given a pool of happiness-related sayings written by local and foreign scholars and were asked to select a limited number of sayings to creatively expand an improvised idea about happiness. Participants with more multicultural experiences were more receptive to foreign ideas; they appropriated more foreign (vs. local) sayings for the task (Leung & Chiu, 2010; study 3). In another study, when American students brainstormed creative gift ideas for their friends, those with more multicultural experiences retrieved more normatively infrequent but still appropriate gift ideas (Leung & Chiu, 2010; study 2).

In addition to cognitive mechanisms, emotion may also play an important role in the link between multicultural experience and creativity (Cheng, Leung, & Wu, 2011). According to some researchers (Cheng et al., 2011), multicultural experience may evoke unpleasant emotions, which in turn promote creative performance. This hypothesis is based on two premises. First, being cognizant of the dissonance that accompanies the

juxtaposition of seemingly conflicting ideas from dissimilar cultures may induce a negative mood. Second, negative mood facilitates cognitive complexity, as shown in past studies (e.g., Forgas, 2007; Isen, Means, Patrick, & Nowicki, 1982). To elaborate, experiencing a culturally complex or diverse environment may motivate people to make sense of, reconcile, and synthesize discrepancies between ideas and practices from dissimilar cultures. However, when having to move away from their familiar comfort zone and being confronted with apparent contradictions among seemingly incompatible ideas from different cultures, individuals may feel emotionally challenged as they compare and cognitively juxtapose these ideas. Such negative emotional states have been shown to facilitate cognitive complexity, with individuals under a negative mood being more likely to devise more persuasive messages (Forgas, 2007), perform more exhaustive information processing (Isen et al., 1982), and acquire information more thoroughly (Sinclair, 1988). Together, the experience of unpleasant emotions might motivate deeper cognitive processing or higher integrative complexity, thereby benefiting creativity (Tadmor, Tetlock, & Peng, 2009).

The mediating role of negative emotions in the relationship between multicultural experience and creativity was tested in two studies (Cheng et al., 2011, Study 1). In the first study, Singaporean Chinese students, randomly selected, either watched a ten-minute slideshow depicting both Chinese and American cultures (dual cultural exposure condition) or depicting one of the two cultures only (single cultural exposure condition). Next, the participants completed an emotion measure that captures three distinct sets of emotions: negative emotions (e.g., bothered), negative self-reflections (e.g., uncomfortable), and positive emotions (e.g., content). Finally, the participants completed the Unusual Uses Test of a garbage bag. Results confirmed the previous finding that joint culture activation improves creativity and offered partial support for the proposed meditation model: dual (vs. single) cultural exposure reduced the amount of positive emotions, and reduced positive emotion was accompanied by greater flexibility in generating creative uses of a garbage bag.

Although the first study provided some support to the hypothesized mediating role of emotions, it was a less pleasant emotional state, not a more unpleasant emotional state that mediated the relationship between dual cultural exposure and creativity. This result can be explained by the fact that Singaporeans have rich multicultural exposure and are fairly experienced in coping with cultural ambivalence. Thus, they may not perceive simultaneous encounters with two cultures as very cognitively challenging and may therefore have fewer positive emotions rather than more negative emotions.

Evidence from the second study (Cheng et al., 2011, Study 2) is consistent with this interpretation. The participants in the second study were Taiwan Chinese who had relatively fewer multicultural experiences compared to Singaporeans. To these Taiwanese participants, dual cultural exposure should evoke a stronger degree of cultural ambivalence and thus a more negative emotional state, which was hypothesized to facilitate creative performance.

Furthermore, to explore whether individuals would benefit more from encountering a self-relevant local culture and a foreign culture, as opposed to encountering two foreign cultures, in this study, participants watched either a slideshow that depicted either a local culture and a foreign culture (Taiwanese and American cultures) or two foreign cultures (Indian and American cultures). Following the manipulation, participants responded to the same emotion measure and the Unusual Uses Test as the first study.

The results showed that exposure to the local and foreign cultures (vs. exposure to two foreign cultures) promoted fluency and flexibility in generating unusual uses. More importantly, both negative self-reflections and negative emotions significantly mediated the link between local-foreign cultural exposure and fluency. In other words, exposure to a foreign culture together with a self-relevant local culture was accompanied by a more negative emotional state, which in turn predicted higher levels of creative performance.

Aside from the link between intercultural contacts and creativity, a recent study also explored for the first time

the ameliorative effects of intercultural contacts on intergroup bias (Tadmor, Hong, Chao, Wiruchnipawan, & Wang, 2012). In one study, following Leung and Chiu (2010), the researchers randomly assigned participants to one of four conditions. Three experimental conditions included a twenty-minute multimedia PowerPoint presentation that depicted culturally representative aspects of American culture, Chinese culture, or American and Chinese cultures in multiple domains; the control condition included a presentation of geometrical figures. Consistent with prediction, planned contrasts showed that participants in the American-Chinese culture condition were significantly less likely to endorse negative stereotypes of African Americans (e.g., uneducated, violent, irresponsible) than were participants in other conditions. Similar findings were obtained for other dependent measures of intergroup bias, such as symbolic racism and discriminatory hiring decisions. Of particular import, such ameliorative effects of multicultural experience on intergroup bias were fully mediated by lower levels of need for cognitive closure.

Together, this research demonstrates the critical role of intercultural contacts in promoting the integrative reactions toward foreign cultures through reducing interracial or intergroup bias. Specifically, the process of epistemic unfreezing via adopting lower levels of need for cognitive closure was identified as the mechanism that encourages individuals to show higher social tolerance and mutual acceptance of their out-groups.

Conditions That Facilitate Exclusionary Responses

Perception of Cultural Intrusion

If people may display exclusionary and integrative responses toward global or foreign cultures, under what circumstances would exclusionary versus integrative responses more likely to occur? Figure 1 illustrates a theoretical model that was developed to answer this question. According to this model, joint culture activation would enable both exclusionary and integrative responses by increasing the perceptual salience of cultural differences. Enlarged perceived cultural differences increase both the potential threat of cultural contamination and the potential gain of learning from a dissimilar culture. However, joint culture activation by itself does not determine whether an individual would exhibit exclusionary or integrative responses in specific contexts. To predict when an individual would exhibit which type of responses in a certain situation, we need to consider other factors.
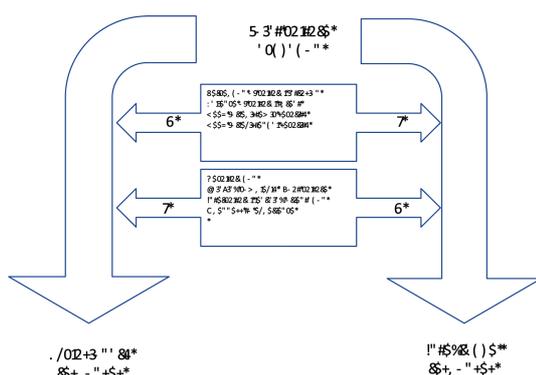
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Figure 1 . A dual model of psychological responses to foreign and global cultures.

A major facilitative condition for the evocation of exclusionary reactions following joint culture activation is the perception of cultural intrusion. People in a local community would perceive an intercultural encounter as a cultural intrusion when elements of a foreign culture are perceived (vs. not) to be representative of the foreign culture entering (vs. staying away from) the sacred space of the local community (Yang, 2011). According to this definition, two conditions need to be fulfilled for an intercultural encounter to be construed as an act of cultural intrusion. The first condition is the attribution of cultural significance to the intercultural encounter. For example, the Chinese netizens viewed Starbucks as a symbol of Western middle-class culture instead of a coffee shop, and the French viewed McDonald's as a symbol of corporate capitalism rather than a fast food restaurant. In addition, the foreign cultural element is seen to have entered the sacred space of the heritage culture.

This process was illustrated in a recent study (see Chiu, Wan, Cheng, Kim, & Yang, 2010). In this study, Chinese participants saw a McDonald's print advertisement in which the logo of McDonald's (the Golden Arch) was placed outside or on the top of a picture of the Great Wall (a sacred cultural space in Chinese culture). In addition, the tag line of the advertisement framed McDonald's either as a symbol of American culture (*Freedom, Independence, American Culture: All in McDonald's*) or a fast food restaurant (*Fast, Convenient, Delicious: All in McDonald's*). The Chinese participants evaluated the advertisement negatively only when McDonald's was framed as a symbol of American culture and when its logo was placed on top of the Great Wall, thus intruding the sacred space of the Chinese culture. Analogous exclusionary reactions toward the Chinese culture were found in other studies in which Americans exhibited exclusionary reactions to China when a portrait of Mao Zedong was superimposed on (vs. placed outside) a picture of the Statue of Liberty (Yang, 2011, study 2), *and* when the participants perceived Mao to be a symbol of Chinese political culture. Americans also exhibited exclusionary reactions toward Islamic culture when they learned that a mosque would be built near (vs. farther away from) Ground Zero in New York *and* when the participants perceived Ground Zero to be a scared space in American culture (Yang, 2011, study 3). In these studies, placing a portrait of a Communist leader on the Statue of Liberty or building a mosque near Ground Zero was construed as intrusions of a foreign cultural element into the sacred space of mainstream American culture.

Salience of Cultural Threat

Exclusionary reactions are also likely to occur when cultural contrast is perceptually salient and when the threat of cultural erosion is prominent. Results from a series of experiments showed that for both Chinese and Americans, following a joint culture activation manipulation, the participants were more likely to exhibit exclusionary reactions to inflow of foreign culture when they were (vs. not) reminded of the erosive effect of globalization on the core values in the heritage culture (Cheng, 2010).

Need for Epistemic Security

Exclusionary responses embody a commitment to protect the continuity and integrity of one's heritage culture. Thus, to predict when exclusionary versus integrative responses would follow joint cultural activation, it is important to understand when individuals tend to value and feel obliged to adhere to the norms of their heritage culture.

The defining properties of culture as a knowledge tradition are its sharedness and historicity (Chiu, Leung, & Hong, 2010). The property of sharedness separates a cultural tradition from personal beliefs and values, which may not be shared by others in the community. The property of historicity separates a cultural tradition from transient popular trends and fads that do not survive the test of time. These two distinctive properties confer several important psychological functions to members of a culture. Shared cultural norms provide conventionalized interpretive frames for sense making. Such conventionalized norms, due to their consensual validity, afford firm answers to important issues in one's life space, particularly those issues involved in coordination of social actions. When members of a culture come to an agreement on which behavioral scripts are normatively proscribed and prescribed, they can anticipate the social consequences of their behavioral decisions. In other words, culture confers epistemic security (Chiu, Morris, Hong, Menon, 2000; Fu et al., 2007).

Consistent with this hypothesized function of culture, recent research showed that individuals who have a chronic need for firm answer (as measured by the Need for Cognitive Closure Scale) are particularly likely to follow cultural norms when rendering judgments or making decisions (Chao, Zhang, & Chiu, 2010; Fu et al., 2007; Leung, Kim, Zhang, Tam, & Chiu, 2012). Stronger adherence to cultural norms has also been observed when individuals are pressured to make quick judgments or decisions (a situation when individuals would experience an acute need for closure; Chiu et al., 2000). For example, in one study (Chao et al., 2010, Study

1), European-American students assumed the role of a drug store manager who was responsible for managing a conflict between a pharmacist and a customer. The conflict happened in the United States or in China, and the manager was either a citizen of or had recently relocated to the country where the store was located. A pretest established that Americans were aware that different cultural norms of conflict resolution prevailed in the United States and China: whereas American norms emphasize taking an investigative stance and identifying the wrongdoer in the conflict, the Chinese norms emphasize seeking relational information that could help to minimize the relational strain in the conflict. As expected, participants with a higher need for cognitive closure or epistemic security adhered more strongly to the prevailing norms in the local culture; they were more inclined to take an investigative stance if the conflict took place in the United States and adopt a relationship management strategy in information search if the conflict occurred in China. Analogous results were obtained in a study conducted in China (Chao et al., 2010, Study 2), where Chinese participants were asked to resolve a conflict that happened in China or the United States. These results, together with the convergent evidence from many other studies, illustrate the epistemic function of culture. One implication of these results is that when the need for epistemic security is heightened, people would be more invested in protecting the consensual validity of the established conventions in their cultural community. That is, they would be more likely to display exclusionary versus integrative responses to foreign cultures in globalized communities.

There is general support for this contention. First, one study showed that when the need for epistemic security is heightened (as when the individuals need to perform a task under time pressure), more exposure to foreign culture tends to *decrease* an individual's willingness to appropriate intellectual resources from other cultures to generate creative solutions to a problem. Recall that among American students, when given a creative expansion task (when asked to develop an improvised idea about happiness into a creative one), more extensive exposure to foreign cultures is generally accompanied by greater willingness to appropriate ideas from unfamiliar cultures for the task (Leung & Chiu, 2010). In a follow-up study (Leung & Chiu, 2010), the investigators manipulated the amount of time pressure that participants would experience when performing the creative expansion task, assuming that participants in the high time pressure condition would feel a greater need for cognitive closure than those in the low time pressure condition. When the participants did not feel pressured to hurry through the task, replicating previous results, a higher level of multicultural experience was accompanied by greater willingness to appropriate ideas from unfamiliar cultures and incorporate them in the creatively expanded idea. However, when time pressure heightened the need for epistemic security, higher levels of multicultural experience were not accompanied by greater willingness to appropriate ideas from foreign cultural sources. If there was any relationship, participants in the high time pressure (high need for epistemic security) condition were less willing to sample and use ideas from foreign cultures. In summary, time pressure or the need for epistemic security attenuates the likelihood of exhibiting integrative responses even among individuals who have extensive exposure to foreign culture.

Need for Existential Security

One of the most established findings in social psychology is that people are particularly committed to defending their cultural tradition when they are reminded of their mortality. According to the Terror Management Theory (Pyszczynski, Greenberg, & Koole, 2004; Pyszczynski, Greenberg, Solomon, Arndt, & Schimel, 2004), individuals would experience existential terror (lose faith in the meaning of their existence) when they become aware of their eventual mortality. They would question whether their personal strivings are meaningful if they would eventually die. Recall that another defining property of culture is its historicity. Culture, with its continuity, helps to assuage existential anxiety: if people feel that they are accomplished members of their culture, they would experience immorality vicariously through the continuity of the culture they belong to. Individuals who feel that they are good members of their culture—those who have protected the vitality and integrity of their culture—would also experience symbolic immortality through the continuity of their cultural tradition.

There is ample evidence for the theory of terror management (Pyszczynski, Greenberg, & Koole, 2004; Pyszczynski, Greenberg, Solomon, Arndt, & Schimel, 2004). For example, when Italian participants were reminded of their mortality (vs. not), their level of Italian identification went up (Castano, Yzerbyt, Paladino, & Sacchi, 2002). Mortality reminders also lead people to display a more favorable attitude toward someone who upholds shared values and worldviews in his or her culture, but a less favorable attitude toward someone who shuns these culturally endorsed ideals. For example, after writing about their death, American students rated an author with pro-American views more favorably than another one with anti-American views (Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, Simon, & Breus, 1994). American students also had reduced feelings of commitment to their romantic partner after having been instructed to ponder worldview differences between themselves and their partner (Strachman & Schimel, 2006).

These findings suggest that when mortality thoughts are made salient, people who are aware of the core value differences between their own and global cultures are particularly likely to exhibit exclusionary responses toward the inflow of global or foreign culture, fearing that mixing local and other cultures would undermine the vitality and integrity of the local culture. Likewise, when mortality thoughts are rendered salient, individuals who are aware of the core value differences between their own and global cultures would be less likely to exhibit integrative responses toward the inflow of global culture and would tend not to exhibit enhanced creative performance, despite having been exposed extensively to global culture.

In line with these predictions, a heightened need for existential security has also been found to increase the likelihood of exclusionary responses. In one study conducted with American participants (Torelli et al., 2011), half of the participants were asked to vividly imagine what would happen to their body as they died and after they died (mortality salience condition), and the remaining half were asked to describe an anxiety-provoking dental work experience (control condition). This is an established technique to increase accessibility of death-related thoughts (Arndt, Greenberg, Soloman, Pyszczynski, & Simon, 1997). Following this manipulation, half of the participants in the mortality salience condition and half in the control condition were asked to evaluate Chinese brands of iconic American products (joint culture activation condition) or Chinese brands of culture-neutral products (single culture activation condition). This manipulation was introduced to increase the salience of cultural differences in the joint culture activation condition.

Next, in an allegedly unrelated study, the participants evaluated "an out of box" marketing approach adopted by Nike (an iconic American brand) to increase its market share in the Middle East. In this approach, elements of Islamic and Middle Eastern cultures were mixed with Nike's American brand image. As expected, participants' evaluation of Nike's new marketing strategy was most negative following joint culture activation *and* mortality salience induction. In this condition, participants disliked Nike, expected the campaign to fail in the Middle East, anticipated the stock price of Nike to drop on the New York Stock Exchange, and were reluctant to buy sports apparels from Nike. Apparently, after joint culture activation had enlarged the perceived differences between cultures, mortality salient participants who encountered a case of culture mixing (incorporation of Islamic and Middle Eastern cultural elements into an iconic American brand) would be fearful of its cultural contamination effect and be particularly vigilant in protecting the vitality of their heritage culture. Hence, they tended to resist inflow of foreign culture.

To show that the effect obtained in the mortality salience experiment just described is driven by the motive to protect the heritage culture, in a follow-up experiment (Torelli et al., 2011), the investigators manipulated the cultural representativeness of the target brand. Half the participants responded to the Nike Middle East marketing plan, and half responded to a similar plan that Proctor-Silex launched to increase its bread toaster market share in the Middle East. The same joint effect of joint culture activation and mortality salience was obtained when the target brand was Nike, an iconic American brand. However, this effect disappeared when the target brand was Proctor-Silex, a non-iconic American brand.

An analogous effect of mortality salience on exclusionary reaction was obtained in China. In this study (Chen, 2011), participants received either the mortality salience manipulation or the dental work manipulation. Before the manipulation, participants completed a self-report measure that assessed the extent to which they believed that globalization would lead to erosion of local cultures. After the manipulation, the participants completed a set of measures that captured their level of liking of Western culture, their evaluation of the warmth of Americans, and their willingness to learn from accomplished Americans. In the control (dental work) condition, the participants' globalization belief was not associated with any of the three dependent measures. In contrast, in the mortality salience condition, the more strongly the participants believed that globalization would lead to erosion of local cultures, the more they disliked Western culture, the more they perceived Americans to be cold, and the less willing they were to learn from accomplished Americans. These results showed that when the cultural erosive effect of globalization is a chronic concern, heightening the need for existential security would increase the likelihood of exhibiting exclusionary reactions and evaluating foreign cultures negatively.

The Chen (2011) study also showed that mortality salience may also attenuate such integrative responses as learning from accomplished foreign individuals. This conclusion is further fortified in another study (Leung & Chiu, 2010), in which participants were given the opportunity to consult ideas from local and foreign experts to expand an impoverished idea. After selecting ideas from local and foreign experts, the participants rated the persuasiveness, helpfulness, inspiringness, and creativity of each selected idea. Prior to the creative expansion task, the participants received either the morality salience manipulation or the dental work manipulation. In the dental work condition, the more exposure the participants had to foreign culture, the more favorably they rated the ideas from foreign experts. However, in the mortality salience condition, extent of exposure to foreign cultures was unrelated to how favorably they evaluated ideas from foreign cultures. In summary, participants who were just confronted with thoughts of their own death did not exhibit more integrative reactions toward foreign cultures even if they had more extensive multicultural exposure.

Factors That Attenuate Exclusionary Responses and Promote Integrative Responses

Deculturation

The needs for epistemic and existential security increase the likelihood of exclusionary reactions and attenuate that of integrative reactions. In this and the next few sections, we will discuss the psychological factors that would attenuate the likelihood of exclusionary responses and promote integrative responses.

Recall that, in one study, the logo of McDonald's was superimposed on or placed next to a picture of the Great Wall (Yang, 2011). In this study, the Chinese participants displayed very strong exclusionary responses toward McDonald's when McDonald's was framed as a symbol of American culture. This result suggests that cultural intrusion could evoke strong exclusionary reactions. In the same experiment, framing McDonald's as a fast food restaurant chain mitigated the exclusionary reactions toward McDonald's. This result shows that not highlighting the cultural significance of intercultural encounters can reduce exclusionary responses.

This idea received further support from a series of studies (Tong, Hui, Kwan, & Peng, 2011, Study 1) in which participants were asked to respond to an international acquisition. For example, in one study, Singaporean participants learned about McDonald's plan to acquire Ya Kun Kaya Toast, an iconic, locally grown breakfast chain famous for toast and local-style coffee in Singapore. After reading this plan, participants rated how similar or dissimilar McDonald's and Ya Kun Kaya Toast were.

Prior to reading this business case, half of the participants answered questions such as: "Alvin wears t-shirts and jeans to work everyday. What occupation do you think he is in? (a) Marketing executive, or (b) Software

engineer." These questions were included to prime the tendency to think categorically. The remaining participants responded to a set of questions designed to activate a transactional mindset or the tendency to analyze the costs and benefits of alternative actions. A sample question used in this condition was: "Mrs. Lim earns $12/hour sewing at home. Today she will go to the wet market to buy fish. For each five minutes she bargains with the vendor she can save $1.25. Which is a better deal for her? (a) Bargain for five minutes, or (b) No bargain and work for extra five minutes."

The results showed that following categorical mindset priming, the more dissimilar the two companies were perceived to be, the more the participants felt fearful about the acquisition. Apparently, when two cultures are perceived to be different, acquisition of an iconic business of the heritage culture by an iconic global business would evoke more intense fear of cultural erosion, but only among those who had been led to think of cultures as categories with defining essence. Perceived differences between two companies were not related to fear of the acquisition when a transactional mindset was primed. Analogous patterns of results were found in the United States when American participants were instructed to respond to the potential acquisition of General Motors (an iconic American brand) by Tata Motors (an iconic Indian brand) following categorical thinking or transactional mindset priming (Tong et al., 2011, Study 2).

Complex Thinking About Culture

Exclusionary responses are attenuated when individuals do not think categorically about cultural differences, as the Tong et al. (2011) studies have shown. In a similar vein, thinking complexly rather than categorically about cultural similarities and differences would also attenuate the tendency to exhibit exclusionary reactions. This idea was tested in three studies. In one study (Torelli et al., 2011) conducted with Hong Kong Chinese participants, one group of participants was exposed to Western cultural primes only (two print advertisements of McDonald's hamburgers), another group was exposed to Chinese cultural primes only (two print advertisements of Chinese moon cakes), and a third group was exposed to both Chinese and Western cultural primes (a print advertisement of McDonald's hamburgers *and* one of Chinese moon cakes). Following this manipulation, the participants were asked to estimate the extent to which European Americans in general and Hong Kong Chinese in general would agree more with the idea that personality dispositions determine behavior (a characteristic belief in American culture) and the idea that situational factors determine behaviors (a characteristic belief in Chinese culture). The participants also completed the Need for Cognition Scale, which measures individual differences in the likelihood of and enjoyment in engaging in effortful cognitive activities (Cacioppo, Petty, & Kao, 1984). Replicating past results (Chiu et al., 2009), joint cultural activation enlarged the perceived differences between American and Chinese cultures. Compared to those in the single culture activation conditions, those in the joint culture activation condition expected Americans to believe more strongly in disposition determinism and the Chinese to believe more strongly in situation determinism. Further analysis revealed that this pattern of results was found only among individuals with relatively low levels of need for cognition. Apparently, participants with a high need for cognition, a stable motivational factor that drives complex thinking in general, did not think about cultural differences categorically even after having been primed with both Chinese and Western cultures simultaneously.

In the second study (Torelli et al., 2011), which was conducted in the United States, participants received either the single culture activation manipulation or the joint culture activation manipulation. Next, they were asked to draw four bubbles on a piece of paper to represent four cultures: Mexican, Puerto Rican, Canadian, and British. Perceived differences between cultures were measured by the physical distance between each pair of cultures in the drawing. Prior to the drawing task, half of the participants were prompted to think about the complexity of intercultural relationships carefully—an experimental manipulation to induce complex thinking about culture (complex thinking condition), whereas the remaining half completed the drawing task without further instructions (control condition).

Replicating previous findings, in the no instructions (control) condition, participants perceived cultures (particularly dissimilar ones) to be more different after joint culture activation than after single culture activation. However, in the complex thinking condition, participants in both single and joint culture activation conditions perceived cultures to be relatively similar to each other.

In a third study (Torelli et al., 2011), European-American participants received either the mortality salience manipulation or the dental work manipulation. Next, they evaluated Nike's plan to incorporate elements of Islamic and Middle Eastern cultures into their marketing strategy in the Middle East. The investigators also measured the participants' need for cognition. When the participants were put under the influence of mortality salience and joint culture activation, those with a relatively low need for cognition displayed the typical exclusionary reactions toward Nike's marketing plan, whereas those with a relatively high need for cognition did not. Taken together, the findings indicate that thinking complexly about cultures can attenuate exclusionary reactions to culture mixing (see also Tam, Au, & Leung, 2008).

Intercultural Learning Orientation

Another factor that increases the relative likelihood of displaying integrative versus exclusionary responses is the individuals' motivation orientation (Chiu & Cheng, 2007). Individuals who are motivated to adapt to new cultural environments and to learn from others are more likely to exhibit integrative responses. Several studies (Maddux & Galinsky, 2009; Studies 4 and 5) provided evidence for this idea. In one study, individual differences in the extent to which sojourners had adapted themselves to the culture in a foreign country were measured. In another study, half of the participants were instructed to imagine adapting themselves to a foreign culture and to anticipate what their adaptation experiences would be. The remaining participants did not receive these instructions. In the first study, participants who reported a higher degree of cultural adaptation performed better in creative insight or creative idea generation tasks. In the second study, participants who were induced to imagine cultural adaptation experiences had better performance on creativity tasks compared to those in the control condition. These results illustrate that the motivation to adapt to new cultures can increase integrative responses and creative performance.

Furthermore, there is evidence that among those who have foreign living experiences, recalling an experience of intercultural learning, particularly those experiences that enhance understanding of cross-cultural differences in behaviors, promotes flexibility in problem solving and increases creative performance. In these studies (Maddux et al., 2010), participants were asked to recall an experience of learning something new from a different culture or learning something new from one's own culture. Whereas recalling an intercultural learning experience enhanced subsequent creative performance, recalling an experience of learning from one's own culture did not.

In summary, globalization increases the opportunities for intercultural contacts. Individuals can benefit from their intercultural experiences and become more creative thinkers and problem solvers if these individuals are motivated to change themselves to adapt to the new multicultural environment and to learn from different cultures.

Openness to Experience

Openness to experience, as a chronic personal quality, supports intercultural learning and promotes integrative responses in intercultural settings (Leung et al., 2010). As one of the Big Five personality traits, openness to experience refers to one's predisposition to seek out and appreciate new experiences and ideas, to take risks, and to entertain alternatives (Costa & McCrae, 1992; McCrae & Costa, 1997). Intuitively, individuals who are open to experience should be more receptive to new ideas and practices from different cultures and to associate positive attitudes and affect with novel cultural experiences. Close-minded individuals, in contrast,

are more likely to resist an inflow of foreign and global cultures, fearing that new ideas and practices from unfamiliar cultures will create contradictions, uncertainty, and ambiguity in sense making and thus destabilize established social norms and cognitive structures in the local communities.

Consistent with this contention, a recent study (Leung & Chiu, 2010) showed that individuals with richer intercultural contacts perform better in creativity tasks only if they are open to experience. In this study, European-American participants completed an Unusual Uses Test, which required them to generate novel uses of a garbage bag, and an Exemplar Generation Task, which required them to retrieve exemplars in the conceptual domain of "occupation." Individual differences in the amount of intercultural experience the participants had, as well as in openness to experience, were measured. Among participants who were relatively open to new experience, those who reported more extensive intercultural experiences generated more unusual uses of a garbage bag (both in terms of number and strategy), as well as more normatively inaccessible occupation exemplars than did their close-minded counterparts.

Apart from promoting integrative responses in intercultural experiences, openness to experience could attenuate exclusionary reactions even in the face of cultural threats. On the one hand, globalization increases the frequency of intercultural contacts; on the other hand, it intensifies global competition among cultures. In some intercultural situations, people may interpret the inflow of foreign and global culture into their own cultural space as a threat to the integrity of their heritage culture. As mentioned earlier, when a symbol of foreign and global culture enters the sacred space of their culture, people may interpret the intrusion as a cultural threat and resist inflow of ideas and practices from other cultures, which, in turn, limits the development of creative thinking. This situation, according to our previous discussion, is likely to fuel exclusionary responses toward foreign cultures. The critical question here is: can being open to experience cool down these exclusionary responses?

To answer this question, in one study (Chen, Leung, Yang, & Chiu, 2012), Chinese participants completed the Openness to Experience measure and rated the extent to which McDonald's is a symbol of American culture. Next, half of the participants were shown a picture with the logo of McDonald's (the Golden Arch) superimposed on a picture of the Great Wall (a sacred space in Chinese culture). Among those who perceived McDonald's to be a symbol of American culture, this advertisement would evoke the perception of cultural intrusion, incite exclusionary responses (Chiu, Wan et al., 2010), and inhibit integrative responses.

This did happen among participants with a relatively low level of openness to experience. Following the manipulation, participants completed a creativity task that required them to generate three analogies of happiness. The dependent variable was creative performance, as measured by the level of creativity of the analogies generated by the participants after viewing the advertisement. Participants with lower levels of openness performed most poorly on the creativity task when they perceived McDonald's to be a symbol of American culture and witnessed the intrusion of a McDonald's logo into the Great Wall. In contrast, participants with relatively high levels of openness performed well regardless of the extent to which McDonald's was seen as a symbol of American culture and whether the McDonald's logo was placed over or next to the Great Wall. In the control condition, the McDonald's logo was placed outside the picture of the Great Wall. In this condition, the openness of the participants, the perceived cultural significance of McDonald's, and the placement of the McDonald's logo in the picture did not affect the participants' creative performance.

In a second study (Chen et al., 2012), which was also conducted in China, participants either read an article about how the inflow of Western culture has caused erosion of the essence and vitality of Chinese culture (cultural threat condition) or an article about how Western and Chinese cultures could co-exist harmoniously (no threat condition). Next, participants watched a slideshow that presented either some American cultural icons (e.g., "Abraham Lincoln"; single culture activation condition) or both Chinese and American cultural icons (e.g., "Abraham Lincoln" and "Mao Zedong" side-by-side; joint culture activation condition). As discussed

earlier, joint culture activation would increase the perceived differences between cultures. This perception, when coupled with an impending cultural threat, is likely to evoke exclusionary responses and suppress integrative responses.

Indeed, this was the case for participants with a relatively low level of openness to experience. Again, the dependent variable was the level of creativity exhibited by the analogies of happiness the participants generated after the manipulation. In the joint culture activation condition, participants who were relatively close-minded performed much more poorly on the creativity task following exposure to the cultural threat (vs. cultural continuity) message, suggesting that these participants were primarily concerned with preserving conventional ideas instead of generating new ones.

In the joint cultural activation condition, among participants who were open to experience, exposure to the cultural threat (vs. cultural continuity) message had no effects on creative performance. In fact, when participants who were open to experience encountered symbols of Chinese and American cultures simultaneously, they became more aware of differences between cultures and were more motivated to learn from dissimilar cultures. This explains their high levels of creative performance in the joint culture activation condition.

Finally, in the single culture activation condition, neither the cultural threat versus continuity message and openness to experience affected creative performance. This result once more affirms the importance of joint cultural activation as an enabling condition for both exclusionary and integrative responses. In summary, these results show that openness to experience can cool down exclusionary reactions and elicit integrative responses even in the presence of facilitative conditions for exclusionary responses.

Future Directions

Thus far, we have discussed the lay psychology of globalization, as well as people's psychological reactions to foreign and global cultures in intercultural encounters. Globalization, being a multifaceted process, has many other implications. In this final section, we introduce several broader implications of globalization. We intend this brief introduction to be an invitation to broaden the research agenda of a psychological science of globalization.

Cosmopolitan and Global Identities

Globalization may initially generate discomfort due to cultural shock or disorientation (Chiu et al., 2011). Through increased intercultural contacts, people will come to recognize both the diversity of cultures and their interconnectedness. Awareness of cultural diversity and the connectedness of human cultures may inspire the construction of new identities, such as global identity and cosmopolitan identity.

Although the terms *global identity* and *cosmopolitan identity* are often used interchangeably, they are distinct theoretical constructs. Individuals with a cosmopolitan identity appreciate and embrace the manifestations of cultures in their many forms (Beck, 2006; Hall, 2002; Hannerz, 1990, 1996; Szerszynski & Urry, 2002, 2006). They support preservation of the authenticity of native cultures and resist colonization of indigenous cultures by global, capitalist culture. These individuals are often consumers of authentic cultures who patronize native arts and lobby for the protection of heritage sites. They embrace opportunities to explore beyond what is familiar: experience ethnic food, try foreign sports, travel outside the home country, and meet people from culturally different backgrounds (Kleingeld & Brown, 2011). In addition to personal consumption choices, individuals who identify with cosmopolitanism promote sensitivity and tolerance to cultural differences and support cultural diversity (Woodward, Skrbis, & Bean, 2008).

In contrast, individuals with a global identity perceive cultural borders to be arbitrary and may even view them as obstacles to the development of universal ethics. They romanticize what a global village would be like, hold a set of beliefs and attitudes that emphasize an open mindset to foreign cultures, and have a vision of participating in a global community. Individuals who identify themselves as global citizens advocate global governance that is transnational and independent from specific nations. In the economic realm, they favor free trade of goods and services and less tariff or related trade barriers between nations. In the domain of ethics, they give the same rights and privileges to all human beings regardless of their citizenship and ethnicity (Kleingeld & Brown, 2011). In short, whereas the cosmopolitan identity embraces the value of respecting global heterogeneity, the global identity emphasizes the connectedness of human communities and privileges removing unnecessary political, economic, and ethical boundaries between local communities.

An important future research question concerns how cosmopolitan and global identities may play a role in people's exclusionary and integrative responses to intercultural influence. A recent study (Morris, Mok, & Mor, 2011) showed that, in Hong Kong, many people would react negatively to culture mixing: reviewing books on Asian cultures written in English or books on Western cultures written in Asian languages would increase their close-mindedness. However, having a global identity would attenuate such exclusionary responses to culture mixing. Future research can follow-up on this finding to explicate the role of cosmopolitan and global identities in people's behaviors in intercultural contacts.

Media Impact and International Relations Implications

As illustrated in the Yang et al. (2011) multidimensional scaling study of globalization, many people consider the Internet to be a major aspect of globalization. The widespread use of the Internet and other online technologies has dramatically reduced the geographical distance between nations. Emerging social media (e.g., Facebook) and three-dimensional (3D) virtual worlds (e.g., Second Life) allow individuals to easily experience foreign cultures without having to move to the physical locations where these cultures originated. Social media are different from traditional media such as newspapers or movies in that they enable individuals to actively participate in interpersonal cultural exchanges rather than passively receiving information. Through the Internet and 3D technology, virtual worlds such as Second Life provide users ample opportunities to engage in real-time immersive social interactions. Users can personalize their avatar to represent their own self or cultural identity and to communicate with people from other cultures using texts and body gestures. Social media platforms such as Facebook produce billions bytes of social content every day, reflecting users' everyday behaviors, thoughts, and feelings. By joining foreign online communities and consuming social contents produced by people from other cultures, one can easily learn about the social norms and practices in these foreign cultures.

Furthermore, online communities often reflect an epitome of the culture of their hosting countries. In recent research, **Qiu**, Lin, and Leung (2013) compared two technically similar online platforms, Renren (a Chinese social networking site) and Facebook (an American social networking site) and found that the Renren culture is more collectivist than the Facebook culture, in that it is more hierarchical, sharing-oriented, and conformity-oriented. More interestingly, users performed more benevolent in-group sharing (e.g., sharing information about graduate school applications) on Renren than on Facebook, and the same users displayed flexible switching of online sharing behaviors in response to the online culture they participated in. These findings offer preliminary evidence of how users learn and adopt cultural practices in foreign online communities.

Social media, either traditional or online, could have significant impacts on people's attitudes' toward foreign countries. A recent study (Gries, Crowson, & Cai, 2011) showed that Americans with more interpersonal contact and knowledge about China have less prejudice toward the Chinese people, and attitude toward the Chinese people is a stronger predictor of foreign policy preference than is the attitude toward the Chinese government. Exposure to media news coverage of China has a mixed impact on policy preference. Increased

media exposure is associated with a preference for a friendlier foreign policy but is also associated with increased knowledge about China, which is, in turn, associated with more negative attitudes toward the Chinese government. These results suggest that cultural exchange may lead to profound attitude change toward foreign people and governments, with these attitudes not necessarily aligning with each other.

Health and Social Implications

The implications on health and societal problems brought about by globalization tend to receive relatively scant research attention. Globalization is an important source of societal changes. If these changes occur too rapidly, they can breed societal problems. For example, the Japanese employment system is known for granting senior employees in large corporations with job security and stable social connections. Obtaining a permanent position in a large company is considered a typical means to becoming a respected member of the society. However, with globalization exporting Western cultural values of independence, competition, and egalitarianism into Japanese society, the Japanese labor market is pressured to change. For example, companies are no longer expected to provide many long-term employment opportunities to fresh college graduates. Unable to secure a position in the traditional long-term employment system, many youth might have chosen to completely withdraw from employment, education, or training opportunities and become a Neet (Not in Employment, Education, or Training). Some of them even isolate themselves from any social interactions with their friends and family and stay within their own bedrooms for months and even years.

Sociostructural changes could energize value changes. One study (Norasakkunkit & Uchida, 2011) found that Japanese students with a high risk of becoming a Neet hold a more independent self-construal than do low-risk students. Furthermore, they tend to be more persistent in response to positive feedback, although the typical Japanese individual has a tendency to be more persistent in response to negative feedbacks (Heine et al., 2001). These findings suggest that as the society undergoes the globalization process, some individuals who endorse values or adopt a psychological reality that is different from the dominant ones might be marginalized and bear the costs of societal change. If not handled properly, these structural and values changes may catalyze serious health and societal problems.

Conclusion

Until recently, psychological perspectives have lacked a strong voice in the multidisciplinary discourse surrounding globalization (Gelfand, Lyons, & Lun, 2011). However, this should not be taken to mean that psychologists have little to offer in this discourse. In 2001, Albert Bandura (2001) noted that societies today are undergoing drastic social, informational, and technological changes. He further commented that "revolutionary advances in electronic technologies and globalization are transforming the nature, reach, speed, and loci of human influence" (p. 12). He invited psychologists to examine the psychological processes that shape personal destinies and the national life of societies in rapidly globalized environments. We agree with Bandura that a psychological science of globalization is both an important and promising new field of psychology. We have identified several major research questions in this new field and reviewed the initial empirical attempts to answer these questions. Although the findings reviewed in this chapter are preliminary, and the conclusions we draw from these findings are tentative, we hope to convince readers that psychology has the theoretical tools and empirical methods to offer new insights into and a refreshing behavioral science perspective on the psychological effects of globalization.

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Find This Resource

Angela K.Y. Leung

Angela K.Y. Leung, Singapore Management University

Lin Qiu

Lin Qiu, Nanyang Technological University

Chi-yue Chiu

Chi-yue Chiu, Department of Psychology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and Nanyang Business School, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.

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