

Singapore Management University

Institutional Knowledge at Singapore Management University

Research Collection School of Social Sciences

School of Social Sciences

11-2017

Intercultural experience and creativity

Chi-ying CHENG

Singapore Management University, cycheng@smu.edu.sg

Yi Wen TAN

Follow this and additional works at: https://ink.library.smu.edu.sg/sooss_research



Part of the [Multicultural Psychology Commons](#), and the [Social Psychology Commons](#)

Citation

CHENG, Chi-ying and TAN, Yi Wen, "Intercultural experience and creativity" (2017). *Research Collection School of Social Sciences*. Paper 3114.

https://ink.library.smu.edu.sg/sooss_research/3114

Available at: https://ink.library.smu.edu.sg/sooss_research/3114

This Encyclopaedia is brought to you for free and open access by the School of Social Sciences at Institutional Knowledge at Singapore Management University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Research Collection School of Social Sciences by an authorized administrator of Institutional Knowledge at Singapore Management University. For more information, please email cherylids@smu.edu.sg.

Intercultural Experience and Creativity

Chi-Ying Cheng and Yi Wen Tan

Singapore Management University, Singapore

Published in International encyclopedia of intercultural communication, 2017, Wiley.

<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118783665.ieicc0056>

Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 4.0 License.

Accepted version

Abstract

Creativity, commonly defined as a production of novel and useful ideas, has long been considered as a type of individual difference that is highly associated with personality traits and intellectual intelligence, which cannot be changed easily. Recently, it has been demonstrated that creativity can occur as a result of cognitive, emotional, and motivational processes that are driven by intercultural experiences, which can be acquired. In line with the creative cognition approach, individuals with direct intercultural experiences exhibit higher individual creativity. Specifically, those who adopt biculturalism as their acculturation strategy and develop a high level of integration between their bicultural identities can reap the creative benefit of their intercultural experiences. Individuals with indirect intercultural experiences also exhibit higher creativity, and the underlying psychological mechanisms are the use of a comparison mindset and perceived cultural distance between the cultures. Advantageous features of intercultural experiences for enhancing individual creativity are discussed.

Keywords: bicultural integration, biculturalism, creative cognition, creativity, intercultural experience, intercultural relationship

Creativity is considered essential for personal and professional success. Typically defined as the ability to generate ideas that are both original and feasible, the antecedents of creative performance have long been of interest to social scientists. In this global world, the acceleration of cosmopolitan culture as well as personal mobility create ample opportunities for individuals to acquire new cultural knowledge systems, which is conducive to motivating the critical creative process of synthesizing ideas and providing the cognitive catalyst for creativity. This expansion of cultural knowledge can yield important creative benefits for two major reasons. First, individuals with intercultural experiences are advantaged when it comes to making connections between disparate ideas originating from different cultural sources, given their extensive knowledge of different cultures. Second, extensive intercultural experience also makes potential contradictory perspectives available. This helps individuals with intercultural experience to overcome cognitive fixedness, to break away from structured and routine ways of approaching problems, and to inspire creative thinking.

A growing literature lends support for the positive relationship between intercultural experience and individual creativity pertaining to creative processes and outcomes. In terms of

creative processes, research has shown that individuals with intercultural experience are more open to ideas from diverse cultures for creative idea expansion. In terms of creative outcomes, there is corroborating evidence from both correlational and experimental research that there are creative benefits of simultaneous activation of two cultures or foreign living experience, with individuals exposed to foreign cultures performing more adeptly in creative idea generation or creative insight tasks.

This entry provides a short review of research in intercultural experience and creativity. First, there is a brief introduction to creativity regarding the definitions, antecedents, and processes of creative thinking. Second, there is in-depth discussion of intercultural experience and how it influences the processes of creative thinking, and of research concerning the relationship between intercultural experience and creativity using different operational definitions and measures for intercultural experience. Potential boundary conditions for the relationship between intercultural experience and creativity will also be explored. Third, implications for intercultural relationship and future research directions are discussed.

Creativity: Definitions, antecedents, and processes

As long as 30 years ago, there had already been over 7,000 creativity studies, as documented by Rothenberg and Greenberg (1976), indicating the critical role of creativity in human behavior. What is creativity? The definitions of creativity used by scholars during the past 50 years are unanimous and cover two aspects. Based on a meta-analysis in creativity, Feist (1998) concluded, “Creative thought or behavior must be both novel-original and useful-adaptive” (p. 290). While the definition of creativity is unanimous, the manifestations of creativity are many and can be captured by different types of tests. Creativity tests are typically divided into four main components: divergent thinking, convergent thinking, artistic assessments, and self-assessments.

Divergent thinking is the ability to consciously generate new ideas that branch out to many possible solutions for a given problem. These solutions or responses are then scored on four components: (a) *originality*, statistical infrequency of response; (b) *fluency*, number of responses; (c) *flexibility*, the degree of difference of the responses or whether they come from a single domain or multiple domains; and (d) *elaboration*, the amount of detail of the response. Convergent thinking is the ability to correctly home in on the single correct solution to a problem. In creativity convergent thinking, it often requires individuals to take a novel approach to the problem, seeing it from a different perspective or making a unique association between parts of the problem. These solutions are scored either correct or incorrect. Artistic assessments are the evaluations of an artistic product (e.g., painting, story, poem, musical composition, collage, drawing etc.). Evaluations are typically done by two or more judges that must be in near agreement on the creativity of the product. Self-assessments are individuals’ responses to the amount of creativity a person feels they exhibit.

Now commonly defined as a production of novel and useful ideas, creativity has been examined in two major ways: (a) as the exhibition of a relatively stable individual difference such as a personality trait or a form of intelligence, and (b) as a state-like manifestation of unique psychological processing including specific cognitive processes, emotional experiences, and social motivations.

Early empirical research into creativity was dominated by a trait approach, an attempt to precisely identify the personality differences between creative and noncreative individuals. According to Guilford’s statement (1950), “In its narrow sense, creativity refers to the abilities that are most characteristic of creative people” (p. 444). Some studies report a positive relationship between psychoticism and creativity. For example, a substantial number of studies reported that psychoticism is positively associated with creativity while some demonstrate a causal relationship between the

two. However, not all the evidence lent support for this relationship: some researchers found no relationship between psychoticism and creativity. In a meta-analysis conducted by Feist (1998), it was found that creative people are more open to new experiences, less conventional and less conscientious, more self-confident, self-accepting, driven, ambitious, dominant, hostile, and impulsive. In short, creativity is associated with personality traits and can be considered as a type of individual difference.

Creativity is also conceptualized as a form of intelligence. In Sternberg's (1985) *Beyond IQ: Triarchic Theory of Intelligence*, intelligence is composed of three components: componential-analytical, experiential-creative, and practical-contextual intelligence. The experiential-creative component of intelligence refers to how well a task is performed with regard to how familiar it is to the person. Sternberg splits the role of experience into two parts: novelty and automation. A novel situation is one that an individual has never experienced before. People high in creativity will be adept at managing a novel situation and find new ways of solving it that the majority of people would not notice. As a result, individuals' creative intelligence will be demonstrated by their everyday performance in problem-solving and the performance will be fairly stable.

While personality and intelligence exert influences on creativity internally, creativity can also be impacted by external factors. Amabile (1983) proposed a social psychology of creativity depicting the components and process of creativity, in which creativity performance is produced by an interaction of individuals' domain knowledge, creativity skills, and motivation. This proposal points out the importance of understanding creativity performance from multiple perspectives; it is not only individual differences that determine people's levels of creativity, but also psychological processes including cognition, emotion, and motivation.

Amabile's 35-year research program demonstrates the importance of intrinsic motivation in creativity performance. It is evident that when individuals' intrinsic motivation for creativity is damaged (e.g., feeling less joyful, less meaningful, or less engaged in the creative task) or is replaced with extrinsic motivation, their creativity performance declines significantly. As for the influence of emotions on creativity, the findings are equivocal. According to a meta-analysis of 25 years of research into the link between mood and creativity by Baas, De Dreu, and Nijstad (2008), there is an overall effect of positive mood on creativity as compared to neutral mood.

As for the cognitive processing related to creativity, the *creative cognition approach* by Ward, Smith, and Finke (1999) suggests that remarkable ideas can be generated from ordinary cognitive processes that are accessible to laypeople, not just creative geniuses, as commonly presumed due to the perception of creativity as being a personal trait or a form of intelligence. The approach proposes that creativity comprises of two fundamental processes: generation and exploration. Generative processes involve retrieving existing ideas from prior experience, forming associations between available ideas, transferring analogical knowledge between ideas, and synthesizing ideas to produce emergent concepts. Realization of the generative process will lead to the production of novel ideas. Following the generative process, exploratory processes come in to elaborate further on the generated ideas, which includes the assessment of the ideas' appropriateness, implications, functions, and limitations. If the idea is deemed unsuccessful during the exploratory processes, a process of restructuring may occur, and the process cycles between generative and explorative processes until a more appropriate solution is reached. Among all the cognitive processes, the creative cognition approach suggests that the accessibility of different knowledge systems is the foundation for generating creative ideas. This view is consistent with the notion of creative performance as a process of recombining existing knowledge sets that initially appear unrelated or irrelevant to one another. The underlying logic is that exposure to different sets of knowledge equips individuals with the requisite knowledge sets for certain creative tasks. *Creative conceptual expansion*—a key process that supports creativity, according to the creative cognition approach— occurs by accessing

ideas from multiple knowledge sets spontaneously, followed by juxtaposition and integration of these ideas into a novel and creative idea. Intercultural experience allows for such creative conceptual expansion because experience with multiple cultures provides people with multiple knowledge sets from which they can access ideas. Hence, intercultural experience is relevant to creativity.

Intercultural experience and creativity

Definition of culture and cultural group

What is culture? Culture can be used to refer to the heritage or tradition of a group, its rules and norms, or may describe activities or behaviors. Culture can also be used to define the organization of a group, or refer to the origins of a group. As a result, the concept of culture may have different meanings depending on the users' perspectives. In cultural research, scholars have different but overlapping definitions for culture. For example, culture has been defined as "social heredity," "all capabilities and habits learned as members of a society," "a descriptive term that captures not only rules and meanings but also behaviors," "shared symbol systems transcending individuals," "an information-based system that allows people to live together and satisfy their needs," or simply, "the shared way of life of a group of people." As a summary, Hong and Chiu (2001) combined most of these elements of culture in their own definition: "a set of shared meanings, which provides a common frame of reference for a human group to make sense of reality, coordinate their activities in collective living, and adapt to the external environment."

Which groups have culture? According to Hong and Chiu's (2001) definition, groups that have shared meanings that are used by affiliated members to make sense of reality, organize their daily activities, and adapt to their environment can be considered as having their own culture. According to this definition, nations and ethnic groups in which people tend to use culture to describe intergroup differences are certainly qualified as groups with culture. In addition to nations and ethnic groups, groups defined by gender, religion, disability, and age/generation can also be said to have their own unique culture. In this entry, the discussion of intercultural experience will focus on groups of people who come into contact with different national and ethnic cultures.

Conceptual framework for cultural differences

Cultural differences have long been recognized as a critical topic in social sciences such as anthropology, psychology, sociology, and political science as well as in management, including international business, organizational behavior, and human resource management. To capture cultural differences as well the impact on human behavior, social science scholars have utilized different concepts and frameworks. A long-standing conceptualization of cultural differences centers on values: a society socializes its members into distinctive value priorities, and individuals are driven by their internalized cultural value orientations to behave in the ways that are characteristic of the society. A few cultural value theories including Hofstede's cultural value dimensions and the GLOBE project use value difference to successfully describe and predict behavioral differences across cultures and nations. However, more and more studies report that many cultural differences in behavior do not map onto patterns of values, and this has led to limitations on value consensus, generalizability, and stability within given cultural groups. An alternative approach driven by cultural constructivism with a focus on cultural schema has emerged to comprehend cultural differences in the past two decades (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000). Constructivist accounts trace cultural differences to the cognitive lenses or templates that guide our interpretations, expectations, and responses. Constructivists postulate cultural schema as loosely connected knowledge systems; individuals rely on cultural schema only when they see it as relevant and

appropriate in response to the contextual demands. People impose culturally conferred cognitive structures and knowledge to make sense of stimuli and problems when they see fit or feel compelled to do so.

Types of intercultural experience and its impact on creativity

To understand the relationship between intercultural experience and creativity using the creative cognition approach, a cognitive interpretation of culture as knowledge structures is fundamental. Culture can be operationalized as a set of knowledge which encompasses learned routines and conventional knowledge that people in the culture frequently use as a lens to frame their daily experiences. People internalize cultures in the form of loose networks of domain-specific knowledge structures, and therefore individuals with intercultural experiences should have more of these loose knowledge structure networks. This expands their domain knowledge (i.e., culture, which is associated with many aspects of human life and behavior), and as a result, they can actualize *creative conceptual expansion* by accessing ideas from multiple cultures spontaneously, comparing and integrating these ideas into a novel and creative idea, as the creative cognition approach suggests.

In the past two decades, a growing literature provides two types of evidence for the positive relationship between intercultural experience and creativity: (a) direct intercultural experience gained from staying or living in a foreign culture; (b) indirect intercultural experience by being exposed to foreign cultures through watching foreign movies and TV programs, listening to foreign music, reading foreign books and magazines, tasting foreign foods, and making friends from different countries. In the following sections below, these two types of intercultural experience will be examined in terms of their relationship with creativity.

The relationship between direct intercultural experience and creativity

Research investigating the relationship between direct intercultural experience and creativity can be categorized into three types: (a) research on the effect of time spent in a foreign culture as well as the quality of foreign experience; (b) research on the effect of acculturation strategy when moving to a different culture; and (c) research on the effect of identity management strategies when acquiring a new cultural identity in addition to identification with own culture.

First, research looking into the length and type of experience living abroad shows that the experience of living abroad is significantly related to individual creativity. Specifically, individuals who lived abroad for over six months exhibit significantly higher creativity both in convergent thinking used in insight and problem-solving, which demonstrates the ability to correctly home in on the single correct solution to a problem, as well as in divergent thinking used in ideas generation, which demonstrates the ability to consciously generate new ideas that branch out to many possible solutions for a given problem. Exposure to a foreign culture for less than six months does not make any difference to creativity levels. Furthermore, benefits for creativity are only realized when individuals immerse themselves in a foreign culture during the extant stay; those who merely have superficial contact with a foreign culture such as when on vacation do not experience boosted individual creativity.

Two explanations have been offered for the above-mentioned phenomena. The first explanation is that intercultural experience allows for an increase in psychological readiness to recruit and seek out ideas from diverse sources and to use them as inputs in the creative process, encouraging continued exposure to a wide range of new ideas, norms, and practices. Research shows that extant intercultural experience enhances individuals' willingness to sample ideas from unfamiliar cultures, which leads to higher creativity. The second explanation is that when people are

exposed to a different culture, adaptation to the culture may make individuals chronically aware of multiple perspectives and approaches when dealing with mundane and novel situations and, thus, may be associated with increased creativity. Research shows that individuals who have experienced living abroad have higher cultural adaptation than those who merely travel abroad or those who stay in their hometown. In addition, the effect of living-abroad experience and individual creativity is fully mediated by the individuals' cultural adaptation; living abroad becomes a nonsignificant predictor of individual creativity when cultural adaptation is taken into account. This mechanism is further illuminated by evidence for the effects of acculturation strategy when moving to a different culture, as elaborated below.

Second, research looking at acculturation strategy by people who move to a different culture is mainly concerned with those who move to a new culture permanently, such as in immigration or those who move for a limited amount of time such as for work or study. Individuals who move to live in a culture different from their own have to deal with the differences between their home and host cultures. They may ask themselves two questions: (a) Do I value and want to maintain my home cultural identity and characteristics?; and (b) Do I value and want to maintain relationships with members of the host culture? Four acculturation strategies will be formed by individuals' answers to the two questions (Berry, 1990). When their answers are "yes" to both questions, they adopt a strategy of integration. The *integrators* are able to move from one cultural context to another, switching their cultural styles as they go along in accordance with the cultural system they are in. They are considered biculturals/multiculturals. When their answer is "yes" to their home culture and "no" to their host culture, they adopt a strategy of separation. The *separators* essentially live in their own immigrant communities, speaking their own languages and interacting with their home-culture friends with minimal contact with host-culture individuals. When their answer is "no" to their home culture and "yes" to the host culture, they adopt a strategy of assimilation. The *assimilators* typically reject their home culture and totally assimilate to the host culture. They minimize interaction with people from their home culture and speak the language of the host culture even when interacting with people from their home culture. If their answers to both questions are "no," they adopt a strategy of marginalization. The *marginalizers* reject both home and host cultures, and do not do well in either cultural context.

Research shows that immigrants and sojourners exhibit higher creativity if they adopt integration acculturation strategies. Moreover, recent research has demonstrated that integrative complexity mediates the positive relationship between the adoption of integration strategies and creative performance, such as in idea generation. Integrative complexity is the capability and readiness to consider competing perspectives on a certain issue and to link these perspectives together. It consists of two components—*differentiation* and *integration*. *Differentiation* refers to the willingness to acknowledge competing perspectives on the same issue and *integration* refers to the ability to forge conceptual links between these perspectives. The link between intercultural experience and integrative complexity can be explained with the acculturation complexity model (ACM) (Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006). Specifically, the authors suggested that immigrants who seek to retain all the cultures they are exposed to and integrate all cultures are likely to experience cultural dissonance during acculturation as exposure to the various cultural groups may cause them to have conflicting cognitions. Dealing with such cognitive dissonance requires them to come up with automatic coping responses that are effortful and cognitively complex. To do so, they must consider and link multiple perspectives together, which enhances creative performance. In comparison, individuals with intercultural experience who only retain their home or host culture, or neither of them, do not have enhanced integrative complexity and hence will not benefit from their multicultural exposure.

Third, to advance the understanding of the linkage between intercultural relationship, cultural identity, and creativity, studies have looked into the identity management strategies of those who

integrate their home and host cultures. The premise was that within this group of integrators there may be individual differences in levels of integration between the two cultural identities (i.e., levels of bicultural identity integration). Research shows that bicultural individuals who are exposed to two cultures due to immigration or being born into an immigrant family internalize two cultural systems, and exhibit different levels of creativity performance when they have different levels of bicultural identity integration. Specifically, bicultural individuals who see their two cultural identities as compatible and not in conflict (i.e., high bicultural identity integrators) tend to be better at accessing the two cultural knowledge systems simultaneously than those who see their two cultural identities as incompatible and in conflict (i.e., low bicultural identity integrators), and are better at integrating ideas from the two cultures in creativity tasks including idea generation and originality tasks (Cheng, Sanchez-Burks, & Lee, 2008).

Related to the *creative cognitive expansion* approach to creativity, the link between bicultural identity integration and creativity could be due to the influence of cultural knowledge accessibility. Research shows that while bicultural individuals with high and low bicultural identity integration have equivalent knowledge with regard to the two cultures they are associated with, and exhibit equally high creativity on tasks that require them to apply only one set of cultural knowledge, individuals with high bicultural identity integration are better at accessing the two cultural knowledge sets simultaneously and can reap the benefits of biculturalism. As a result, they perform better in creativity tasks that require them to apply both sets of cultural knowledge they have than those with low bicultural identity integration. This is further validated by research examining female professionals who work in a male-dominated profession (e.g., business, engineering, etc.) and have to deal with the cultural conflicts between their gender and professional identities.

The relationship between indirect intercultural experience and creativity

Rather than moving into a different culture, individuals can also attain intercultural experience without leaving their home culture, such as through learning a foreign language or being exposed to foreign music, cuisine, and friends. Research shows that, like direct intercultural experience, indirect cultural experience also predicts individual creativity such as in ideas generation, and the underlying mechanism points to higher receptiveness to foreign ideas.

Another type of indirect intercultural experience can be produced in experimental settings by presenting slideshows that juxtapose two cultural images which cover different cultural aspects, such as apparel, architecture, arts, cuisine, entertainment, landscape, movie, scenery, and political icons, to monocultural individuals who have limited exposure to cultures other than their own. The results show that monocultural individuals who were exposed to slideshows with a juxtaposition of two cultures exhibit higher creativity, including both divergent and convergent creativity, than those who were exposed to monocultural slideshows alone, regardless of the cultural content (i.e., own culture or foreign culture), and those without exposure to any cultural slideshows. More importantly, the juxtaposition of two cultures produces even greater creativity benefits when the two cultures are composed of own culture and foreign culture than when exposing to two foreign cultures. This is because when one of the cultures is self-relevant, individuals will be more engaged in the cognitive processing of the perceived cultural discrepancy prompted by the juxtaposition of two cultures, which will lead to higher cultural synthesis and therefore higher creative performance. Interestingly, it was found that this lab-induced intercultural experience can yield a considerably long-lasting effect: individuals exhibit higher creativity five to seven days after watching the dual-culture slideshows.

Subsequent research showed that the mechanism for the enhancing effect of such lab-induced intercultural experience on individual creativity could be due to (a) the use of a difference

comparison mindset, and (b) the outcome of comparison, which is the perceived cultural distance between the cultures. Engaging in a comparative frame that enables the cognitive juxtaposition of two cultures promotes creative synthesis of ideas from diverse cultural sources, which again is supported by the creative cognition expansion. Research shows that exposure to higher perceived juxtaposition of two cultures leads to higher creativity due to adoption of a difference comparison mindset. This is further supported by the findings that after exposure to the juxtaposition of two cultures, individuals exhibit better creative performance if primed with a difference comparison mindset than with a similarity comparison mindset. Regardless of the type of comparison mindset used, the outcome of the comparison will result in perceptions of cultural distance between the two cultures. For example, people in general may perceive that East Asian cultures differ from Western European cultures in their cultural values and imperatives, whereas North American cultures and Western European cultures may be seen as embodying relatively similar cultural tendencies. As another example, the perceived cultural distance between Israeli and American cultures is different from the perceived cultural distance between Chinese and American cultures as members of the Israeli and American cultures seem to have more similar attitudes and values than members of the Chinese and American cultures.

In sum, indirect intercultural experience gained from both exposure to foreign culture in one's own hometown and exposure to the juxtaposition of two cultures in an artificial setting such as a psychology lab can increase individual creativity. Having more intercultural experiences without moving into a foreign culture can facilitate foreign idea receptiveness that can inspire cultural synthesis and result in higher creative performance. In addition, indirect intercultural experience that is gained from experimental manipulations sheds light on further understanding of the critical features associated with creativity, especially through exposure to multiple cultures. For example, personal relevance to the culture and cultural comparison are critical. More specifically, the use of a difference comparison mindset and higher perceived cultural distance are important catalysts for creativity performance.

Summary

There are multiple types of intercultural experience that hone individual creativity both in convergent thinking, such as in creative insight, and divergent thinking, such as in ideas generation. Intercultural experience leads to higher individual experiences when individuals have substantial exposure to a different culture and have immersed themselves in the new culture, especially when (a) individuals are willing to retain home and host cultures simultaneously, and (b) individuals are able to see their two cultural identities as compatible and have high integration between the identities. The underlying mechanism for the creative benefits of such intercultural experience is psychological readiness to recruit and seek out ideas from diverse sources, acute awareness of multiple perspectives and approaches when dealing with mundane and novel situations, greater integrative complexity, and creative conceptual expansion. In addition, intercultural experience can also be gained indirectly by being exposed to a foreign culture while staying in the home culture, and also by being exposed to juxtaposition of cues from multiple cultures in a laboratory setting. Individual creativity can also be enhanced through such indirect exposure to different cultures and this occurs through the use of a comparison mindset and higher perceived cultural distance between the cultures.

Future research directions

While intercultural experiences are typically operationalized as exposure to cultures that are geographically distant in the current literature, a growing type of intercultural experience possessed by individuals who were born and raised in a single but diverse culture is under-investigated. For

example, cosmopolitan societies and cities such as New York, Shanghai, London, and Barcelona are populated by people living side by side in a restricted space. Icons from different cultures are juxtaposed with each other. To the extent that different cultures provide people with different perspectives to see the world, exposure to diverse culture in a locale should enhance creativity. Therefore, these cosmopolitan societies and cities should be the seedbeds for creative ideas and practices. A preliminary study examining Singapore, a cosmopolitan city that is composed of ethnic Chinese, Indians, Malays, Eurasians, and other ethnic groups and that has four official languages (i.e., English, Malay, Chinese, and Indian), demonstrated that being born and raised in a cosmopolitan culture realizes creative benefits due to the possession of multiple cultural knowledge sets.

However, diversity in close proximity can also breed competition among the groups and this has been shown to hamper creativity. In the earlier study on Singapore, it was also shown that the positive effect of being a cosmopolitan on creativity will be offset when a competitive mindset is activated. Future research needs to expand the investigation on cosmopolitan cultures as a new type of intercultural experience and see how the features of cosmopolitan cultures influence creativity.

In the same vein, the level of competition and conflict between different cultures may influence the positive relationship between intercultural experience and creativity. Intercultural conflicts caused by competition, discrimination, and hatred, for ideological, political, and historical reasons, between different cultural groups may cause members of one cultural group to fear, hate, and resist another culture. For such cultures plagued by conflict and competition, exposure to these cultures will not facilitate individual creativity; instead it might hurt individual creativity due to a close-minded attitude and cultural exclusion.

This relationship is partly illuminated by research involving bicultural identity integration. Prior research found that individuals who associate with two cultures develop different levels of bicultural identity integration, and one potential antecedent for the development of bicultural identity integration is a perceived cultural relationship between the two cultural groups. When the two cultural groups have a peaceful and harmonious relationship, individuals tend to have a more positive bicultural experience when facing the two cultures simultaneously, and find their two cultural identities compatible. Hence, they develop a higher level of bicultural identity integration. In comparison, if tension and conflict between the two cultural groups is high, individuals tend to have a more negative bicultural experience when dealing with the two cultures, and find their two cultural identities incompatible or even in conflict. In this case, there is a higher chance for biculturals to develop a lower level of bicultural identity integration. Drawing upon the positive relationship between high bicultural identity integration and individual creativity, intercultural relations between cultural groups play a critical role in individual creativity through their influence on the levels of bicultural identity integration. Future research should look further into intercultural relations among different cultural groups and investigate their indirect effect on individual creativity as mediated by bicultural identity integration.

SEE ALSO: Acculturation Strategies; Cosmopolitanism; Cross-Cultural Competence; Cross-Cultural Experimental Research; Cultural Studies; Culture, Definitions of; Ethnicity, Definitions of; Identity and Intercultural Communication; Identity, Bicultural and Multicultural; Identity, Intercultural; Intercultural and Multicultural Education

References

- Amabile, T. M. (1983). The social psychology of creativity: A componential conceptualization. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 45(2), 357–376. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.45.2.357
- Baas, M., De Dreu, C. W., & Nijstad, B. A. (2008). A meta-analysis of 25 years of mood–creativity research: Hedonic tone, activation, or regulatory focus? *Psychological Bulletin*, 134(6), 779–806. doi:10.1037/a0012815
- Berry, J. W. (1990). Psychology of acculturation. In J. Berman (Ed.), *Cross-cultural perspectives: Nebraska Symposium on Motivation* (pp. 201–234). Lincoln: University of Nebraska.
- Cheng, C.-Y. (2015). The effects of cosmopolitan culture, competitiveness, and need for cognitive closure on creativity. *Academy of Management Best Paper Proceedings, January*. Retrieved from: <http://proceedings.aom.org/content/2015/1/14137.short>
- Cheng, C., Sanchez-Burks, J., & Lee, F. (2008). Connecting the dots within: Creative performance and identity integration. *Psychological Science*, 19(11), 1178–1184. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9280.2008.02220.x
- Feist, G. J. (1998). A meta-analysis of personality in scientific and artistic creativity. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 2(4), 290–309. doi:10.1207/s15327957pspr0204_5
- Guilford, J. P. (1950). Creativity. *American Psychologist*, 5, 444–454. doi:10.1037/h0063487
- Hong, Y., & Chiu, C. (2001). Toward a paradigm shift: From cross-cultural differences in social cognition to social–cognitive mediation of cultural differences. *Social Cognition*, 19, 181–196. doi:10.1521/soco.19.3.181.21471
- Hong, Y., Morris, M. W., Chiu, C., & Benet-Martínez, V. (2000). Multicultural minds: A dynamic constructivist approach to culture and cognition. *American Psychologist*, 55(7), 709–720. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.55.7.709
- Leung, A. K.-y., Maddux, W., Galinsky, A., & Chiu, C.-y. (2008). Multicultural experience enhances creativity: The when and how. *American Psychologist*, 63, 169–181.
- Rothenberg, A., & Greenberg, B. (1976). *The index of scientific writings in creativity*. Hamden, CT: Shoe String Press.
- Sternberg, R. J. (1985). *Beyond IQ: A triarchic theory of human intelligence*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Tadmor, C. T., & Tetlock, P. E. (2006). Biculturalism: A model of the effects of second-culture exposure on acculturation and integrative complexity. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 37(2), 173–190. doi:10.1177/0022022105284495
- Ward, T. B., Smith, S. M., & Finke, R. A. (1999). Creative cognition. In R. J. Sternberg (Ed.), *Handbook of creativity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Further readings

- Amabile, T. M., & Collins, M. A. (1996). Creativity. In N. Nicholson (Ed.), *Blackwell encyclopedic dictionary of organizational behavior*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Chua, R. Y. J., Roth, Y., & Lemoine, J. (2015). The impact of culture on creativity: How cultural tightness and cultural distance affect global innovation crowdsourcing work. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 60, 189–227. doi:10.1177/0001839214563595

- Crisp, R. J., & Turner, R. N. (2011). Cognitive adaptation to the experience of social and cultural diversity. *Psychological Bulletin*, *137*(2), 242–266. doi:10.1037/a0021840
- Leung, A. K.-Y., Maddux, W. W., Galinsky, A. D., & Chiu, C.-Y. (2008). Multicultural experience enhances creativity: The when and how? *American Psychologist*, *63*, 169–181. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.48.2.393
- Maddux, W. W., & Galinsky, A. D. (2009). Cultural borders and mental barriers: The relationship between living abroad and creativity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *96*, 1047–1061. doi:10.1037/a0014861

Chi-Ying Cheng is associate professor of psychology at the Singapore Management University. She received her PhD from the University of Michigan. Her research examines the underlying psychological mechanisms and behavioral outcomes of dual identity integration with special focus on culture. She also investigates the influence of multiculturalism on organizational outcomes such as creativity and team performance. Her work has been published in top academic journals including *Psychological Science* and *PNAS*.

Yi Wen Tan is a PhD candidate at the Singapore Management University. Her research interests mainly revolve around identity integration, especially in terms of the compatibility between people's gender and professional identities as well as between different functions in teams. She is also interested in looking at factors influencing people's negotiation behaviors and outcomes. Hence, much of her current work is a synergy between these two topics of interest.