



Case Report

Choosing fusion: The effects of diversity ideologies on preference for culturally mixed experiences[☆]



Jae Cho^{a,*}, Michael W. Morris^a, Michael L. Slepian^a, Carmit T. Tadmor^b

^a Management Division, Columbia University, United States

^b Collier School of Management, Tel-Aviv University, Israel

HIGHLIGHTS

- We explore when and why cultural fusion is welcomed.
- We introduce that diversity ideologies matter in choices about cultural consumption.
- Polyculturalism (the belief cultures interact with each other) predicts preference for consuming culturally mixed activities.
- Polyculturalism increases preference for cultural mixing but not for other kinds of mixing.
- Polyculturalism heightens one's preference for cultural fusion options, mediated by reduced cultural-purity concerns.

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ABSTRACT

Globalization brings new cultural experiences and choices. Not only can people choose musical, culinary, and literary activities from other cultures, but they also can choose experiences that mix cultures together. We propose that preference for culturally mixed experiences hinges on preconceptions about cultural differences, or “diversity ideologies,” namely colorblindness, multiculturalism, and polyculturalism. In Study 1, we measured participants' endorsement of these three diversity ideologies and their preferences for culturally unitary versus mixed experiences. Results showed that polyculturalism (the mindset that cultures interact and contribute to each other) was positively associated with liking of culturally mixed experiences. In Study 2, we experimentally induced these three mindsets and found that the polycultural mindset heightened preferences for culturally mixed experiences. In Study 3, we replicated the positive effect of polyculturalism on preference for cultural mixes but not other kinds of mixes. Further, the effect of polyculturalism on people's choice of cultural mixes was mediated by purity concerns. We discuss implications for the psychology of globalization.

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1. Introduction

Globalization has produced flows of cultures across borders and swirls of cultural mixing. People consume culturally mixed experiences in museums, music, films, restaurants, and more. While laboratory studies predominantly demonstrate negative responses to cultural mixing (e.g., Chiu, 2007), the rise of cultural fusion consumption reveals that some people have a preference for it. We investigated individuals' consumption of foreign cultures, and tested how preference for culturally

mixed options, as opposed to culturally unitary options, follows from preconceptions about cultural differences.

Most past research on cultural mixes has presented culturally mixed stimuli as primes rather than as choice options. Studies have found that simultaneous exposure to stimuli from different cultures can induce a focus on features that differentiate the cultures, and a heightened sense of cultural differentiation (Chiu, Mallorie, Keh, & Law, 2009). It can give rise to defensive concerns about cultural conflict and contamination (Chiu, 2007) and, for people who do not identify with foreign cultures, to heightened need for closure (Morris, Mok, & Mor, 2011). However, some evidence suggests that these negative responses are not inevitable. They were allayed, for instance, by an intervention that asked people to consider the complexity of cultures (Torelli, Chiu, Tam, Au, & Keh, 2011). Another study found that biculturals who see their two cultures as interconnected are better at creating fusion cuisine menus (Cheng, Sanchez-Burks, & Lee, 2008). One might surmise then that they feel less threatened by and more open to such cultural fusion

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* Corresponding author at: Columbia University, Columbia Business School, Uris Hall 3022 Broadway, New York, NY 10027-6902, United States.

E-mail address: jc3523@columbia.edu (J. Cho).

options. These clues in the literature suggest that people's responses to culturally mixed experiences may hinge upon their assumptions about the nature of cultural differences – or diversity ideologies (Rattan & Ambady, 2013; Thomas, Plaut, & Tran, 2014).

Although diversity ideologies have been studied in relation to prejudice and stereotyping (e.g., Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004), no prior research has probed their relation to the evaluation of cultural mixes. In an increasingly globalizing world, it is important to understand what leads people to accept or to reject emerging cultural mixes. We investigate three ideologies—colorblindness, multiculturalism, and polyculturalism—which lead to different ways of understanding cultural differences and boundaries (Morris, Chiu, & Liu, 2015; Rosenthal & Levy, 2010; Rosenthal & Levy, 2013). While colorblindness deemphasizes cultural categorization and underscores commonality as humans, multiculturalism emphasizes cultural group differences and the need to preserve these legacies (Rosenthal & Levy, 2010). Polyculturalism likewise celebrates cultures but instead of understanding them as separate independent traditions to be preserved, it understands them as systems that define themselves through interacting with each other and that regenerate themselves through hybridity (Kelley, 1999; Morris et al., 2015; Prashad, 2001, 2003; Rosenthal & Levy, 2010).

Past studies of laypersons' ideologies or mindsets contrasted multiculturalism and colorblindness, generally finding positive outcomes of multiculturalism, such as reducing racial bias (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004), reducing ethnocentrism (Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000), and enhancing the self-esteem of minority group members (Verkuyten, 2009). However, experiments priming multiculturalism find that (relative to a colorblindness condition) multiculturalism also induces endorsement of categorical stereotypes about ethnic groups (Wolsko et al., 2000) and dislike for counter-stereotypical target persons (Gutiérrez & Unzueta, 2010). If an ostensible threat from an outgroup was present, multiculturalism (relative to colorblindness) made people more prejudiced toward out-groups (Correll, Park, & Smith, 2008). Multiculturalism may strengthen people's defensive reactions when other cultures are involved. Based on these findings, we hypothesized that the concern about preserving cultural categories that is integrated to multiculturalism may have a consequence in choice: decreasing preference for culturally mixed options.

As yet, the effects of the polyculturalism are little researched compared to the two other ideologies. When all three ideologies are measured and entered into regression models, polyculturalism correlates with higher willingness to engage in intergroup contact (Rosenthal & Levy, 2012). Further, one study suggests that polyculturalism is associated with eagerness to make friends outside of one's own cultural group (Bernardo, Rosenthal, & Levy, 2013). Polyculturalism correlates with embracing immigrants such as Muslim-Americans (e.g., Rosenthal, Levy, Katser, & Bazile, 2015), who may be seen as culturally mixed people. This prior literature converges on the idea that polyculturalism reduces fear of interacting with foreign cultures. Thus, we propose that those who endorse polyculturalism would be more likely to appreciate activities that mix cultures.

Why might polyculturalism encourage acceptance of foreignness? Past studies have demonstrated that polyculturalism is associated with openness to changing traditions (Rosenthal, Levy, & Militano, 2014; Rosenthal, Levy, & Moss, 2012). Perhaps because people who endorse polyculturalism view interaction as inherent to cultures, they are less worried about cultural purity and contamination as a result of cultural mixing. Given that one reason people reject foreign influences is concern about cultural contamination, we therefore hypothesized that purity concern would mediate the effect of polyculturalism on choosing experiences that are culturally mixed versus unitary.

The present research tested the effect of ideologies on preference for cultural mixing by conducting a correlational (Study 1) and experimental studies (Studies 2 and 3). Given that most past studies on polyculturalism are all correlational studies, this paper presents the first experimental effects of polyculturalism on decision making. In

this paper, we reported all exclusions, measures, and manipulations in the studies.

2. Study 1

We first examined diversity ideologies and choice in a tourism context.

2.1. Method

2.1.1. Participants

We posted a survey seeking 150 U.S. participants on www.mturk.com, and 152 participants completed the survey.¹ The sample size of 150 was chosen because we considered any correlational effect that could not be uncovered with this sample size to be too small to be meaningful (with 80% power, this sample size can detect a r effect size = 0.2263 at $\alpha = 0.05$; calculated with R package "pwr"; Champely, 2013; see Fritz, Morris, & Richler, 2012). Thirty-six participants failed to answer the attention check questions correctly, and were thus excluded, yielding a final sample of 116 participants (66 females, 50 males; $M_{\text{age}} = 34.47$, $SD = 11.38$; 110 European Americans, 4 Latin Americans, 1 Native American, 1 South Asian American).

2.1.2. Materials and procedure

Participants were told the survey session comprised two separate studies. In ostensibly the first, they completed scales about social groups, rating their agreement (1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree) with five statements for each of three diversity ideologies: colorblindness (e.g., "Ethnic and cultural group categories are not very important for understanding or making decisions about people"; Rosenthal & Levy, 2012; $\alpha = 0.81$), multiculturalism (e.g., "We must appreciate the unique characteristics of different ethnic groups in order to have a cooperative society"; Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006; $\alpha = 0.87$), and polyculturalism (e.g., "There are many connections between different cultures"; Rosenthal & Levy, 2012; $\alpha = 0.86$).

In ostensibly the second study, participants were asked about activities that they would choose on a trip to Paris, much like a travel website that asks consumers to assemble an itinerary through a series of choices. Some choices contrasted a culturally unitary French activity against a culturally mixed one. We asked the participants to imagine that they were choosing options as part of a package trip to Paris:

Imagine you're going to Paris after buying a Groupon or Living Social deal for a week-long guided trip to Paris. The deal includes different options for meals and activities, which you'll choose as you go along. The deal includes all prices of these meals and activities. Thus, there is no difference of price between options.

The participants made a choice between two options by answering seven questions.

2.1.2.1. Choice. The four test choices contrasted a solely French vs. culturally mixed experience (see Supplementary Online Materials [SOM]), and three filler choices involved other French experiences such as visiting popular monuments (the Eiffel Tower vs. The Arc de Triomphe), lesser-known museums (The Musée Jacquemart-André vs. The Musée Cognacq-Jay), and French libraries (Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève vs. Bibliothèque Mazarine). The choices were:

- Home dinner with a French family vs. French Russian immigrant family;
- Tasting wine from the coast of France vs. the border of France and Germany;

¹ Two participants did not submit their survey code for compensation, thereby allowing extra two participants into the survey.

- French restaurant vs. a Japanese-French fusion restaurant;
- French guide vs. a French-British guide.

The order of the options was randomized. Consistent with prior work (e.g., Mok & Morris, 2013), we formed an index of choice by summing the number of culturally mixed options selected.

2.1.2.2. Liking. After the participants were asked to choose between two options, we asked them to rate how much they would like each option (1 = not at all, 7 = very much). We created liking indices for culturally mixed ($\alpha = 0.66$) and unitary options ($\alpha = 0.74$).

2.1.2.3. Control variables. Lastly, participants reported their demographic information (age and gender), whether they had lived abroad, whether they had visited Paris before, and their level of familiarity with French culture (1 = extremely unfamiliar, 7 = extremely familiar).

2.2. Results

Table 1 reports the descriptive statistics and correlations among the study variables. Before conducting regression analyses to test the hypotheses, we conducted a factor analysis using a varimax rotation on all diversity ideology items. Each item corresponded to a rotated factor with a loading exceeding 0.60; that is, the correlation between the items and the three factors generated by the factor analysis are strong and relate each item to its intended diversity ideology. This is consistent with prior work (Bernardo et al., 2016; Rosenthal & Levy, 2012), which demonstrated that the three diversity ideologies are distinct.

We also found that multiculturalism and polyculturalism positively correlated with each other ($r = 0.64$), as past studies have shown (e.g., Bernardo et al., 2016; Rosenthal & Levy, 2012). Thus, we performed multicollinearity diagnostics and confirmed that all Variance Inflation Factors (VIFs) were less than the standard cut-off of 10 (indeed, all VIFs are less than 2). Therefore, these variables were not so highly correlated as to cause collinearity problems.

We performed multiple regression analyses with the same steps for each dependent variable. We entered control variables in model 1. In model 2, we only added three ideology endorsements as fixed factors. We included the three diversity ideologies measures and control variables in model 3.

2.2.1. Choice

First, we conducted a one-sample Kolmogorov-Smirnov test and found that the index of choice is normally distributed (Kolmogorov-Smirnov $Z = 1.11, p = 0.17$). Model 1 presents relationships with control variables. Age negatively correlated with choice on culturally mixed activities, $b = -0.02, t(110) = -2.52, p = 0.013, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.04,$

$-0.00]$. The other control variables had no significant relationship with choice ($p_{\text{gender}} = 0.125; p_{\text{foreign lived}} = 0.329; p_{\text{familiarity}} = 0.485; p_{\text{been to Paris}} = 0.473$).

We found that multiculturalism was negatively associated with culturally mixed choice, marginally without controls (model 2), $b = -0.24, t(112) = -1.92, p = 0.058, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.48, 0.01]$, and significantly after controls (model 3), $b = -0.25, t(107) = -2.04, p = 0.044, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.49, -0.01]$. However, the other diversity ideologies were not significantly associated with choice of culturally mixed activities in models 2 ($p_{\text{colorblindness}} = 0.525; p_{\text{polyculturalism}} = 0.986$) and 3 ($p_{\text{colorblindness}} = 0.793; p_{\text{polyculturalism}} = 0.931$; see Table 2).

2.2.2. Liking

In model 1, the familiarity of French culture was positively associated with liking of culturally mixed activities, $b = 0.18, t(110) = 2.05, p = 0.043, 95\% \text{ CI} = [0.01, 0.34]$, and with the liking of culturally unitary activities, $b = 0.22, t(110) = 2.43, p = 0.017, 95\% \text{ CI} = [0.04, 0.39]$.

As predicted, polyculturalism was positively associated with liking of culturally mixed activities, before controls (model 2), $b = 0.40, t(112) = 2.36, p = 0.020, 95\% \text{ CI} = [0.07, 0.74]$, and after controls (model 3), $b = 0.41, t(107) = 2.37, p = 0.020, 95\% \text{ CI} = [0.07, 0.75]$. Colorblindness also was positively associated with liking of culturally mixed activities, before controls (model 2), $b = 0.16, t(112) = 2.02, p = 0.046, 95\% \text{ CI} = [0.00, 0.32]$, and after controls at a marginal level of significance (model 3), $b = 0.16, t(107) = 1.93, p = 0.056, 95\% \text{ CI} = [-0.00, 0.31]$. However, we found no significant effects of multiculturalism in model 2 ($p = 0.401$) or model 3 ($p = 0.591$; see Table 3).

We conducted a similar regression analysis for liking of culturally unitary experiences. Multiculturalism was positively associated with liking of culturally unitary experiences, before controls (model 2), $b = 0.41, t(112) = 3.34, p = 0.001, 95\% \text{ CI} = [0.17, 0.65]$, and after controls (model 3), $b = 0.38, t(107) = 3.06, p = 0.003, 95\% \text{ CI} = [0.13, 0.63]$. We found significant positive effects of polyculturalism, before controls (model 2), $b = 0.33, t(112) = 2.10, p = 0.038, 95\% \text{ CI} = [0.2, 0.65]$, and after controls, $b = 0.34, t(107) = 2.05, p = 0.043, 95\% \text{ CI} = [0.01, 0.66]$. Colorblindness was non-significant in both models 2 ($p = 0.311$) and 3 ($p = 0.373$).

2.3. Discussion

The results demonstrate that multiculturalism, which emphasizes the preservation of cultural traditions, was positively associated with choosing culturally unitary experiences. Polyculturalism did not, as expected, predict choosing culturally mixed experiences, although it predicted liking of such culturally mixed options.

We speculate that the context of foreign tourism may involve a special preference for consuming the typical or mainstream traditional experiences of the host culture. Marketing research describes

Table 1
Study 1: descriptive statistics and correlations.

Variables	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Age	34.47	11.38										
2. Female (0 = Male, 1 = Female)	0.57	0.50	0.07									
3. Foreign lived (0 = No, 1 = Yes)	0.13	0.34	0.16 ⁺	0.13								
4. Colorblindness	3.55	1.19	-0.15	-0.06	-0.05							
5. Multiculturalism	5.43	0.95	0.03	0.09	0.03	-0.12						
6. Polyculturalism	5.62	0.73	-0.06	0.16 ⁺	0.14	-0.12	0.64 ^{**}					
7. Fusion Choice	1.08	0.98	-0.24 ^{**}	-0.16 ⁺	-0.11	0.09	-0.24 [*]	-0.16				
8. Fusion likability	4.98	1.08	-0.14	0.05	0.01	0.14	0.25 ^{**}	0.31 ^{**}	0.10			
9. Pure likability	5.71	1.11	0.07	0.08	0.07	-0.15	0.50 ^{**}	0.45 ^{**}	-0.47 ^{**}	0.47 ^{**}		
10. Familiarity of French culture	2.94	1.25	0.04	0.00	0.19 [*]	-0.03	0.14	0.09	0.07	0.23 [*]	0.23 [*]	
11. Been to Paris	0.16	0.36	0.15	0.09	0.40 ^{**}	-0.08	0.09	0.03	0.02	0.15	0.06	0.37 ^{**}

Note: $N = 116$.

⁺ $p < 0.10$.

^{*} $p < 0.05$.

^{**} $p < 0.01$.

Table 2
Study 1: linear regression analyses on culturally mixed choice.

Variables	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	1.77	2.20	2.85
Colorblindness		0.05	0.02
Multiculturalism		−0.24 ⁺	−0.25 [*]
Polyculturalism		−0.00	0.01
Individual-level control variables			
Age	−0.02 [*]		−0.02 [*]
Female	−0.28		−0.24
Foreign lived	−0.29		−0.31
Familiarity of French culture	0.05		0.08
Been to Paris	0.20		0.24
F	2.34 [*]	2.36 ⁺	2.38 [*]
R ²	0.10	0.06	0.15
Adjusted R ²	0.06	0.03	0.09
ΔR ²	0.10 [*]	0.06 ⁺	0.10 [*]

Note: $N = 116$. Unstandardized regression coefficients are displayed.

⁺ $p < 0.10$.

^{*} $p < 0.05$.

“cosmopolitans” (Cannon & Yaprak, 2002) who seek the mainstream traditional experiences of foreign cultures that they visit, even if they have a more progressive stance toward their own culture when at home (e.g., Vida & Reardon, 2008). Polyculturalism may engender interest in all types of experiences when abroad as a tourist as all such experiences involve crossing cultures. Hence, the next study changed the context from foreign-tourism decisions to everyday decisions at home.

While correlational evidence can test associations between choice patterns and diversity ideologies, it cannot answer the question of causality. We controlled for familiarity with French culture as a biasing factor, yet we could not control for all the multicultural experiences that might shape both a person's ideology and tastes and thereby act as a third variable contributing to the observed associations. Hence in Study 2, we experimentally manipulated diversity ideologies.

3. Study 2

In Study 2, we primed diversity ideologies and then presented participants with choices framed as culturally unitary and culturally

Table 3
Study 1: linear regression analyses on liking.

Variables	Mixed option			Unitary option		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Constant	4.90	1.55	1.66	4.80	1.91	1.33
Colorblindness		0.16 ⁺	0.16 ⁺		−0.01	−0.07
Multiculturalism		0.11	0.07		0.41 ^{**}	0.38 ^{**}
Polyculturalism		0.40 [*]	0.41 [*]		0.33 ⁺	0.34 [*]
Individual-level control variables						
Age	−0.02 ⁺		−0.01	0.01		0.01
Female	0.12		0.03	0.17		0.03
Foreign lived	−0.18		−0.31	0.08		0.00
Familiarity of French culture	0.18 [*]		0.15 ⁺	0.22 [*]		0.16 [*]
Been to Paris	0.35		0.41	−0.17		−0.19
F	2.12 ⁺	5.70 ^{**}	3.34 ^{**}	1.50	14.75 ^{***}	6.14 ^{***}
R ²	0.09	0.13	0.20	0.06	0.28	0.32
Adjusted R ²	0.05	0.11	0.14	0.02	0.26	0.26
ΔR ²	0.09 ⁺	0.13 ^{**}	0.07	0.06	0.28 ^{***}	0.03

Note: $N = 116$. Unstandardized regression coefficients are displayed.

⁺ $p < 0.10$.

^{*} $p < 0.05$.

^{**} $p < 0.01$.

^{***} $p < 0.001$.

mixed. To explore the scope of ideology effects, we tested two choice domains: experiential and material. Decision-making research finds that experiential consumption is more likely to connect to people's social identities than material consumption (Van Boven & Gilovich, 2003). Hence the cultural preservationist concerns involved in the multicultural mindset may be especially likely to bear upon on choices in the experiential domain.

To probe the mechanism underlying the effects of multiculturalism and polyculturalism on taste for cultural mixtures, we assessed individuals' concerns about cultural purity when experiencing foreign cultures. We predicted that priming polyculturalism would reduce concerns about cultural purity and thereby increase preference for culturally mixed options.

3.1. Method

3.1.1. Participants

We posted a survey seeking 300 U.S. participants on www.mturk.com. The sample size of 300 was chosen because we considered any experimental effect that could not be uncovered with this sample size to be too small to be meaningful (with 80% power, this sample size can detect a r effect size = 0.1609 at $\alpha = 0.05$; calculated with R package “pwr”; Champely, 2013; see Fritz et al., 2012; Hsieh, Bloch, & Larsen, 1998). A total of 288 participants completed the survey before it expired. Thirty-nine participants failed to answer the reading check questions correctly (described below). Three participants who reported that they took a break between the two ostensible studies were excluded, leaving 246 participants (164 females, 82 males; $M_{\text{age}} = 39.15$ years, $SD = 13.44$; 237 European Americans, 5 mixed race, 3 African Americans, 1 Asian American) for analyses.

3.1.2. Procedure

We informed the participants that there were two separate studies. The ostensible goal of the first study was to assess their understanding of a news article. The ostensible second study investigated individuals' preferences in a consumer situation.

3.1.2.1. Ideology manipulation. In what was ostensibly the first study, participants were asked to read an article from a news magazine summarizing social science findings about different cultures (see SOM; Cho, Tadmor, & Morris, 2016). We randomly assigned the participants to one of the four texts, which served as a prime of each ideology. In the colorblind condition ($n = 63$), the article described commonality across human beings even though people have different cultural habits and practices. The article begins with two sentences that read, “Different cultures share a common origin, as people everywhere are really all the same at the core. All cultural practices have common goals and purposes to satisfy human beings' needs and desires.” In the multicultural condition ($n = 54$), the article instead focused on cultural differences and how cultures have been inherited and have been preserved within each cultural group. The multiculturalism article stated that, “Every culture has its own unique and unchangeable characteristics. The distinct cultural traditions have been preserved and appreciated over history.” In the polycultural condition ($n = 62$), the article described how different civilizations have interacted and influenced each other's cultures throughout history. The polycultural article began, “Cultural groups continually influence each other's traditions and perspectives as a result of interaction and contact. It is through this inter-cultural exchange that cultures dynamically change and evolve.” Participants in the control condition ($n = 67$) read a scientific article about icicles adapted from The New York Times (Gorman, 2015). After presenting the articles, we asked all participants to summarize the major theme of the article that they read and to recall three findings. To check whether the articles had differing effects on their reading experiences, we asked participants to indicate on 7-point scales how difficult the article was to understand (1 = not at all difficult, 7 = extremely difficult) and how the article

made them feel: happy, pleased, and content (1 = not at all, 7 = very much). The three feeling items ($\alpha = 0.93$) were averaged to create a positive mood index.

3.1.2.2. Choice. In what was ostensibly the second study, participants made consumer choices in experiential versus material domains. We randomly assigned the participants to one of two choice domains, each pitting an activity from a single culture against an activity involving a mix of elements from two cultures. The experiential choice ($n = 126$) was between two free lessons at a new martial arts center: learning techniques of Japanese aikido, or learning techniques that blend Japanese aikido and Brazilian jiu-jitsu. The material choice ($n = 120$) involved tea: classic English tea or English tea blended with Chinese herbs. The order of the choice options was randomized.

3.1.2.3. Mediator. After making a choice, participants were asked to rate how important they consider the following factors when experiencing a foreign culture: purity and authenticity. These ratings were made on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = not at all important, 7 = very important). We computed the mean of their ratings on purity and authenticity ($r = 0.59$) to create a cultural purity concern index.

Next, we asked their demographic questions (age and gender), how much experience they had living abroad, and their level of familiarity with each cultural option (1 = extremely unfamiliar, 7 = extremely familiar).

3.1.3. Reading check

Finally, we asked participants to choose which of three provided statements was most reflective of the article that they read in the reading comprehension study. Participants (in the ideology conditions) were presented with three statements that represent each ideology (colorblindness: “different cultures share a common origin, as people everywhere are really all the same at the core”; multiculturalism: “every culture has its own unique and unchangeable characteristics”; polyculturalism: “cultural groups continually influence each other’s traditions and perspectives as a result of interaction and contact”). Participants in the control condition were also presented with the three statements, one of which related to their reading (“why icicles look the way they do”).

3.2. Results and discussion

The priming essays in the four conditions did not differ in perceived difficulty, $F(3, 242) = 1.37, p = 0.254, \eta^2 = 0.017$, or evoked positive mood, $F(3, 242) = 0.79, p = 0.499, \eta^2 = 0.01$. To test their hypothesized effects, we created three contrast vectors that compared each ideology condition with the control condition, following previous studies on ideologies (e.g., *Vorauer & Sasaki, 2010*). We conducted hierarchical multiple regression analyses. Three contrast vectors, each assessing the effect of an ideology prime vs. control, [D-CB = control (-1), CB (1), MC (0), PC (0); D-MC = control (-1), CB (0), MC (1), PC (0); D-PC = control (-1), CB (0), MC (0), PC (1)] were entered on the first step. First, we tested interactions between choice stimuli (experiential or material) and contrast vectors and found no interaction effects ($p_{D-CB \times Stimuli} = 0.435$; $p_{D-MC \times Stimuli} = 0.744$; $p_{D-PC \times Stimuli} = 0.720$). That is, the effects of diversity ideologies did not differ across the two choice stimuli (experiential vs. material). Table S1 in the Supplemental Material available online presents results in each domain. Thus, we collapsed data across the two stimuli.

3.2.1. Choice

As predicted, participants in the polycultural condition were more likely to choose the culturally mixed option than those in the control condition (Contrast D-PC), $b = 0.53, SE = 0.23, Wald = 5.61, p = 0.018, 95\% CI = [1.10, 2.65]$. However, there was no significant

Table 4
Study 2: logistic regression analyses on culturally mixed choice.

Variables	b	SE	Wald statistic	Exp(B)
Key factors				
Ideologies condition				
D-CB(CB vs. Control)	0.17	(0.22)	0.61	1.19
D-MC(MC vs. Control)	-0.39	(0.24)	2.68	0.68
D-PC(PC vs. Control)	0.53*	(0.23)	5.61	1.70
Constant	-0.14	(0.13)	1.16	0.87
Model χ^2	8.37*			
-2 log likelihood	331.62			

Note: $N = 246$. Unstandardized regression coefficients are displayed.
* $p < 0.05$.

difference between other contrasts ($p_{D-CB} = 0.435$; $p_{D-MC} = 0.102$; see [Table 4](#)).

3.2.2. Mediator

We regressed purity concern on the three contrast vectors as simultaneous independent variables. Participants in the polycultural condition had lower purity concern than those in the control condition, $b = -0.37, t(242) = -2.62, p = 0.009, 95\% CI = [-0.65, -0.09]$. However, there was no significant difference in the other conditions, ($p_{D-CB} = 0.117, p_{D-MC} = 0.376$; see [Table 5](#)).

Next, we ran a logistic regression with mixed choice as the dependent variable and purity concern as the independent variable. Purity concern was associated with a reduced likelihood of choosing culturally mixes, $b = -0.35, SE = 0.11, Wald = 10.69, p = 0.001, 95\% CI = [0.58, 0.87]$. When purity concern and the three contrast vectors were entered simultaneously, the polycultural condition effect (Contrast D-PC; $b = 0.43, SE = 0.23, Wald = 5.51, p = 0.061, 95\% CI = [0.98, 2.43]$) decreased proportionally more than the effect of purity concern ($b = -0.33, SE = 0.11, Wald = 9.44, p = 0.002, 95\% CI = [0.58, 0.89]$). To formally test whether cultural purity concern mediated the effect of polyculturalism on preference for cultural mixing, we used the bootstrapping method (with 10,000 samples; *Hayes & Preacher, 2014*) with the D-PC contrast vector (polycultural mindset vs. control) as the independent variable, purity concern as the mediator, the choice of cultural mixes as a dependent variable, and the other contrast vectors as simultaneous fixed factors. This analysis revealed that a polycultural mindset increased preference for cultural mixes through reducing concerns about cultural purity. Indirect effect = 0.12, $SE = 0.07, 95\% CI = [0.02, 0.31]$ (see [Fig. 1](#)).

4. Study 3

Study 3 sought to replicate the effect of polyculturalism on culturally mixed choices and also to test a boundary condition of this effect. That is, we predicted that polyculturalism would increase preference for mixtures across cultures but not mixtures across other categories. To test the specificity of the polyculturalism effect, Study 3 presented two choice tasks: music from two different foreign cultures and music played by two different instruments.

It is possible that the influence of polyculturalism on choice of cultural mixing was a function of a more complex epistemic motivational state that results from thinking about cultures as systems that evolve and re-generate with interactions among each other. While we did not predict that preference for cultural fusion was merely some byproduct of complex thinking engendered by polyculturalism, this seemed worth testing. Thus, following our manipulation, we measured need for closure and need for cognition to examine whether the polycultural prime induced a more general penchant or taste for complexity.

Table 5
Study 2: means and standard error (SE) as a function of prime condition.

DV	Mean (SE)				$F(3, 242)$	p	η^2	D-CB: b (SE)	D-MC: b (SE)	D-PC: b (SE)
	PC ($n = 62$)	MC ($n = 54$)	CB ($n = 63$)	Control ($n = 67$)						
Purity concern	4.70 (1.44)	5.20 (1.17)	5.29 (1.19)	5.09 (1.31)	2.54	0.057 ⁺	0.030	0.22 (0.14)	0.13 (0.15)	-0.37** (0.14)

Note: Unstandardized regression coefficients are displayed.

⁺ $p < 0.10$.

** $p < 0.01$.

4.1. Method

4.1.1. Participants

To recruit a final sample of participants that met our goal of 300 participants (per Study 2; with 80% power, this sample size can detect a r effect size = 0.1609 at $\alpha = 0.05$; calculated with R package “pwr”; Champely, 2013; see Fritz et al., 2012; Hsieh et al., 1998), in Study 3 we recruited 380 U.S. participants on www.mturk.com, in hopes of retaining a sample of at least 300 participants after data exclusions. A total of 379 participants completed the survey before it expired. Thirty-two participants failed to answer the reading check questions correctly, and three participants who reported taking a break between the two ostensible studies were excluded. Three hundred forty-four participants remained for analyses (197 females, 147 males; $M_{\text{age}} = 36.63$ years, $SD = 12.35$; 325 European Americans, 6 Latin Americans, 4 mixed race, 1 Asian American, 8 no identification).

4.1.2. Procedure

4.1.2.1. Ideology manipulation. Participants were randomly assigned to one of four articles. The same mock articles and follow-up difficulty and mood questions ($\alpha = 0.91$) were used as in Study 2.

4.1.2.2. Choice. Participants made two experiential choices, cultural and non-cultural. The order of choices was randomized. For the cultural choice, participants chose between two events: music from a single foreign culture (either Brazilian, Indian, Japanese, or Jamaican), or a mix of music from two cultures (e.g., Brazilian-Japanese). For the noncultural choice, participants also chose between two music events, but here between those that involved music of a single instrument (either guitar, organ, violin, or trumpet) or a mix of two instruments (e.g., organ-trumpet).

4.1.2.3. Mediator. After participants made their choices, they were asked to rate how important they consider purity and authenticity when experiencing a foreign culture (1 = not at all important, 7 = very important). As with Study 2, a purity concern index was created by averaging the ratings of purity and authenticity ($r = 0.47$).

4.1.2.4. Additional measures. In addition, after the manipulation, choice task, and measure of purity concern, we measured need for closure (Kruglanski & Webster, 1996) and need for cognition (Cacioppo, Petty,

& Kao, 1984) to explore whether the ideology conditions influenced these variables. Lastly, participants answered questions about age, gender, and experience living abroad.²

4.2. Results

The priming essays in the four conditions did not differ in perceived difficulty, $F(3, 340) = 1.14$, $p = 0.332$, $\eta^2 = 0.01$, or evoked positive mood, $F(3, 340) = 1.84$, $p = 0.140$, $\eta^2 = 0.016$. The ideology conditions did not influence need for closure ($F(3, 340) = 1.96$, $p = 0.120$, $\eta^2 = 0.017$), nor need for cognition ($F(3, 340) = 0.51$, $p = 0.679$, $\eta^2 = 0.004$). Need for closure did not correlate with cultural choice ($p = 0.589$) and noncultural choice ($p = 0.243$), nor did need for cognition (cultural choice, $p = 0.349$; noncultural choice, $p = 0.091$). When controlling for the ideology vectors, neither variable correlated with cultural choice ($p_{\text{need for closure}} = 0.356$, $p_{\text{need for cognition}} = 0.365$) nor noncultural choice ($p_{\text{need for closure}} = 0.263$, $p_{\text{need for cognition}} = 0.102$). Thus, the ideology manipulations did not change choice for fusion through changing need for closure and need for cognition.

As in Study 2, the three contrast vectors were created to compare each ideology condition with the control condition [D-CB = control (-1), CB (1), MC (0), PC (0); D-MC = control (-1), CB (0), MC (1), PC (0); D-PC = control (-1), CB (0), MC (0), PC (1)]. The three vectors were entered as simultaneous independent variables.

4.2.1. Choice

Participants in the polycultural condition were 1.56 times more likely to choose the culturally mixed option than those in the control condition (Contrast D-PC), $b = 0.45$, $SE = 0.21$, $Wald = 4.72$, $p = 0.03$, 95% CI = [1.05, 2.34]. There was no significant difference, however, among the other contrasts ($p_{\text{D-CB}} = 0.266$, $p_{\text{D-MC}} = 0.336$; see Table 6).

As predicted, this effect was limited to mixed cultural choices; the polycultural condition did not increase preference for mixed choices for the noncultural category ($b = 0.22$, $SE = 0.20$, $Wald = 1.20$, $p = 0.273$, 95% CI = [0.84, 1.84]), and there was no effect of the other conditions ($p_{\text{D-CB}} = 0.500$; $p_{\text{D-MC}} = 0.422$).

Contrast vectors did not interact with the choice category ($p_{\text{D-CB} \times \text{Category}} = 0.195$; $p_{\text{D-MC} \times \text{Category}} = 0.253$; $p_{\text{D-PC} \times \text{Category}} = 0.320$).

4.2.2. Mediator

Participants in the polycultural condition judged purity of culture as less important than those in the control condition, $b = -0.39$, $t(340) = -3.28$, $p = 0.001$, 95% CI = [-0.62, -0.15]. There was no significant difference, however, of the other vectors, $p_{\text{D-CB}} = 0.351$, $p_{\text{D-MC}} = 0.363$.

As in Study 2, we ran a logistic regression with culturally mixed choice as the dependent variable, the purity index, and the three contrast vectors as simultaneous fixed factors. The polycultural condition effect on culturally mixed choice decreased slightly (Contrast D-PC), $b = 0.42$, $SE = 0.21$, $Wald = 4.03$, $p = 0.045$, 95% CI = [1.01, 2.28],

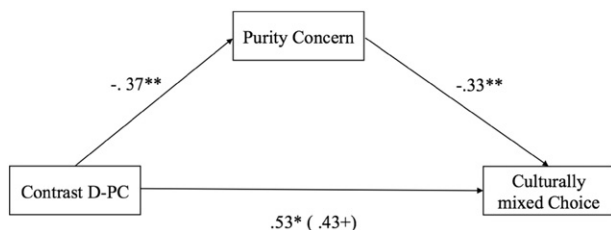


Fig. 1. Study 2: indirect effect in mediational analysis of purity concern. Note: Unstandardized regression coefficients are displayed. + $p < 0.10$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$.

² In addition, we measured the ten item Big Five personality items (Gosling, Rentfrow, & Swann, 2003) for exploratory analyses for a project on personality differences. This is not within the scope of the current paper, and therefore we do not report those analyses here.

Table 6
Study 3: logistic regression of preference for mixes in the cultural and noncultural domains.

Variables	A mix of music from two cultures				A mix of two musical instruments			
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	Wald	Exp(B)	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	Wald	Exp(B)
Key factors								
Ideologies condition								
D-CB(CB vs. Control)	0.21	(0.21)	0.98	1.23	−0.14	(0.20)	0.46	0.87
D-MC(MC vs. Control)	−0.22	(0.20)	1.19	0.81	0.17	(0.21)	0.64	1.18
D-PC(PC vs. Control)	0.45*	(0.21)	4.72	1.56	0.22	(0.20)	1.20	1.25
Constant	0.70***	(0.12)	35.74	2.00	0.76***	(0.12)	42.27	2.13
Model χ^2	9.19*				2.99			
−2 log likelihood	429.19				428.17			

Note: *N* = 344. Unstandardized regression coefficients are displayed.

* $p < 0.05$.

*** $p < 0.001$.

and purity concern did not correlate with culturally mixed choice, $b = -0.08$, $SE = 0.09$, $Wald = 0.71$, $p = 0.40$, 95% CI = [0.78, 1.12]. However, the mediating effect of purity concern was not confirmed by the bootstrapping method (Hayes & Preacher, 2014; 10,000 samples), 95% CI = [−0.04, 0.13].

4.2.3. Indirect effect of purity concern

Given the non-significant indirect effect of polyculturalism on choice for culturally mixed activities through reduced purity concern in Study 3, we sought to examine the reliability of this indirect effect (as it was found in Study 2). We thus tested for the indirect effect on the data from Studies 2 and 3 combined, allowing for a higher-powered test of our proposed indirect effect, utilizing the PROCESS macro (model 8; Hayes, 2013; 10,000 samples). We performed moderated mediation (Muller, Judd, & Yzerbyt, 2005) including Study (Study 2 vs. Study 3) as a moderator. This model examined the indirect effect at each level of Study (Study 2 vs. Study 3), and whether Study interacted with polyculturalism on purity concerns ($b = -0.08$, $SE = 0.15$, $p = 0.602$, 95% CI = [−0.37, 0.22]) and choice for culturally mixed activities ($b = 0.01$, $SE = 0.24$, $p = 0.977$, 95% CI = [−0.47, 0.49]), of which neither interaction was significant. Correspondingly, we found a significant indirect effect of polyculturalism on culturally mixed choice when evaluating the indirect effect at Study = 2 (Indirect effect = 0.06, $SE = 0.04$, 95% CI = [0.01, 0.16]) as well as Study = 3 (Indirect effect = 0.08, $SE = 0.04$, 95% CI = [0.02, 0.17]). Moreover, the confidence interval for the difference between the two indirect effects contained zero, further confirming that Study did not moderate the indirect effect (Index = 0.01, $SE = 0.03$, 95% CI = [−0.04, 0.09]).

4.3. Discussion

When analyzing a pooled data set of Studies 2 and 3, including study (Study 2 or Study 3) as a moderator, primed polyculturalism (vs. control) promoted choosing cultural fusion, mediated by reduced cultural purity concerns. This pattern suggests that polyculturalism increases preference for fusion options through reducing concerns about the impurity or inauthenticity of mixing elements from different cultural sources.

However, two caveats are worth expressing. While the pooled results show the indirect effect for both Studies 2 and 3, which was not changed by Study, our planned tests only supported a significant indirect effect in Study 2, not Study 3. Possibly this reflects cultural purity concerns are less pronounced in the domain of music than tea or martial arts; cultural mixing in music may not engage purity concerns because it is so familiar and taken for granted. Of course, an equally plausible possibility is just heterogeneity in effect sizes across studies. That is, even with an overall effect, we should expect substantial variation in

p -values across repeated experiments (Halsey, Curran-Everett, Vowler, & Drummond, 2015).³

In sum, Studies 2 and 3 examined multiple candidate mediators for the effect of polyculturalism on preference for cultural fusion. We tested whether epistemic motivational states mediated the effect of polyculturalism on choice for fusion. Morris et al. (2011) found that participants low in identification with foreign cultures responded to culturally mixed stimuli with an elevated need for closure. Our ideology manipulations did not, however, change participants' need for closure (nor need for cognition). Instead, we found evidence for mediation by cultural purity concerns. Thus, it seems that purity concern rather than motivational states mediates the current results. That said, certain domains of cultural consumption might be more prone to evoke purity concerns than others. When a domain prompts concern with cultural purity, fear of cultural mixing may be mitigated by changing one's predominant cultural mindset.

5. General discussion

In a globalizing world, cultural fusion is not just a novelty in music and cuisine, but an increasingly pervasive characteristic of the experiences and products in many domains that we make choices about. When do decision-makers choose cultural fusion? Across three studies, we found evidence to suggest that cultural fusion options are more likely to be favored when the salient conception of cultural differences is polyculturalism rather than multiculturalism. Using an individual differences design, Study 1 found that greater endorsement of multiculturalism was negatively associated with choosing cultural fusion and was positively associated with liking of unmixed cultural options, whereas polyculturalism was positively associated with liking of mixed and unmixed cultural options. In a priming experiment, Study 2 found that polyculturalism, but not multiculturalism, increased cultural fusion choice. Study 3 replicated this effect on choosing cultural mixes in a different domain and showed that it did not extend to choices involving other kinds of mixing.

The current findings are consistent with prior research demonstrating a positive relationship between polyculturalism and feeling

³ We thank reviewers for spotting that variants of the word "pure" appeared in both our polycultural prime and in the measure of the mediator, albeit in reference to different kinds of things and in different contexts. In the mock article about polyculturalism, a sentence questioned national policies to keep a collectivity "pure" such as banning foreign words or interactions with foreign countries. The mediator measure asked about "purity" along with "authenticity" as dimensions of the subjective experience of consumption. At the end of the survey, we queried whether participants had any thoughts about the hypotheses being tested in the study. Only one participant suspected we were testing whether the article affected the consumer choices, but even this participant did not guess the correct direction of the hypothesis. This suggests that, despite the linguistic coincidence, participants were not conscious of the implications of the polyculturalism article for their consumer experiences or choices.

comfortable with different cultural groups and with being open to changes (Bernardo et al., 2013; Rosenthal et al., 2012, 2014, 2015). Considering that polyculturalism is positively associated with lower prejudice toward minority women (Pederson, Paradies, & Barndon, 2015) and sexual orientation minorities (Bernardo, 2013; Rosenthal et al., 2012), and with lower sexist attitudes (Rosenthal et al., 2014), those who endorse polyculturalism may be open to cultures and cultural identities with which they lack familiarity. A recent study showed that polyculturalism-primed participants judged a visitor who accommodated to local cultural norms more positively than did multiculturalism-primed participants (Cho, Morris, & Dow, 2016), which initially demonstrated the primed effect of polyculturalism compared to multiculturalism on judgments. Our research extends this prior work by examining the influence of a polycultural mindset on consumers' experience with foreign cultures. Moreover, the current work presents the first casual evidence for the effect of polyculturalism on embracing cultural mixing. Future work might utilize similar priming manipulations to examine the effects of polyculturalism on other important downstream outcomes.

Our findings identify a previously undiscussed role of culture in decision-making. Past researchers have assumed that cultures affect how people weigh choice attributes and hence the utility derived from particular attributes of a choice object (Kim & Markus, 1999). Cultures have been considered as two alternative inputs into a bicultural person's decision making (Mok & Morris, 2013). But, culture is not just a source of values that are used to weigh the attributes of an experience or product (Chernev & Gal, 2010). When the attributes of an object are associated with different cultures, this cultural juxtaposition or blending become part of the consumer experience and people's ideologies about culture come into play. Cultures are not just a source of preferences but also an attribute of the product, or experiences that we evaluate and choose.

The current findings link to the burgeoning literature on international experience and creativity. Both laboratory and field evidence suggests that the experience of living in several countries helps people solve problems more creatively (Leung, Maddux, Galinsky, & Chiu, 2008). One mechanism for this effect is the increased cognitive flexibility that stems from the experience of cultural adaptation (e.g., Maddux & Galinsky, 2009). Another mechanism is the combination of ideas from disparate cultures, which facilitates the creative process (e.g., Cho & Morris, 2015). In light of the current findings on ideology and taste for cultural fusion, this suggests a paradox: while experience of multiple cultures may increase a person's likelihood of creativity through cultural fusion, the ideology of multiculturalism may hinder the process of creative fusion (Cho et al., 2016).

The current results also have implications for research on multiculturalism policies and ideologies. Multiculturalism policies, which specifically protect and preserve cultural groups, were invented in Canada in response to the Quebec succession movement (Berry, 2006). They were widely implemented in European countries such as the UK, Netherlands, and Germany to protect Islamic populations against assimilative pressures (Morris et al., 2015). The past decade has seen a retrenchment, as these policies have been blamed for social division, unrest and even violence (Brubaker, 2001). Polyculturalism (also sometimes called interculturalism when implemented in policy) is taking its place in the effort to recognize cultures without reifying and hypostatizing them (Kelley, 1999; Morris et al., 2015; Prashad, 2001, 2003).

In the U.S., "multiculturalism" denotes group protective policies less than it connotes tolerance and diversity. Accordingly, research on multiculturalism as a mindset or organizational credo has primarily emphasized its advantages over colorblindness in helping minorities feel recognized, included, and appreciated (e.g., Verkuyten, 2009). Some findings have shown, however, that it supports stereotypes (Gutiérrez & Unzueta, 2010). Study 1 further highlights this stereotyping aspect of multiculturalism, whereby multiculturalism was positively associated with choosing and liking unmixed activities. When multiculturalism

was primed in Studies 2 and 3, however, it had no effect, relative to control. These different patterns from correlational and priming studies may reflect that multicultural and polycultural ideas overlap, and when we prime multiculturalism, some polycultural notions come along for the ride. But, in Study 1 we do find a significant relationship between multiculturalism and choosing unmixed options controlling for polyculturalism and colorblindness in regression analyses.

Future research should explore measurement and manipulation approaches to studying the effect of polyculturalism as well as different domains of choice. We found a positive effect of polyculturalism on culturally mixed choice in the experimental studies (Studies 2 and 3) but not in the correlational study (Study 1). First, we suggest that choice domain matters. Our correlational versus experimental designs are confounded with choice-domain, thus making it difficult to disentangle the effects of these important factors. For instance, Study 1 was a correlational study and also examined choice within another country as a tourist, while the experiments, Studies 2 and 3, examined choice within participants' home country. As a tourist, people are likely motivated to sample prototypical elements of the host culture, which may counteract the preference for culturally mixed experiences by those who endorse polyculturalism. However, this motivation may boost those who endorse multiculturalism to choose culturally unitary options. On the other hand, we found that within one's home country, priming polyculturalism led participants to choose culturally mixed activities, both relative to the multiculturalism and control conditions. Importantly, polyculturalism has positive effects on attitudes toward cultural mixing, showing a positive association with liking of cultural fusion activities within a foreign country (Study 1) and increasing choice of such activities in the home country (Studies 2 and 3). People who believe that cultures have historically interacted and borrowed from each other are more attracted to experiences and products that mix cultures.

Another promising avenue for future research is exploring connections to lay beliefs in essentialism and theories of the malleability of culture. Polyculturalism may be positively associated with the belief that culture is malleable given that incremental theorists (i.e., those that tend to believe people or groups of people can change) do not tend to compare groups based on traits (Hong, Chiu, Yeung, & Tong, 1999). Indeed, a recent paper showed that racial essentialism correlated with the endorsement of multiculturalism but not with polyculturalism (Bernardo et al., 2016). Future research could also investigate whether a polycultural perspective reduces concerns about cultural authenticity (e.g., Lindholm, 2008) and charges of cultural appropriation (Matthes, 2016; Young, 2005).

Socioeconomic status may also play a role in these effects. Whereas classic theories of cultural capital (DiMaggio, 1982) argued that the upper class reproduces itself by passing on "high" culture tastes to its children, empirical work increasingly finds that the upper classes are cultural omnivores (versed in both "high" and "low" culture; Peterson & Kern, 1996). This suggests a possible relationship between high social or economic status and greater endorsement of polyculturalism. In sum, the antecedents of polycultural beliefs is a topic ripe for future research.

Research on polyculturalism is important because it acknowledges a third way to construe cultural diversity beyond colorblindness and multiculturalism. Our contrast between polyculturalism and multiculturalism shares similarity with the contrast between Appiah's (2006) cosmopolitan worldview (that acknowledges the co-existence of identities of locals as well as global citizenship) and a culturally defensive worldview (that justifies acts to preserve local culture). While the current research portrays multiculturalism and polyculturalism as ideologies that apply to all particular cultures, it may also be the case that they are frames for thinking about particular cultures. A person who favors multiculturalism policies in the Middle East may favor polyculturalism policies in the U.S. Not surprisingly, the perceived separateness of particular out-group cultures is affected by a history of competition (Cheng et al., 2010) or conflict (Klein, Ettenson, & Morris, 1998). Which environments strengthen or mute polycultural or

multicultural mindsets should be investigated to better understand the relationships between diversity ideologies and social environments. More research is needed to understand the domain-general and antecedents of polycultural versus multicultural mindsets.

Appendix A. Supplementary data

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2016.06.013>.

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