Diverse Cultural Experiences Facilitate Creativity, Professional Success, and Trust

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Will Maddux: All Star Collaborator
Link between Multicultural Experiences and Creativity

- Dramatic moments of creative insight can produce innovation, spurring the forces of globalization
  - Creativity $\rightarrow$ Globalization

- The current research explores the reciprocal process – how globalization affects innovation
  - Globalization $\rightarrow$ Creativity

Road Map

1. Living Abroad predicts creativity and authenticity
2. Why? Increases Adaptation to foreign environment
3. Dual Identification with Home and Host Cultures leads to greater creativity and professional success
4. Why? Because dual identification increases Integrative Complexity
5. The benefits of Broad Foreign Experiences
   - Creativity
   - Trust
   - Lie Detection
What Facilitates Creativity? Group-Level Factors

Heterogeneous Environments
- Bilinguals    Nemeth & Kwan, 1987; Simonton, 1999
- Immigrants    Lambert et al., 1973, Simonton, 1994
- Heterogeneous groups
  Levine & Moreland, 2004; Guimera, et al., 2005
- Civilizations open to outside influences
  Simonton, 1994; 1997

Multicultural Experiences & Creativity

Experiences in foreign cultures can…
  a) Allow access to novel ideas from other cultures
  b) Destabilize routinized knowledge structures
  c) Create the ability to see multiple underlying functions animating behind the same form (i.e. overcome ‘functional fixedness’)

Leung, Maddux, Galinsky, & Chiu (2008) *American Psychologist*
Form and Function: Food on a Plate

Form and Function: Dunker Candle Problem

“Using only the objects you see, attach the candle to the wall so that no wax drips on the table, wall, or floor when the candle is lit”
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   - Creativity
   - Trust
   - Lie Detection

**Dunker Candle Problem**

- Participants: 218 Kellogg MBA students
- Determine if creativity varies based on experience living or traveling abroad
Results

- 54% solved the problem correctly
- Of those, 60% had lived abroad, 40% had not (p = .019)
- Travel abroad had no impact
- Significant linear relationship between amount of time lived abroad and creativity


Dunker Candle Problem

- Participants: 133 INSEAD MBA students
- Controlled for a number of personality variables.
### INSEAD replication with Dunker Candle Problem

**Personality/Demographic Variables**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$\beta$</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>Wald Statistic</th>
<th>P value</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Time Lived Abroad</td>
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<td>Agreeableness</td>
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<td>0.114</td>
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<td>0.285</td>
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<td>Grades</td>
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<td>Gender</td>
<td>0.029</td>
<td>0.499</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>0.954</td>
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</table>

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**Texoil Negotiation**

- Participants were 108 MBA students in a negotiations class
- ‘Texoil’ Negotiation: Creative solution needed to get a deal circumventing negative financial bargaining zone on sale of gas station
Negative Bargaining Zone with regard to Finances
Positive Bargaining Zone with regard to Interests

Buyer Reservation Price: $500,000

“Negative” Bargaining Zone

Seller Reservation Price: $553,000

Sale Price

Positive bargaining zone with regard to Interests:
Buyer needs managers and seller wants financial security after return from a sabbatical

Results

- 31 out of 54 dyads reached a creative (and acceptable deal)
- Living (but not traveling) abroad affected likelihood of getting a deal
  - 30 dyads had two people who had lived abroad, and 21 reached a deal (70%)
  - 20 contained 1 person who had lived abroad, 10 reached a deal (50%)
  - Zero of 4 dyads in which neither person lived abroad got a deal (0%)
- Significant linear relationship between amount of time lived abroad and creativity

### Results

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Personality/Demographics</th>
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<th>SE</th>
<th>Exp ($\beta$)</th>
<th>Wald Statistic</th>
<th>$p$ value</th>
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<td>Openness to Experience</td>
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<td>.486</td>
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<td>Gender (0: male; 1: female)</td>
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<td>0.727</td>
<td>1.080</td>
<td>0.011</td>
<td>.915</td>
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### Living Abroad and Discovering One’s Self

- “I go to some distant region of the world to be reminded of who I really am…Stripped of your ordinary surroundings, your friends, your daily routines…you are forced into direct experience [which] inevitably makes you aware of who it is that is having the experience.”
  
  Michael Crichton, Travels

- 178 participants, 87 had lived abroad
- DVs:
  - **Self-clarity** (Campbell et al., 1996, *JPSP*)
    - In general, I have a clear sense of who I am and what I am
    - My beliefs about myself often conflict with one another
  - **Authenticity** (Wood et al., 2008, *Journal of Counseling Psychology*)
    - I live in accordance with my values and beliefs
    - I feel out of touch with the ‘real me’
  - **Self-complexity** (Linville, 1987, *JPSP*)
    - Take 28 traits and form groups of traits that go together, where each group of traits describes an aspect of you.
Self-Clarity
(lower scores means greater self-clarity)

Not Lived Abroad
Lived Abroad

Authenticity
(higher scores means greater feelings of authenticity)

Not Lived Abroad
Lived Abroad
Self-Complexity
(lower scores means greater self-complexity)

Road Map

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   - Lie Detection
What is it about **Living Abroad**?

- Living abroad but not traveling abroad predicts creativity
- Living (vs. traveling) abroad may give individuals both the time and the incentive to learn underlying reasons for different behaviors and **adapt** to them and **identify** with the host culture

Just exposing individuals to a new culture is insufficient to enhance creativity. Individuals must actively compare multiple cultures and explores cultural differences to get enhanced creativity (Leung & Chiu, 2010)

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**INSEAD Data with Dunker Candle**

Maddux & Galinsky (2009) *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*

- **Time Lived Abroad**
  - 0.01* (0.06 NS)

- **Adaptation**
  - 0.01* (0.31*)

- **Creativity**
  - 0.35* (0.68*)
# Multicultural Adaptation and MBA Job Search Success

- 115 MBAs (39 different nationalities)
- **IV: Multicultural Adaptation**: Extent 1) adapted to and 2) learned about other cultures during time at INSEAD
- **DV**: Job Offers at end of program
- **Controls**: Big 5 personality traits, age, gender, GMAT scores, previous multicultural experience, number of jobs applied to

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<td>-0.03 (0.08)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
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<td>0.01 (0.36)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Agreeableness</td>
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<td>-0.21* (0.08)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conscientiousness</td>
<td>-0.21* (0.08)</td>
<td>0.01 (0.09)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Neuroticism</td>
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<td>0.01 (0.09)</td>
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<td>0.08 (0.12)</td>
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<td>GMAT</td>
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<td>0.01 (0.00)</td>
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<td>Previous time abroad</td>
<td>0.03 (0.03)</td>
<td>0.03 (0.03)</td>
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<td>0.26 (0.47)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dean’s List</td>
<td>-0.27 (0.49)</td>
<td>-0.27 (0.49)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number of jobs applied to</td>
<td>-0.02 (0.03)</td>
<td>-0.02 (0.03)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Causal Effect of Adaptation

- Sorbonne undergrads all of whom had lived abroad
- Adapt condition
- Observe condition
- New sport condition
- Control condition (no prime)
- Alien drawing task (unstructured creativity task)  
  e.g., Ward, 1994; Kray, Galinsky, and Wong, 2006

Creativity Dependent Measure

- “Imagine going to another galaxy in the universe, visiting a planet that is *very different* from earth, and encountering an alien creature there.”
- DVs: 1) overall creativity of alien drawn
  - Coders also rated, 1) similarity to earth creatures, and, 2) number of sensory atypicalities
Creatures in adapt condition also significantly less similar to earth creatures, had significantly more sensory atypicalities than in other three conditions
152 U.S. undergraduates who had lived abroad

- **Multicultural Learning Condition**: “recall multicultural experience in which you learned the underlying reasons why people from a different culture behave the way they do”
- **Unicultural Learning Condition**: “recall a time in which you learned the underlying reasons why people in your own culture behave the way they do”.
- **Learning a New Sport**: “recall a time you learned a new sport”
- **Control**: write about last trip to supermarket
- **DV**: performance on Remote Associates Task
  - i.e. ‘playing-credit-report’

**Correct Responses on RAT**

![Graph showing correct responses on RAT](image)
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Home and Host Identification

Individuals living abroad are faced with two fundamental questions about identity:

1. Do I maintain identification with my cultural heritage?
2. Do I identify with and adopt the host culture?
Acculturation Strategies (Berry, 1997)

- Maintain culture of origin
- Separation
- Integration (Biculturalism)
- Reject new culture
- Adopt new culture
- Marginalization
- Assimilation

Creative Uses of a Brick

78 INSEAD MBAs who had lived abroad

Time 1
- Measured identification with and similarity of values and worldview with:
  - Home Country
  - Host Country

Time 2
- Given exactly two minutes to list uses for a brick
- Three blind raters coded for:
  - Quantity: Number of uses
  - Flexibility: Number of categories
  - Overall creativity
Acculturation Strategy

Acculturation Index (Ward & Kennedy, 1994) (1-5 scale)

1. “To what extent do you identify with the culture of your home (host) country?”
2. “To what extent are your values the same as your home (host) country?”
3. “To what extent is your worldview the same as your home (host) country?”

Home culture Identification

Cronbach’s $\alpha = .74$

Host culture identification

Cronbach’s $\alpha = .71$


Total Number of Uses

(a)

- Weak identification with HOST culture
- Strong identification with HOST culture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HOME cultural identification</th>
<th>Total Number of Uses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weak</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong</td>
<td>8</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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**Integrative Complexity**

- The capacity and willingness to acknowledge competing perspectives on the same issue (differentiation) and to forge conceptual links among these perspectives (integration).

- Hypothesized to be the critical cognitive engine that emerges from biculturalism and explains its effects of creative and professional outcomes
  
  Tadmor & Tetlock, 2006

- Five essays were coded for integrative complexity to test if it mediates the effects of acculturation on creativity
  
  e.g., Describe a situation where you did not meet your personal objectives, and discuss briefly the effect
Promotions and Repuations

- One hundred Israeli professionals (76 males, 24 females; Age: Mean = 42.61 years, SD = 8.85) working primarily in the Silicon Valley (81% high-tech industry, 69 companies).
  - Lived an average of 8.92 years in the United States
  - Worked an average of 15.05 years (SD = 8.35) in their profession,
  - Average of 5.83 (SD = 6.52) years with their current company.

- DVs:
  - **Promotion rate**: Number of organizational levels participants had been promoted since joining their U.S.-based firms divided by the amount of time the individual had lived in the United States.
  - **Reputation**: 11 key individuals from the rated the managerial reputation of study participants with whom they had a close working relationship.

- Mediator: Integrative Complexity
  - Twelve semi-structured interview questions
Promotion Rate

Reputation
Integrative Complexity as a Mediator of Professional Success


Integrative Complexity: Multicultural Adaptation and MBA Job Search Success

- 115 MBAs (39 different nationalities).
- **IV: Multicultural Adaptation**: Extent 1) adapted to and 2) learned about other cultures during time at INSEAD
- **DV: Job Offers** at end of program
- **Mediator**: Integrative Complexity **Change** from T1 – T2
  - At the beginning and end of their 10-month MBA program, students were asked to write a minimum 250-word essay on “the pros and cons of working in multicultural teams.”
Results

- Multicultural Adaptation

Number of Job Offers

Integrative Complexity Change T1 – T2

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5. The benefits of Broad Foreign Experiences (number of countries)
   - Firm-Level Creativity
   - Trust
   - Lie Detection
Creativity in Fashion Houses

Collected industry-wide data on the global high-end fashion industry over 21 fashion seasons (Fall/Winter and Spring/Summer) between 2000 and 2010.

Independent Variables:

- **Breadth of Professional International Experience:**
  The number of foreign countries in which the creative director had worked.

- **Depth of Professional International Experience:**
  The number of years a creative director had spent abroad in his/her professional career.

Dependent Variable: Measure of Fashion House Creativity

Each season the French trade magazine *Journal du Textile (JdT)* asks 70+ international buyers specifically to assess the creativity of fashion houses (not their commercial potential).
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>SE</th>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Fashion house’s country</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>-1.06***</td>
<td>[0.17]</td>
<td>-0.69***</td>
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<td>-0.55**</td>
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<td>1.75***</td>
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<td>Other</td>
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<td>1.29**</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Number of designs</strong></td>
<td>0.01*</td>
<td>[0.001]</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Creative director’s gender (female, average)</strong></td>
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<td>1.17***</td>
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<td>-0.45**</td>
<td>[0.14]</td>
<td>-0.46***</td>
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<td><strong>Creative director studied design (secondary degree, average)</strong></td>
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<td>[0.01]</td>
<td>0.02**</td>
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<td><strong>Number of years abroad squared</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Number of years abroad x Number of foreign countries</strong></td>
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<td>Season fixed effect</td>
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<td>Creative director studied design (secondary degree, average)</td>
<td>-1.41***</td>
<td>(0.20)</td>
<td>-1.51***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media coverage (logged)</td>
<td>0.61***</td>
<td>(0.05)</td>
<td>0.67***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breadth: Number of foreign countries</td>
<td>0.33***</td>
<td>(0.08)</td>
<td>0.18*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depth: Number of years abroad</td>
<td>0.02**</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>0.02**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of years abroad squared</td>
<td>-0.002***</td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of years abroad x Number of foreign countries</td>
<td>0.11***</td>
<td>(0.01)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Foreign Experiences and Trust

Travel is fatal to prejudice, bigotry, and narrow-mindedness, and many of our people need it sorely on these accounts. Broad, wholesome, charitable views of men and things cannot be acquired by vegetating in one little corner of the earth all one's lifetime.

Mark Twain, *Innocents Abroad*

A Longitudinal Study: Broad Foreign Experiences → Trust

235 Chinese students who planned to travel abroad in upcoming month were recruited online

**Time 1** (before the trip):
- Generalized Trust (Yamagishi & Yamagishi, 1994)
  (e.g. Most people are basically honest. Most people are trustworthy)

**Time 2** (after the trip):
- Generalized Trust
- Breadth (i.e. the number of countries)
- Depth (i.e. the length abroad)
Breadth of Foreign Experiences Predicts Trust

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent variable</th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Breadth: Number of foreign countries</td>
<td>0.23* (0.11)</td>
<td>0.29* (0.12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depth: Time in foreign countries</td>
<td>-0.002 (0.004)</td>
<td>-0.002 (0.004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (0= male, 1= female)</td>
<td>-1.43† (0.77)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-0.73* (0.28)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity (0= non-White, 1= White)</td>
<td>-0.11 (0.72)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conscientiousness</td>
<td>0.06 (0.14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neuroticism</td>
<td>-0.05 (0.17)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Openness</td>
<td>-0.04 (0.17)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreeableness</td>
<td>-0.24 (0.21)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extroversion</td>
<td>0.20 (0.14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Causal Link: Breadth of Foreign Experiences → Trust

51 participants (32 women, 19 men), who had traveled to multiple countries and had spent a significant amount of time in one country.

**Breadth:** Recall an experience in which you traveled abroad and visited multiple countries

**Depth:** Recall an experience in which you traveled abroad where you spent a significant amount of time in one foreign country

**Trust:** Trust game (Berg et al., 1995):
- A is endowed with $10 and decides how much to send to B
- The amount sent by A is tripled
- B decides how much to send back to A
- All participants were the sender and told being randomly paired with another person in room
Trust is a predictor of lie-detection ability

- 118 MBA students (42 women), 70 had lived abroad before (Average length 3.19 years, SD=5.85; Average breadth 1.11 country, SD=0.91)
- Reported breadth and depth of living abroad experiences
- Lie-detection task: Friend or foe TV show, lie-detection accuracy was calculated by the signal detection theory and took false alarm rate into consideration (d’ and c’)

Carter & Weber, 2010
Breadth of Living Abroad Experiences Predicted Lie-detection Accuracy (d’)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Breadth: Number of foreign countries</th>
<th>.35 (.17)*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Depth: Time in foreign countries</td>
<td>-.02 (.03)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>.03 (.08)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>-.12 (.34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Fluency</td>
<td>-.06 (.47)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Openness</td>
<td>.08 (.09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neuroticism</td>
<td>-.05 (.07)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreeableness</td>
<td>-.06 (.07)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extroversion</td>
<td>-.11 (.06) †</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conscientiousness</td>
<td>-.05 (.07)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generalized Trust</td>
<td>-.01 (.03)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perspective-taking</td>
<td>-.01 (.13)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Effects of Foreign Experiences

- Experiences abroad predict creativity, professional success, and trust
  - Individual-Level Creativity
  - Firm-Level Creativity
  - Entrepreneurial Activity
  - Promotion Rate and Reputations
  - Trust
  - Lie Detection
- Adaptation to host cultures and simultaneous identification with home and host cultures is a key driver of the effects
- Integrative complexity is a critical ingredient in the living abroad-creativity brew
- Broad foreign experiences critical for the development of creativity, trust, and lie detection