

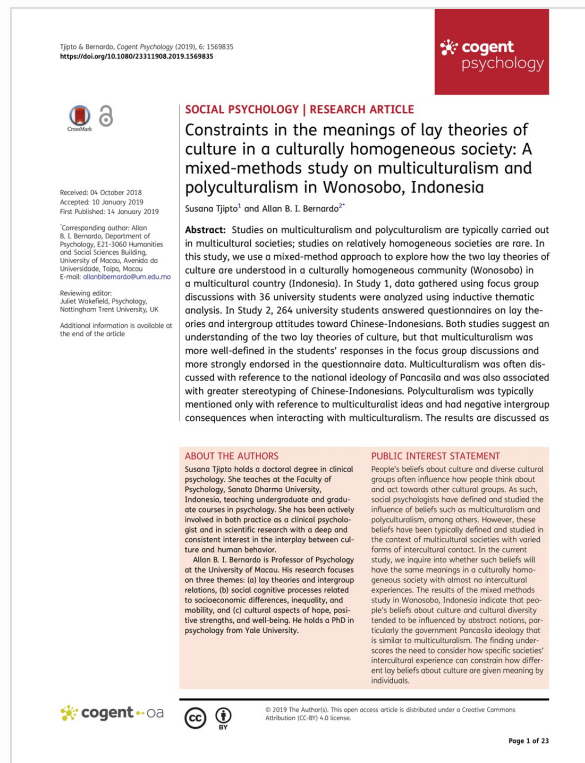


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SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY | RESEARCH ARTICLE

Constraints in the meanings of lay theories of culture in a culturally homogeneous society: A mixed-methods study on multiculturalism and polyculturalism in Wonosobo, Indonesia

Susana Tjipto¹ and Allan B. I. Bernardo^{2*}

Abstract: Studies on multiculturalism and polyculturalism are typically carried out in multicultural societies; studies on relatively homogeneous societies are rare. In this study, we use a mixed-method approach to explore how the two lay theories of culture are understood in a culturally homogeneous community (Wonosobo) in a multicultural country (Indonesia). In Study 1, data gathered using focus group discussions with 36 university students were analyzed using inductive thematic analysis. In Study 2, 264 university students answered questionnaires on lay theories and intergroup attitudes toward Chinese-Indonesians. Both studies suggest an understanding of the two lay theories of culture, but that multiculturalism was more well-defined in the students' responses in the focus group discussions and more strongly endorsed in the questionnaire data. Multiculturalism was often discussed with reference to the national ideology of Pancasila and was also associated with greater stereotyping of Chinese-Indonesians. Polyculturalism was typically mentioned only with reference to multiculturalist ideas and had negative intergroup consequences when interacting with multiculturalism. The results are discussed as

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PUBLIC INTEREST STATEMENT

People's beliefs about culture and diverse cultural groups often influence how people think about and act towards other cultural groups. As such, social psychologists have defined and studied the influence of beliefs such as multiculturalism and polyculturalism, among others. However, these beliefs have been typically defined and studied in the context of multicultural societies with varied forms of intercultural contact. In the current study, we inquire into whether such beliefs will have the same meanings in a culturally homogeneous society with almost no intercultural experiences. The results of the mixed methods study in Wonosobo, Indonesia indicate that people's beliefs about culture and cultural diversity tended to be influenced by abstract notions, particularly the government Pancasila ideology that is similar to multiculturalism. The finding underscores the need to consider how specific societies' intercultural experience can constrain how different lay beliefs about culture are given meaning by individuals.

indicating some negative intergroup implications for the two lay theories of culture within the culturally homogeneous community.

Subjects: Prejudice; Self & Social Identity; Social Cognition; Cross Cultural Psychology; Intergroup Behavior

Keywords: lay theories of culture; multiculturalism; polyculturalism; intergroup attitudes; mixed-method research

People have different beliefs about the nature of culture and about how these concepts are similar or different from each other, and social psychologists call these beliefs lay theories of culture (Rosenthal & Levy, 2010, 2012) or intergroup ideologies (Pedersen, Paradies, & Barndon, 2015). Numerous empirical studies show that these beliefs have consequences for intergroup relations, even when the social groups are not defined by culture or race (Rosenthal & Levy, 2013). However, these studies are typically done with participants from ethnically diverse and/or culturally heterogeneous societies where public discourses and social experiences allow for the development of specific lay theories or beliefs about culture. In this study, we explore lay theories of culture in an Indonesian community that is culturally homogeneous to determine whether low levels of intercultural contact and multicultural experiences would lead to different constructions of lay theories of culture. We look specifically at two lay theories of culture—multiculturalism and polyculturalism—and ask the question: Are the core assumptions of the two lay theories of culture understood by individuals in a culturally homogeneous society?

At least three lay theories about cultural differences have been identified (Morris, Chiu, & Liu, 2015; Rosenthal & Levy, 2010): universalism (colorblindness), culturalism (multiculturalism), and interculturalism (polyculturalism). Colorblindness holds that cultural, ethnic, and racial identities are superficial and unimportant to understand individuals. The core beliefs underlying colorblindness can take different forms; it can be invoked to emphasize similarities and/or individual differences. Multiculturalism emphasizes honoring differences with the goal of preserving the distinctiveness of cultural groups, valuing purity of traditions, appreciating unique contributions of cultures, and maintaining distinct cultures within a diverse society. The lay theory of polyculturalism is similar to multiculturalism in recognizing the importance of people's cultural backgrounds, but instead of focusing on differences, it focuses on a network connection among cultural groups due to past and present interaction and mutual influences (Morris et al., 2015; Rosenthal & Levy, 2010).

Research has shown that these lay theories can be empirically recognized as distinct latent factors and that the distinct factors have different intergroup consequences (Rosenthal & Levy, 2010). For example, compared to colorblindness, both multiculturalism and polyculturalism are more strongly associated with interest and appreciation for diversity, comfort with cultural differences (Rosenthal & Levy, 2010, 2012), cognitive empathy for actors in intercultural situations (Salanga & Bernardo, 2017), among other positive intergroup processes. Belief in multiculturalism is associated with reduced racial in-group bias or ethnocentrism (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000), greater intergroup tolerance (Tadmor, Hong, Chao, & Cohen, 2018), and intentions to reduce intergroup inequalities (Urbiola, Willis, Ruiz-Romero, Moya, & Esses, 2017). Polyculturalism also tends to be associated with willingness for intergroup contact, positive behavioral intentions with people from minority or foreign cultures (Bernardo, Rosenthal, & Levy, 2013; Rosenthal, Levy, Katse, Bazile, 2015), and with migrant groups (Rosenthal, Ramirez, Bernardo, & Levy, in press). Polyculturalism is also associated with lower intergroup prejudice (Pedersen et al., 2015), the ability to function effectively in culturally diverse environments (Bernardo & Presbitero, 2017), positive attitudes towards cultural accommodation (Cho, Morris, & Dow, 2018) and culture-mixing (Cho, Morris, Slepian, & Tadmor, 2017). Given that multiculturalism and polyculturalism have more positive intergroup consequences than colorblindness, we focus on these two lay theories of culture in the current study.

The potency of lay theories depends on whether such ideas are accessible in society; lay theories that are frequently cognitively activated in the social environment are likely to be chronically accessible (Hong, Levy, & Chiu, 2001). This may be so for lay theories that are widely endorsed or discussed in the social environment through intentional socialization (e.g., via government policy, national ideology, educational programs) and/or implicit learning (e.g., exposure to norms and traditions, exposure to others behavior, interaction with others). Thus, one lay theory of culture may be strongly endorsed in one society, and this lay theory may be more chronically accessible to people in that society compared to other lay theories.

Aside from socialization and learning, actual culture-related experiences are likely to influence endorsement of lay theories of culture. For example, exposure to foreign cultures and direct interaction with foreigners are profoundly enriching processes that open minds to new experiences, remove cultural barriers, and accelerate cultural change (Chiu, Gries, Torelli, & Cheng, 2011). Exposure and experiences with culturally mixed social stimuli and environment strengthen flexibility and creativity in response to changing cultural demands in the environment (Leung, Maddux, Galinsky, & Chiu, 2008). Intercultural contact could also influence individuals' beliefs about culture, whether cultural groups should be homogeneous or diverse, and whether they are distinct and separate or connected and mutually influencing each other. In this regard, it becomes interesting to explore lay theories of culture in a culturally homogeneous community that is within a multicultural country like Indonesia.

1. Cultural discourses in Indonesia

Indonesia is a multi-cultural and a multi-ethnic country; in its 17,504 islands there are 1,340 tribes, more than 300 ethnic groups that speak 546 languages and have beliefs in five religions. Indonesia also had been colonized by the Dutch for about 350 years and the Dutch colonial experience was characterized by internal conflict due to the Dutch political scheme of "divide et impera" (i.e., using politics to break up the Indonesian people). Around the time of Indonesia's independence, the nationalist struggles attempted to unify Indonesian people through a national ideology. In 1928, an Indies-wide youth congress declared that a future independent republic would form "satu bangsa, satu bahasa, dan satu tanah air" (one people, one language, and one nation) (Ramage, 1995). In 1945, Soekarno, the first president of Indonesia, exhorted his fellow nationalist to accept five basic principles as a national ideology to ensure that the diverse nation comprising hundreds of ethnic groups and most major religions would be viable. This national ideology called "Pancasila" (a Sanskrit-derived term) literally means "five principles" (Ramage, 1995). The essential social value of Pancasila was tolerance of religious diversity and inclusiveness of all ethnic groups.

Pancasila emerged to have a meaning for Indonesians beyond the government propaganda (Ramage, 1995). The congress declaration and Pancasila principles were invitations to go beyond the ethnic, linguistic, and religious differences, and to identify what unified the Indonesian people as a nation. The other social values of Pancasila related to its emphasis on tolerance or respect for differences and diversity. If viewed from the perspective of lay theories, the articulated values seem to converge with the lay theories of multiculturalism. Social discourses promote pluralism and diversity, reflected also in the national motto "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*," which literally translates in English as "many, yet one" adhere to core assumptions of the lay theory of multiculturalism. The Pancasila ideology and its values has been systematically promoted and intentionally socialized by the government across all Indonesian regions, and the socialization process continues to this day. As such, it is quite likely that Indonesians from all the different regions and communities are likely to endorse beliefs related to the lay theory of multiculturalism.

But many parts of Indonesian society experience high levels of intercultural interactions that could also influence the endorsement of beliefs related to the lay theory of polyculturalism. Amid globalization, opportunities for Indonesian people to interact with other cultures has increased. As a tourist destination, Indonesia has received an average of 5.5 million tourists per year in the last 12 years (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2015). As Indonesia's economy modernized, there has also

been a gradual increase in the number of foreign workers in Indonesia (about 86,000 people in 2017) (Katadata, 2018).

Based on the preceding discussion, from the colonial era until today, Indonesian people have various forms of social experiences that could activate core beliefs that relate to the two lay theories of multiculturalism and polyculturalism. The experience of interacting with other cultural groups provide Indonesian people the opportunity to apply the values of the Indonesian Pancasila ideology, respecting differences, tolerance towards diversity, while maintaining cultural authenticity. Moreover, the use of Bahasa Indonesia as the official language and experience of conflict resolution between groups is directed to forming a strong sense of “unity” and minimizing the importance of ethnic differences. Therefore, the lay theory of multiculturalism may be implicitly activated through social discourses in everyday life in Indonesia. Yet, contact with other cultures and races since the colonial era has also exposed Indonesian people to core propositions of the lay theory of polyculturalism regarding mutual cultural influence, especially in terms of cultural products. The polycultural experience can be seen in food, architecture, language, fashion, art, and traditions of society. For example, some words in the Indonesian language are actually borrowed from Dutch (e.g., “*gratis*” meaning free). Traditional Indonesian dances like “*Reog Ponorogo*” (East Java), “*Sisingaan*” (West Java), and “*Barong*” (Bali) are quite similar to the Chinese Lion Dance, thus showing the influence of other Asian cultures.

But the opportunity to meet and interact with other cultural groups is not uniform in all regions of Indonesia. Some areas in Indonesia are located in remote regions, far from industrial centers or tourism areas where intercultural contact is more likely to occur. These other regions are relatively less frequently visited by people from the outside, much less by people from other cultures or countries. The people and cultural norms in these regions are more homogeneous. In these areas, actual intercultural experiences are probably rare; instead, notions of multiculturalism and respect for diversity are likely to be experienced as abstract conceptions that are products of formal socialization by government’s social institutions. Looking at how lay theories of culture are understood and endorsed in such ¹² culturally homogeneous communities can provide important clarifications in how we understand [the role of lay theories of culture in](#) intercultural relations.

2. The current study

For this study, we chose Wonosobo, one of the less ethnically diverse cities in Indonesia. Wonosobo district, located in the highland (with areas ranging from 250 to 2,250 m above sea level) in Central Java, and is 520 km from the capital city of Jakarta. Wonosobo’s total population in 2014 was estimated at over 764 thousand (only 0.32% of the entire population of Indonesia of over 237 million at that time). Wonosobo’s remote location limits opportunities for its people to interact or meet with Indonesians from outside the region, much less with people from other cultures and countries. Wonosobo’s cultural homogeneity is partly maintained by its predominantly agricultural economy (47% of Wonosobo residents work in the agricultural sector); an agricultural economy does not provide opportunities to interact with people from other regions or outsiders. In terms of religion, there are some historical relics and Hindu temples in one of the area in Wonosobo (Dieng) but about 99% of the Wonosobo population is Muslim. Even since its founding, Wonosobo has been a prototype of an Indonesian Islam community because the founder of the district was a Muslim cleric. Thus, in contrast to the very multicultural character of Indonesia as a whole, Wonosobo society remains relatively homogeneous culturally. As part of the Republic of Indonesia, Wonosobo people are being exposed to government programs that promote the Pancasila ideology (*Pancasila*) but they do not have actual experiences of cultural diversity within their community.

¹¹ In this context, we post the following research questions: (a) Will the core assumptions of multiculturalism and polyculturalism be understood and endorsed by individuals in Wonosobo society?, and (b) Will their understanding and endorsement of the core assumptions of the lay theories by related to the cultural discourses expressed in Pancasila? We propose that in

Wonosobo, understanding, and endorsement of the lay theory of multiculturalism would be stronger than for polyculturalism because people's lay beliefs about different cultures would be primarily influenced by the government's socialization of the values related to the Pancasila ideology that more closely echo the assumptions of multicultural lay theories of culture. Moreover, the absence of direct intercultural contact is unlikely to activate beliefs associated with the lay theory of polyculturalism.

We explore these assertions in this study by using a mixed-method (qualitative-quantitative) research approach. In Study 1, we explore these questions through a descriptive qualitative approach, where we conduct focus group discussions (FGDs) to inquire into how people from Wonosobo think about culture. By asking the participants of the FGDs about their ideas about cultural groups, we hope to reveal their ideas about how cultures may be similar, different, or related to each other, among other notions that might reflect the assumptions of the two lay theories of culture. We also expected the participants to refer to their own understanding of the Pancasila ideology, although this will not be explicitly prompted in the FGD. In Study 2, we use a quantitative approach to test whether people from Wonosobo distinguish between the lay theories of multiculturalism and polyculturalism, and whether the endorsement of these lay theories is associated with intergroup attitudes that refer to an ethnic minority group.

In both studies, our participants were university students, and we acknowledge that university students are not representative of the community population, and we discuss this matter in the General Discussion. However, our decision to invite university students as participants in the two studies was not merely for convenience; we believe that university students are in good position to provide good quality data for both qualitative and quantitative parts of the mixed methods study. First, we noted that the FGD questions we intended to ask involved relatively abstract concepts and we needed participants who could talk extensively about such concepts. University students should be used to discoursing on abstract concepts, and we assumed that they would feel comfortable exchanging and reacting to each other's assertions during the FGD. Second, the quantitative part of the study required participants to provide answers using likert-type scales, and this form of responding is most familiar among those in formal education settings. Aside from university students, other participants who could provide good quality data for both parts of the study are educated adult professionals or workers, but it would have been difficult to organize FGDs with several working professionals; in this respect, it was also more convenient to invite university students to participate in the two studies.

3. Study 1

We first explored how a sample of Indonesian students in Wonosobo view cultural differences and similarities. In particular, we wanted to explore how concepts and themes of the lay theories of cultures may be expressed in Wonosobo students' conceptions of culture. We did so by conducting FGDs with small groups of university students in Wonosobo.

3.1. Method

3.1.1. Participants

Participants were 36 (18 female, 18 male) university students (18 from an Islamic university; 18 from a public university) who were divided into 4 groups for the Focus Group Discussion (FGD). Their mean ages were 18.9 years, and all students were Javanese people from Wonosobo Regency.

3.1.2. Instrument and procedure

Each FGD was facilitated by one facilitator, one co-facilitator, and one observer, who were trained to facilitate the participants' discussion of the guide questions and to probe the participants' answers. The FGD team's training provided general knowledge about lay theories of culture, but were not given any detailed information about the specific research questions or any hypotheses.

Each FGD started with a general open-ended question about culture to minimize the possibility of leading the participants' responses. The opening question was followed by a question on how culture is developed, which aimed to explore ideas that might refer to concepts of differences, similarities, and/or interaction between cultures. The next questions invited participants to rethink and reflect on previous answers about differences, similarities, and intercultural linkages. Since Indonesia is a multi-cultural country, it was easier to start reflecting with the question of cultural diversity in Indonesia and closing it with reflection questions as to whether the culture is completely different or there is actually a mutual interconnection between one culture and another. The FGD questions and the whole process were in Bahasa Indonesia; the English translation of guide questions are as follows:

- (1) What do you think when you hear the word "culture"?
- (2) How does a culture develop?
- (3) Why are there many varied cultures?
- (4) What do you think about the varied cultures?
- (5) Do you think that cultures are totally different from each other? (with follow-up subquestions as follows)
 - (a) Have you observed any cultural similarities between regions? Please tell me more why can this happen/not happen.
 - (b) Do you think there is interconnectedness between cultures? Please tell me more your answer.

The FGD questions and the FGD facilitators did not directly refer to any of the specific lay theories of culture. The duration of each FGD varied from around 60–90 minutes.

3.1.3. Ethical considerations

The procedures for the study were reviewed and approved by the research ethics review committee of the university that provided the research grant that supported the study. All participants provided their informed consent to participate in the FGD, after they were assured of the confidentiality of all their responses and other basic information about the aims and procedures of the study.

3.1.4. Data analysis

All the FGD responses were recorded verbatim and were analyzed using exploratory method with thematic analysis through deductive-inductive approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Coding scheme deductively based on research question (and lay theories of culture as a theoretical framework) and inductively based on the transcripts. There are six phases of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006): (1) *familiarizing with data*—transcribing data, reading and re-reading the data, noting own initial ideas; (2) *generating initial codes* (referencing the two lay theories of culture)—coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code; (3) *searching for themes* (also referencing the two lay theories of culture)—collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme; (4) *reviewing themes*—checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic "map" of the analysis; (5) *defining and naming themes*—ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme; and (6) *producing the report*—selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis. The analysis mostly involved cross-theme analysis, as the themes reference the two lay theories, but there was also some within theme analysis as indicated in the results below.

The transcripts were analyzed by two members of the FGD team; one was a clinical psychologist and the other a social psychologist. The two analyzed the data separately and compared their codes, analyses, and interpretations on an ongoing basis to achieve intercoder consensus. In the case of divergence, the two discussed the interpretations until they reached a joint version on which we could agree (Patton, 2002).

3.1.5. Reflexivity

As mentioned earlier, all members of the FGD team were provided a general introduction to the construct of lay theories but were not informed about any specific hypothesis as it was important that FGD facilitators would not influence the responses of the participants. The facilitator and co-facilitator were instructed to follow the FGD guidelines and probed participants answer without leading to certain answer (cf., concepts of lay theories of culture), and the observer took notes that indicated that the two co-facilitators did follow the guidelines. The facilitators also asked reflective questions that allowed the participants to rethink their responses, thus providing some self-confirmation of participants' answers that helped minimize possible bias among those doing thematic data analysis.

3.2. Result and discussion

The content analysis revealed three main themes—definition of culture, multiculturalism, and polyculturalism within multiculturalism—with a few subthemes in each. These are summarized in Table 1. We discuss the main themes below, focusing on the last two because the first theme did not directly address our research question. Note that all the quotations provided below are English translations of the original statements in Bahasa Indonesia.

3.2.1. Definition of culture

The participants shared their ideas about what culture meant and a few subthemes emerged related to their definitions. First, the culture was referred to as traditions, habits, or customs that difficult to change and passed from generation to generation. Within this subtheme, there were references to both the objective and subjective aspects of culture, as can be seen in the following responses:

"...the legacy of the past, you know, for example our ancestors have traditions, have habits, usually dances are included in culture... Then like houses, these habits also include culture, legacies from the past" (Public University Group 2, Participant F)

"...culture is a habit that has been passed down from ancestors and in a rather broad scope not only in the family sphere in what but in the surrounding community around the province" (Public University Group 1, Participant B)

Table 1. Themes and subthemes in content analysis of FGD responses

Main themes	Subthemes
Definitions of culture	Culture as traditions, habits, and customs
	Culture as result of human adaptation
	Culture as human ability to create
	Culture as identity and uniqueness
Multiculturalism	Cultural distinctiveness
	Celebrating diversity
	Cultural preservation
	<i>Bhinneka tunggal ika</i>
Polyculturalism within multiculturalism	Interactions among cultures
	Cultural distinctiveness amid interactions
	Cultural stability amid interactions
	Cultural contamination or enrichment

The second subtheme in the definitions of culture related to viewing culture as a result of human adaptation to the environment, as shown in the following responses:

"...culture is indeed influenced by the environment, but basically someone if for example continues to interact, continues to communicate, it will certainly form the same culture if the environment is also there. But if for example if it is broken it will definitely adapt to the new environment" (Public University Group 1, Participant B)

"...the old culture 'moves' so it depends on the environment that is there. If the old culture is in accord with the new environment, maybe the old culture can still be maintained... But if in a new environment it really doesn't work, it can also disappear. Like adjusting the environment" (Public University Group 1, Participant F)

The third subtheme refers to culture as representing civilization and human being's ability to create, as indicated in these responses:

"culture is the result of creativity and human intention" (Islamic University Group 2, Participant I)

"words of wisdom and the power or ability of humans to create things" (Islamic University Group 1, Participant E);

The final subtheme relates to culture as identity, referring to unique characteristics of a people that differentiate one culture from others, as reflected in the following responses:

"...so that it will become a characteristic of that area. If everything is the same, it doesn't have the characteristics" (Islamic University Group 2, Participant J);

"Unique. Every region will have a different culture. For example, here, East Java is definitely different. Maybe the arts, customs, ritual are different, so unique" (Islamic University Group 2, Participant B)

"Identity. Region identity, for example in East Java there is Reog, even though it was performed in other area (Wonosobo) we still know that it is from East Java" (Islamic University Group 2, Participant G)

The ideas shared in this theme are similar to definitions of culture in the extant literature. But except for the last subtheme, most definitions of culture do not specifically refer to how different cultures relate to each other. Only the ideas that relate to culture expressing uniqueness and identity may relate to the participants' ideas about intercultural relations, and we can see this implied in the second major theme below.

3.2.2. Multiculturalism

The second theme identified in the analysis refers to notions that reflect the core assumptions of the lay theory of multiculturalism, and these were reflected in a few specific subthemes. Consistent with the previous subtheme related to culture as uniqueness and identity, the participants typically acknowledged that various cultures are substantially different, and this subtheme of cultural distinctiveness was mentioned by a majority of the discussants:

"Culture is different, in Indonesia there are already a lot of cultural differences, each region has its own culture, the culture is related to customs, and also the beliefs of individuals who live in that area, why is that different because of that their habits are different, their beliefs already different" (Islamic University Group 1, Participant F);

"Every region will have a different culture. For example, here, East Java is definitely different. Maybe the arts, customs, ritual are different, so unique" (Islamic University Group 2, Participant B);

The discussants also mentioned that these differences are considered as a good thing because differences led to diversity, tolerance, mutual respect, and a sense of unity. This subtheme of celebrating diversity was reflected in the following:

"...it's not cool if all cultures are the same, it will be monotonous. It is precisely because of that difference that diversity makes us colorful" (Public University Group 1, Participant A)

"...the diversity is actually even more cool. They have their own characteristics, their own language, their own habits, their own beliefs continue to uphold their own, it is already formed from their respective environments." (Public University Group 1, Participant E)

The discussants also mentioned the maintenance and preservation of culture through inheritance from generation to generation in relation to the distinctiveness and celebration of cultural differences, as shown below:

"We learn about other cultures without having to abandon our culture" (Public University Group 1, Participant B)

"Culture exists because people in the past, gathered and carried out an activity and it was inherited, must be preserved" (Islamic University Group 2, Participant D)

These ideas align with definitions of lay theories of multiculturalism in the social psychology literature (Morris et al., 2015; Rosenthal & Levy, 2010) especially in the emphasis on maintaining heritage cultures, valuing differences, and appreciating unique cultural contributions.

Most interestingly, these participants' understanding of concepts related to the lay theory of multiculturalism were often discussed in relations to the Indonesia's National Ideology of Pancasila, Indonesia's motto "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*," and the Indonesian National Song "*Satu Nusa, Satu Bangsa*." We see this subtheme in the following example quotations that refer to the motto, "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*" as indicated:

"...It means... 'Bhinneka Tunggal Ika' have been already appreciated, although different but still one..." (Public University Group 1, Participant C.)

"...Bhinneka Tunggal Ika, different but still one... Just like a rainbow, different colors are beautiful.... Difference can cause unity... could be complementary..." (Islamic University Group 2, Participant E)

"...I think (the difference) should still there, but put it together, like Bhinneka Tunggal Ika. Different but still one ..." (Public University Group 1, Participant F)

Recall that the Pancasila ideology invited Indonesian people to see the diversity through tolerance, mutual respect, and sense of shared destiny as one nation, as seen from the following extracts:

"...Because culture is to be appreciated, not to despise" (Public University Group 2, Participant C)

"...even though we have different cultures, we must, however, have a principle of intercultural tolerance" (Public University Group 2, Participant D)

The participants' statements reflected the internalization of the values of multiculturalism of expressed in the Pancasila ideology that emphasizes the unity amid the differences. Thus, even

within Wonosobo's culturally homogeneous society, the concept of multiculturalism is clearly expressed as it is aligned with the official Pancasila ideology. Most importantly, the constructions of multiculturalism often referred to how the different cultures still comprise one unified group. This dimension of unity in multiculturalism is not as strongly emphasized in constructions of multiculturalism in other cultures that focus on the appreciation of diversity; and the dimension of unity seems to derive from the national ideology that the discussants refer to explicitly.

⁸ In addition to appreciating the importance of the difference among cultures, the participants also discussed how the cultural differences are the result of traditions that are passed from generation to generation, which is related to one of the subthemes in the definition of culture. We could also see some emphasis placed on cultural inheritance as the process that relates to maintenance of culture. This understanding might reflect the lack of direct experience related to cultural heterogeneity, as preserving culture is seen as occurring without the influence of other cultures—a viewpoint that seems contrary to the underlying concepts of the lay theory of polyculturalism.

3.2.3. Polyculturalism within multiculturalism

There were also responses that seem to express the lay theory of polyculturalism. In one FGD session, a few participants responses represented the subtheme that culture is formed from interactions between individuals from different cultures or inter-ethnic marriages. The following are some examples:

"...Some cultures are also the result of the "atmosphere" of the culture A with a culture B, thus forming a culture C....emerging new culture without leaving the original culture, there was a bit of a mix..." (Islamic University Group 2, Participant I)

"...Culture could arise, for example, from marriage across cultures, the culture could come together or form a new culture ..." (Public University Group 1, Participant F)

"...Because many people interact with other cultural group, like people from overseas with us. This interaction could give rise to a new culture..." (Islamic University Group 2, Participant F)

But most discussions that express ideas that seem to relate to polyculturalism always seem to be expressed within the reference framework of multiculturalism and the Pancasila ideology. Participants kept stressing distinctiveness, thus the second subtheme is that cultures maintain their distinctiveness amid their interactions. The following are some examples participants' statements:

"...Malay comes from the marriage between the Dayak and Javanese culture... then, what yah [Bahasa introjection], culture, each tribe also had their own culture" (Islamic University Group 1, Participant J)

"...Because many people interact with other cultural groups, like people from overseas with us. This interaction is able to arise a new culture. I think the culture is completely different, it can be said... all inherited culture, from generation to generation, have characteristics and become habits. So, every culture is different" (Islamic University Group 2, Participant F)

These statements indicate that even with the interaction with other cultures, the cultures remain distinct and the culture is maintained. The following statement highlights the subtheme of cultural stability or how cultures are difficult to change even with interaction with other cultures:

"...Tradition is a condition that is extremely difficult to change. Although it could be influenced, ...but it takes a very long time to change and it must be very big influence..." (Public University Group 1, Participant E)

Some discussions reflected the subtheme that involves value perceptions of cultural interactions. For example, there were some participants who suggested that foreign cultures could be “filtered” in the interactions with indigenous culture, and in a sense, the interaction is positive as it can result in cultural enrichment:

“...good culture can be adapted, we can imitate the good culture. We must be open to other cultures but also by filtering, not all cultures...” (Public University Group 1, Participant F)

“...The positive side from other cultures may be incorporated into our culture but do not eliminate our indigenous culture...” (Public University Group 1, Participant C)

But there were other participants who had negative perceptions regarding interactions between cultures, expressing the notion of cultural contamination or corruption, where the dominant culture will defeat the non-dominant culture as exemplified in the following:

“...A blend from Batak and Javanese culture... Depending on which is more dominant...” (Public University Group 1, Participant B)

“...Culture enters into a new environment, such as water in a glass that is colored, the water will be changed. When it had to change, it actually corrupted the barrel. It was like giving birth to a new culture...” (Islamic University Group 1, Participant H)

The implication was that in the interaction between cultures, a new emergent culture is actually a reflection of the dominant culture. The dominant culture will persist, while the non-dominant culture will disappear. Also related to that thread were ideas that reflect the fear of losing their identity, which motivates the need to sustain their original culture. We see these in statements that emphasize the need for cultural preservation:

“...As an example, we interact with each other to strengthen our identity, for example, clothing ... maybe “batik” (traditional style of clothing) is a collectively agreed and maintained by everyone, so it will run continuously and passed on to generation to generation...resulting in a culture...” (Islamic University Group 1, Participant F)

From the foregoing examples, it seems that for the participants, there are understandings associated with the interaction among cultures, but these interactions are sometimes viewed negatively particularly as they are perceived as possible threats to maintaining the distinct cultural heritage of different groups. Thus, for the participants of the FGD, the concepts associated with polyculturalism seem to be ancillary to the concepts associated with multiculturalism. This is also evident from the participant's confusion whether the culture is actually different or the same. This confusion can be seen from the following extract:

“...I am still confused about whether cultures are different or the same.... every culture is different, but if one looks more closely, actually they are similar...” (Islamic University Group 1, participant G)

3.2.4. Summary

The results of the FGD revealed that the participants who were university students from a culturally homogeneous society indicated conceptions of culture that strongly reflected concepts related to the lay theory of multiculturalism. More interestingly, not only was there weaker articulation of ideas that relate to the lay theory of polyculturalism, these articulations sometimes problematized intercultural interactions and influence and were often made with direct reference to notions of maintaining cultural distinctiveness which is a core concept of the multicultural lay theory.

The qualitative study suggests that even among individuals who grow in a culturally homogeneous society, there is an understanding of notions of cultural diversity and respect for cultural differences, consistent with the lay theory of multiculturalism. The conceptions associated with cultural differences and respect for cultural diversity, may not derive from frequent actual intercultural interactions in their communities; instead, they seem to derive from indirect contact like mass media, social media, textbooks, and the national government ideology in Indonesia. The influence of the government ideology of Pancasila is most apparent in expressions of unity as an important component of respecting different cultures (see extracts in “multiculturalism” theme). In the next study we clarify how these forms of understanding might be related to each other using a quantitative approach.

4. Study 2

We build on the results of the qualitative data in Study 1 by gathering data using measures of the lay theories of multiculturalism and polyculturalism that have been validated with various Asian (including Indonesian) samples (Bernardo et al., 2016). These measures assess the degree to which participants endorse the two lay theories using a likert scale. First, we study whether responses of participants from Wonosobo would indicate that two lay theories form two distinct factors, which would indicate that these two lay theories represent two distinct ways of understanding culture. In consideration of the findings in Study 1, we then inquire into whether the endorsement of the lay theory of multiculturalism is actually stronger than that of polyculturalism. Finally, we inquire into how the two lay theories relate to Wonosobo participants' attitudes towards Chinese-Indonesians, a well-identified cultural minority group in Indonesian society, but a cultural group that is not represented in Wonosobo district. In consideration of the findings in Study 1, we explore whether belief in multiculturalism will have stronger relationships with stereotyping and empathy towards Chinese-Indonesians compared to polyculturalism. The data in Study 2 could provide quantitative empirical verification for the insights from Study 1 that for the Wonosobo participants, multiculturalism was a stronger lay theory compared to polyculturalism; that is, the quantitative data could show if multiculturalism was actually more strongly endorsed and had stronger quantitative relationships with intergroup attitudes.

First, we discuss our focus on Chinese-Indonesians as the target cultural minority group in this study. The interconnection between Chinese and Indonesian culture can be seen in everyday life. In the Indonesian language, for example, the title “*sunan*” comes from Hokkien word “*suhu*” or “*saihu*” (Sie, 1990). Historically, the Chinese-Indonesians were actively involved in the struggle for Indonesian independence (Setiono, 2008). Yet as Indonesian citizens, the social position of Chinese-Indonesians has always been controversial since the Dutch colonial era. During the colonial period, Chinese-Indonesians were accorded higher status than the indigenous people. For example, there was the policy of the ethnically stratified division of labor in trade wherein international trade was restricted to the Europeans, inter-island trade was allowed for ethnic groups called “Orientals” (*foreign Orientals/vreemde Oosterlingen*), which included Arabs, Indians, and Chinese; indigenous people were only allotted petty trade (Muntholib, 2008). As a consequence, Chinese-Indonesians were perceived as threats by many Indonesian people.

After Indonesian independence, many Indonesians perceive the Chinese-Indonesian to have a low nationalism, as apolitical and asocial, and as being concerned only with their own ethnic group (Kurniawan, 2015). Some sectors of the Indonesian population also accuse Chinese-Indonesians of being communists and threats to the religious identity of Indonesia. In 2016, large demonstrations were held to demand that the government imprison a Chinese-Indonesian Governor of Jakarta (Ahok) for blasphemy of Islam (Ariefana & Hidayat, 2016)—an example of the ongoing sense of threat felt by the Indonesian people. Numerous documents of the tragedy of violence against Chinese-Indonesians in Indonesia since the colonization era until today reveal the persistent hostility against Chinese-Indonesians. Therefore, attitude towards Chinese-

Indonesians is a most relevant construct to explore the implications of lay theories of culture in Wonosobo.

To explore how the lay theories of multiculturalism and polyculturalism related to Wonosobo people's attitudes towards Chinese-Indonesians, we focus on their endorsement of stereotypes and their empathy towards Chinese-Indonesians. We focused only on positive stereotypes in the study; because of the particular sensitivity of the topic in Indonesia during the time of our study, we opted not to include negative stereotypes in our measure.

4.1. Method

4.1.1. Participants

Participants were 264 university students (52.7% were female) from Islamic ($N = 183$ students) and public ($N = 81$ students) universities in Wonosobo. All students were Javanese people. The mean age was 19.05 years ($SD = 1.25$).

4.1.2. Measures

All scales were derived from scales that were originally in *Indonesian*. These were translated by professional translators into Bahasa Indonesia. The Bahasa translations were back-translated into English by a Bahasa-English bilingual psychologist, and another Bahasa-English bilingual psychologist compared and reviewed the translations.

Lay theories of culture (Rosenthal & Levy, 2010). The 10-item scale measures endorsement of polyculturalism (5 items, e.g. "Different cultural groups impact one another, even if members of those cultural groups are not completely aware of the impact") and multiculturalism (5 items, e.g. "All cultures have their own distinct traditions and perspectives"). All items required responses on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree). The scale has been previously used and validated with a sample of Indonesian university students (Bernardo et al., 2016).

4.1.2.1. Positive stereotyping of Chinese-Indonesians. This researcher-constructed scale was developed by first conducting a pilot study involving a separate sample ($N = 291$) of Indonesian university students. The participants in the pilot study were asked to answer an open ended question about what they perceive were characteristics of Chinese-Indonesians and to list these characteristics. After they completed their list, they were asked to categorize each characteristic as negative, positive, or neutral. There were 16 characteristics that were listed by at least 10 of the participants, and consistent with existing theory (e.g., Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), the 16 stereotypes generated included both positive and negative qualities, and also qualities that related to perceptions of warmth and competence. As we wanted to include only positive stereotypes in the study, we included only qualities that were characterized as being positive by at least 51% of those who mentioned the characteristic. Using these criteria, five positive characteristics were selected for the scale: hardworking, diligent, persistent, talented in business, and disciplined. Note that all the positive qualities were related to perceptions of competence, and none were associated with warmth.

For the 5-item scale on positive stereotypes, participants were asked to indicate whether they thought each characteristic represented Chinese-Indonesians using a scale from 1 (does not represent Chinese-Indonesians at all) to 5 (strongly represents Chinese-Indonesians).

4.1.2.2. Empathy towards Chinese-Indonesians scale. The empathy scale was used in previous studies involving different target groups (Bernardo, Levy, & Lytle, 2018) and included six affective terms (e.g., warmth, sympathy). Participants evaluated whether they felt each emotion towards Chinese-Indonesians using a scale of 1 (not at all) to 5 (extremely).

4.1.3. Ethical considerations

The procedures and questionnaire for Study 2 were reviewed and approved by the research ethics review committee of the university that provided the research grant for the study. All participants provided informed consent.

4.2. Result and discussion

4.2.1. Confirmatory Factor Analyses (CFA)

The first objective of Study 2 was to verify whether the two intergroup lay theories of polyculturalism and multiculturalism are distinct forms of lay beliefs representing to distinct latent constructs for the Wonosobo participants, or whether they see these beliefs as being just one construct. We used CFAs to test two models. Model 1 was a one-factor model where all 10 items involving lay theories of culture formed one latent factor, and Model 2 was a two-factor model where multiculturalism and polyculturalism were two latent factors, each with five items. The results in Table 2 showed that Model 1 does not fit the data as the CFI, TLI, and IFI were all below the criterion of .90. Model 2 had a better fit with the data; all the fit indexes in Model 2 indicated adequate fit, except for the TLI. This result indicated that multiculturalism and polyculturalism were understood by the participants as two distinct constructs rather than as a single construct.

4.2.2. Descriptive statistics

Having established the distinctiveness of the two latent factors representing the two lay theories of culture, we computed the relevant descriptive statistics. Mean scale scores were used for each of the key variables, and the results are shown in Table 3. As shown in Table 3, generally, Wonosobo students tend to endorse polyculturalism and multiculturalism as indicated by mean scores that are higher than the midpoint of the 6-point scale; a one-sample *t*-test indicated that these means were significantly higher than 3.50 or the midpoint of the scale: multiculturalism: $t(263) = 49.34, p < .001, 95\%CI[1.43; 1.55]$, polyculturalism: $t(263) = 23.37, p < .001, 95\%CI[0.98; 1.16]$. This result is consistent with earlier studies mostly with samples from the United States (Rosenthal & Levy, 2012; Rosenthal et al., 2015), Asian (Bernardo & Presbitero, 2017; Bernardo et al., 2016) and Latin American (Rosenthal et al., in press) countries. The means also suggest that endorsement of multiculturalism was higher than polyculturalism, and this was confirmed in a *t*-test for related means, $t(263) = 8.92; p < .001, 95\% CI [0.33; 0.52]$. This result seems consistent with Study 1 which indicates stronger articulations of ideas aligned with multiculturalism.

4.2.3. Multiple regression analyses

We then explored how the two lay theories of culture relate to Wonosobo university students' stereotypes about and empathy towards Chinese-Indonesians. To address this objective we carried out two multiple regression analysis; for each regression analysis, either positive stereotype or empathy was regressed on to multiculturalism, polyculturalism, and the interaction term representing the interactive effects of the two lay theories. We included the interaction term in the model because the results of the FGD in Study 1 suggests that the Wonosobo participants' conceptions related to polyculturalism often seemed to be connected to expressions of their understanding of multiculturalism. Including the interaction term would allow us to explore how the endorsement of the two lay theories might be working together. For the interaction term, the

Table 2. Fit indices for the one-factor and two-factor model

	χ^2	df	χ^2/df	CFI	TLI	IFI	RMSEA	90% CI
1-factor model	73.76	30	2.46	.89	.83	.89	.07	[.05, .10]
2-factor model	68.97	31	2.22	.90	.86	.91	.07	[.05, .10]

Table 3. Descriptive statistics and correlations of key variables

Measures	Possible range	M	SD	α	Correlations (r)		
					1	2	3
1. Polyculturalism	1–6	4.57	0.74	.70	-		
2. Multiculturalism	1–6	4.99	0.49	.49	.27**	-	
3. Positive Stereotyping of Chinese-Indonesians	1–5	4.22	0.78	.84	.12*	.19**	-
4. Empathy towards Chinese-Indonesians	1–5	2.89	1.02	.92	-.08	.01	.06

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

scores for multiculturalism and polyculturalism were centered by subtracting each score from the variable mean to reduce the multicollinearity between the main and interaction effects, and also to ensure that the interpretation of the effects would occur at a meaningful value (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003). The entered scores were then multiplied to create the cross-product used as the interaction term (Cohen et al., 2003; Frazier, Tix, & Barron, 2004).

Before conducting the regression analyses, we inspected the intercorrelations among the scales (see Table 3) and found no evidence of multicollinearity between the variables. We noted that the Cronbach α for the multiculturalism scale was not acceptable, suggesting that the scale had poor internal consistency. We examined the individual item statistics to determine if the scale would have improved internal consistency with the removal of one or two items; but the corrected item-total correlations were in the same range of magnitude (.21–.33) and the removal of any item did not result in any improvement in the Cronbach α . In this regard, we chose to include the whole scale scores in the analysis based on the results of the CFA that supported the two-factor structure for all 10 items, and that all 10 items were significant indicators of the two latent factors (see Supplementary Table S1).

For the hierarchical regression analysis, some control variables were entered first step of the analysis: age, sex, whether the participant had a family member working abroad or a family member who was migrating abroad. In the second step, multiculturalism was entered, then polyculturalism was entered in the third step. However, because there was a significant correlations between the two lay theories (see Table 3), we also included a submodel where polyculturalism was entered prior to multiculturalism, thus allowing an independent test of the main effect of polyculturalism. The interaction term was entered in the fourth step.

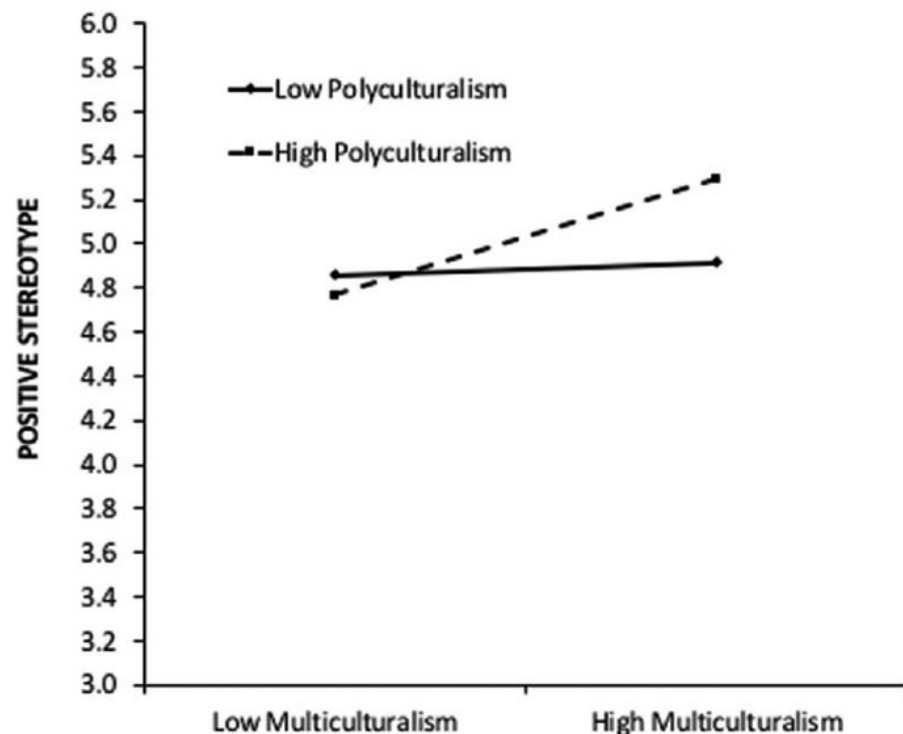
The results are summarized in Table 4. Looking at the regression model for positive Chinese stereotypes, we see that multiculturalism predicted endorsement of the stereotypes, but polyculturalism did not (even when multiculturalism was not included in the regression model). We note that the regression models were not significant until after the interaction term between multiculturalism and polyculturalism was included in the model, and that the interaction term significantly predicted stereotype endorsement. To better understand the interaction, we evaluated the simple slopes using the graphing method recommended by Cohen et al. (2003) using the plotting procedures outlined by Frazier et al. (2004), then doing simple slopes analysis following the Aiken and West (1991). The interaction effect for stereotyping is shown in Figure 1, and simple slopes analysis indicated a significant slope gradient for participant who were high in polyculturalism, $\beta = .34$, $t(242) = 3.73$, $p < .001$, 95%CI[0.25; 0.81], but not for those who were low in polyculturalism, $\beta = .04$, $t(242) = 0.44$, $p = .664$, 95%CI[-0.19; 0.30]. The steeper slope for those high in polyculturalism suggests that belief in polyculturalism enhanced the relationship between

Table 4. Multiple regression analysis

	Positive Stereotyping of Chinese-Indonesians					Empathy towards Chinese- Indonesians				
	Model 1	Model 2a	Model 2b	Model 3	Model 4	Model 1	Model 2a	Model 2b	Model 3	Model 4
	β	β	β	β	β	β	β	β	β	β
Age	-.06	-.08	-.06	-.08	-.07	-.10	-.10	-.10	-.10	-.09
Sex ^a	.03	.03	.03	.03	.03	.07	.07	.07	.07	.06
Family working abroad ^b	-.05	-.02	-.04	-.02	-.02	-.19*	-.19*	-.20*	-.20*	-.19*
Family moving abroad ^b	.04	.04	.02	.03	.04	.04	.04	.05	.05	.05
Multiculturalism		.19**		.17*	.19**		-.02		.00	.02
Polyculturalism			.12	.08	.09			-.08	-.09	-.08
Multi x Poly					.17**					.13*
R ²	.01	.04	.02	.05	.07	.04	.04	.05	.05	.07
F	.38	2.06	1.01	1.96	2.76**	2.76*	2.22	2.58*	2.14	2.47*
df	4, 245	1, 244	1, 244	1, 243	1, 242	4, 245	1, 244	1, 244	1, 243	1, 242
ΔR^2		.03	.02	.01	.03		.01	.00	.00	.02
ΔF		8.75**	3.77	1.43	7.22**		1.80	.09	.05	4.29*

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .0001$, ^aSex: 1 = male, 2 = female; ^bFamily working/moving abroad: 1 = no, 2 = yes

Figure 1. Interactive effects of polyculturalism and multiculturalism on positive stereotypes of Chinese-Indonesians.



multiculturalism and stereotyping. Thus, belief in multiculturalism was associated with stronger stereotyping, and this association is stronger for those who also believe in polyculturalism.

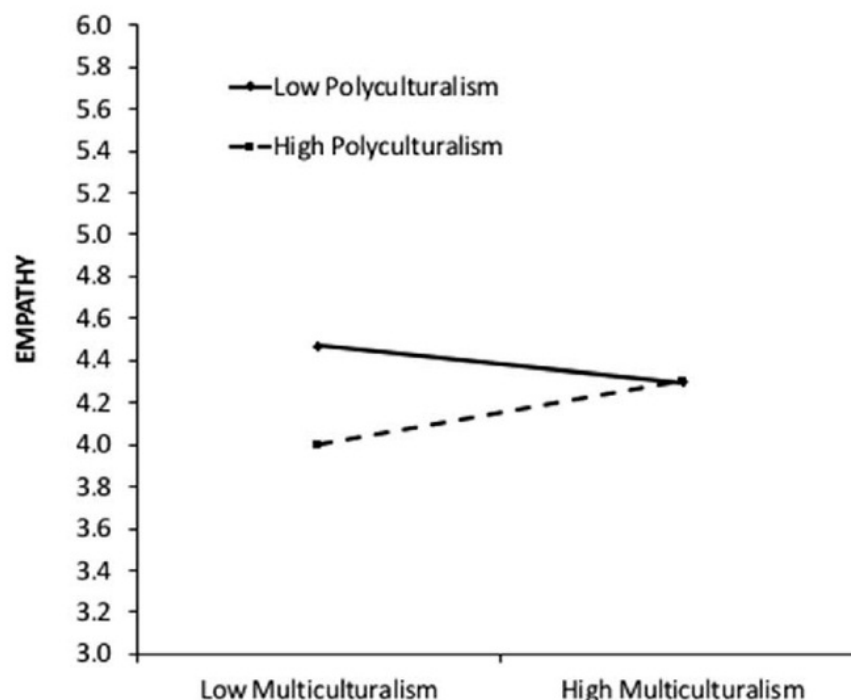
Regarding empathy for Chinese-Indonesians, Table 4 shows that the two lay theories had no main effect, but the interaction effect between multiculturalism and polyculturalism was a significant predictor. The plotted graph of the interaction effect shown in Figure 2 indicates a different effect, but the simple slopes analysis indicated nonsignificant gradients for both high polyculturalism and low polyculturalism participants: high polyculturalism, $\beta = .15$, $t(242) = 1.58$, $p = .115$, 95%CI[-0.74; 0.68]; low polyculturalism, $\beta = -.09$, $t(242) = -1.07$, $p = .287$, 95%CI[-0.51; 0.15]. What the significant interaction effect was picking up was the different directions (one positive, one negative) of the simple effects.

The results of the quantitative study showed that compared to polyculturalism, multiculturalism was more strongly endorsed by the participants, and that multiculturalism had a direct relationship with stereotyping of Chinese-Indonesians. Although, polyculturalism seemed to be a distinct factor in the participants' construction of cultural relations, it did not have a clear and distinct relationship with either stereotyping or empathy towards Chinese-Indonesians. But polyculturalism seemed to have some negative interactive effects with multiculturalism; it intensified the relationship between multiculturalism and stereotyping (even if it is positive stereotyping). These findings that seem to contrast with previous research on polyculturalism are discussed further below.

5. General discussion

This mixed-method study was conducted to explore how people who live in societies that are culturally homogeneous understand lay theories of culture that involve beliefs related to how

Figure 2. Interactive effects of polyculturalism and multiculturalism on empathy for Chinese-Indonesians.



cultures are similar, different, or interconnected. Our participants from Wonosobo live in a region that is a prototype of an Indonesian Muslim community, where the residents rarely encounter people from other ethnic groups, cultures or countries because of the remote location. Our first research question inquired into whether the core assumptions of the two lay theories of culture will be understood and endorsed by the people from Wonosobo. participants' responses to both the qualitative and quantitative parts of our study indicate that they have conceptions of culture that are aligned with the important assumptions of the two lay theories of culture, but more clearly related to the lay theory of multiculturalism and less so with polyculturalism. How can lay theories of culture develop within a society that does not have much actual experience of intercultural contact? We posed a related second question that inquired into the possible relationship of their understanding with the Pancasila ideology. The results suggest that the Indonesian governments' formal socialization of a variant of multiculturalism, or the national Pancasila ideology, makes concepts related to uniqueness and diversity of culture, appreciation of and respect for cultural differences active in the minds of the people, even if they rarely actually encounter people from other cultures in their community. This is consistent with Morris, Menon, and Ames (2001) proposal that social discourses that are prominent in the community are likely to be chronically accessible for members of the community. The strong public socialization of the Pancasila ideology is expressed in the dominance of concepts related to the lay theory of multiculturalism in the FGD results of Study 1, as well as in the stronger endorsement of multiculturalism over polyculturalism in the quantitative survey data of Study 2.

We note that the quantitative results (confirmatory factor analysis) indicate that the participants still distinguished between polyculturalism and multiculturalism as lay theories of culture. Thus, even if the available public discourses do not strongly emphasize the assumptions of the lay theory of polyculturalism, these ideas are available in some of the participants' cognitive representations of culture, but perhaps not as accessible as the ideas related to multiculturalism. Indeed, the FGD

results of Study 1 indicate that the participants reckon with ideas regarding cultural connections and influence with reference to the ideas related to respecting cultural differences. So the qualitative data suggest that notions of mutual cultural influence are less salient in the cognitive representations of the participants who come from a culturally homogeneous society that also has very limited intercultural contact with people from other ethnic groups and countries.

The distinctiveness of the two lay theories is further reflected in how these relate to the participants' attitudes towards a cultural minority group in Indonesian society in Study 2. Belief in multiculturalism was a predictor of positive stereotyping of Chinese-Indonesians, but polyculturalism was not. The result is consistent with previous research on how programs that promote multiculturalism by highlighting the important cultural difference tend to lead to stronger racial and/or cultural stereotyping and bias, even when the differences between groups are presented positively (Chao, Kung, & Yao, 2015; Wolsko et al., 2000). It is possible that emphasizing the cultural difference in multiculturalism is associated with the tendency to essentialize race and/or cultures (Bernardo et al., 2016; Wilton, Apfelbaum, & Good, 2018), and thus, strengthen the premises for stereotyping cultural groups, whether positively or negatively. Note that the participants in Study 2 tended to express the notion that cultures are difficult to change when discussing ideas associated with multiculturalism.

Neither of the lay theories of culture was associated with empathy for the Chinese-Indonesians. It is likely that the absence of actual intergroup contact with Chinese-Indonesian in Wonosobo prevents from developing links between the relevant cognitive and affective processes that relate to empathy. Endorsement of the lay theory of polyculturalism was also not directly related to either intergroup attitude. Consistent with the preceding argument, it is possible that the cognitive propositions associated with polyculturalism are not as relevant in intergroup attitudes of individuals in a society where such intergroup connections are rarely actually experienced in a concrete way. However, there was a significant interaction between multiculturalism and polyculturalism in predicting positive stereotyping; the positive relationship between multiculturalism and stereotyping was stronger among those who had stronger beliefs about polyculturalism. Thus, polyculturalism seemed to enhance the relationship between multiculturalism and stereotyping. Note that we focused only on positive stereotyping because of the particular sensitivity of the topic during the time we were conducting the study; we could only speculate whether the interaction effect would be the same, weaker, or stronger if we had focused on negative stereotyping. There was also a significant interaction between the two lay theories in predicting empathy, but the simple effects were actually nonsignificant.)

We should be careful in interpreting the interacting effect of polyculturalism in Study 2; we can only pose a tentative speculations for this interaction. We consider it possible that the abstract belief about the mutual influence among cultures might heighten the cognitive complexity regarding cultural differences and the call to respect them, similar to what some Study 1 FGD participants expressed. The idea of cultural contact explicit in polyculturalism may represent a specific form of culture mixing that may evoke threats and disruptions to the heritage culture (Cheon, 2018). Previous research has highlighted the exclusionary responses to other cultures when the contact or mixing of cultures is seen as intrusive to the heritage cultures (Shi, Shi, Luo, & Cai, 2016; Torelli, Chiu, Tam, Au, & Keh, 2011). Thus, it is possible that for the Wonosobo people, the belief that cultures are interconnected might evoke exclusionary responses that relate to stronger stereotyping and less empathy with an ethnic minority group in Indonesia. Recall that in, some participants said that interactions among cultures threaten the maintenance of the heritage of some cultural groups.

Thus, in this particular culturally homogeneous community, polyculturalism does not have the positive associations for intergroup relations found in previous studies (Bernardo et al., 2013; Rosenthal & Levy, 2010) which were conducted in communities with higher levels of cultural diversity. But we should underscore that these negative intergroup implications of polyculturalism were observed only when interacting with their level of endorsement of multiculturalism, which

was also reflected in the FGD responses where polyculturalist ideas were typically mentioned only with reference to multiculturalist ideas. This interpretation is purely speculative, and the specific nature of the interaction effects between belief in the two lay theories was not hypothesized in the conceptualization of the quantitative study. This limitation in the scope of the study points to very interesting questions about how the two lay theories of culture may be related to each other in culturally homogeneous societies.

One interesting question relates to the precise implications of endorsement of the two lay theories. Previous studies show both distinct influences of the two lay theories on intergroup attitudes and cognitions (Pedersen et al., 2015; Rosenthal & Levy, 2012), but there have been no published studies that theorize and empirically inquire into the interaction between the two. Future research might provide important clarifications for this open question. In the case of the participants from Wonosobo, the interaction observed is assumed to be between belief in a lay theory that was explicitly socialized in the society/nation and another lay theory that was neither explicitly socialized nor concretely experienced by the participants. Is the interaction associated with the specific nature of the lay theory of polyculturalism as a highly conjectural and intangible concept? Would similar interactions be found if the two lay theories about explicitly socialized or made salient in the dominant social discourses about culture? Would the specific nature of the interaction be different if it was the lay theory of polyculturalism that was the more dominant public discourse regarding culture?

Although such questions are certainly interesting, they are all beyond the current limited scope of the study; the scope being limited to clarifying whether the two lay theories are actually understood as distinct set of cultural conceptions. We should not ignore some other limitations of the study, perhaps foremost of which was that the participants were university students who are not representative of the adult population in Wonosobo. The participants were younger and more educated, which means that they had probably more access to conceptual discourses related to culture and to Pancasila in the formal educational setting and also to portrayals of intercultural contact in mass media and social media. University students, in particular, are likely to access the internet more than the less educated and older adults in Wonosobo, and there is not telling how access and lack of access to the internet can shape people's ideas about culture. The influence of the participants' youth, level of formal education, and access to various forms of mass and social media may relate to the rather conceptual nature of the discussions in Study 1. Although some refer to direct local cultural experiences (e.g., to traditional gimpl hair in Wonosobo culture), they often used examples involving indirect contact experiences when discussing cultural differences (e.g., referring to "Gangnam style songs" in YouTube, or to hieroglyphics, Papuan rituals, and Hinduism which are topics in their school courses). Thus, the sampling of participants in the study is an important limitation to consider, and future research using appropriate methodological approaches should involve a wider range of adult participants in order to gain a fuller sense of how people in culturally homogeneous communities understand intercultural relations.

Another limitation relates to the assumptions regarding how the participants come to acquire concepts related to polyculturalism and multiculturalism. Although the FGD data seem to point to the systematic education regarding the Pancasila ideology as a major source of beliefs related to multiculturalism, we assumed that social discourses regarding interconnections among cultures is absent in the culturally homogeneous Wonosobo society. Yet we did not actually obtain data regarding the individual participants' personal cross-cultural interactions in the survey; indeed it is possible that individual participants may have had specific forms of intercultural contact even in their culturally homogeneous communities, such as overseas travels, having contacts with family or friends who have migrated to other societies, exposure through various mass media or social media as mentioned earlier, among others. Future research that assess the participants' intercultural experiences would truly improve on the study.

As regards the understanding of intercultural experiences in the specific context of Wonosobo, further research could also take Indonesian values (Huwaë & Schaafsma, 2018; Mashuri, Zaduqisti,

& Alroy-Thiberge, 2017), and particularly Javanese values (e.g., Kurniati, Worthington, Poerwandari, Ginanjar, & Dwiwardani, 2017) that might play roles in mediating intergroup conflict and relations among cultural groups. Aside from the broad socialization related to Pancasila, it would also be useful to probe the socialization in families, as the parents' personal constructions of culture and intercultural experiences are likely to also have a profound influence on their children. It is possible that such cultural values and processes might provide more nuance to how intercultural relationships are given meaning in the context of culturally homogeneous communities in Indonesia, and future studies could probe into these culturally embedded socialization processes.

6. Conclusion

This study strengthens previous research about the relationship between the lay theories of polyculturalism and multiculturalism and their consequences for intergroup attitudes. In particular, it provides evidence that the two lay theories are meaningful and that they represent distinct constructs or latent factors even among individuals who grew up in societies where there was hardly any direct contact with other cultures. It also points to how endorsement of one lay theory is strengthened by particular state-sanctioned ideologies supported by different government program people, and how such endorsement impacts on peoples' endorsement of the same lay theory. The results also point to distinct influences of the two lay theories in some forms of intergroup cognitions in Indonesian society, which suggest some possible boundary conditions on the positive intergroup implications of polyculturalism. Finally, the data also points to the need to further clarify how the endorsement of the two lay theories of culture may interact with each other in ways that evoke diverse sets of intergroup responses.

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Competing Interests

The authors declare no competing interest.

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Supplementary material

Supplemental data for this article can be accessed here.

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Citation information

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