SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF GLOBALIZATION: JOINT ACTIVATION OF CULTURES AND REACTIONS TO FOREIGN CULTURAL INFLUENCE

BY

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DISSERTATION
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ABSTRACT

Globalization has resulted in experiential compression of time and space—people are often exposed to local and foreign cultural symbols simultaneously. Psychological consequences of this kind of cultural exposure (termed bicultural priming) remained largely unexplored. This research examines how bicultural priming influences individuals’ reactions to foreign cultures. Recent research suggests that bicultural priming highlights cultural differences and the belief that cultures are incompatible. I propose that people are motivated to resist influence from a dissimilar culture when they are concerned with the continuity of their culture. Thus, to protect the vitality of their culture, people under bicultural priming and are concerned about cultural erosion are likely to resist a foreign business that is perceived to be a source of foreign cultural influence. I tested and found support for these hypotheses in 3 experiments. Study 1 showed that Chinese had a higher level of chronic cultural erosion concern than Americans. Under bicultural priming, Chinese were more likely than Americans to resist a foreign company that was perceived to be an agent of cultural influence. Study 2 showed that Americans showed the same pattern of result as the Chinese participants did when the concern with cultural erosion was experimentally heightened. Study 3 showed that affirming cultural continuity or the continuity of one’s personal values reduces this effect. These results showed that cultural continuity concern triggers negative reactions to foreign cultures in a culturally mixed environment.
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I. INTRODUCTION

The torching of Benetton in Iran (Nasseri & Mulier, 2009); the demolition of McDonald’s in France (Lichfield, 2000); and the exclusion of Starbucks in the Imperial Palace Museum in Beijing, China (Watts, 2007). These are some examples of exclusionary reactions to cultural influence from global companies. Some writers have warned that the advance of globalization inevitably sharpens the perceived cultural differences and intensifies intercultural conflicts (Barber, 1996). In many countries, including developed countries, the perceived cultural erosive effects of global capitalism have evoked the fear of cultural contamination. For example, ethnographic research (e.g., Thompson & Arsel, 2004) reveals that people in some American metropolises are concerned that the dominance of global brands (e.g., Starbucks) will destroy local cultures (e.g., local coffee culture). The rise of new global economic powers (e.g., China) has also led some American writers to anticipate clashes of civilizations on American soil (Huntington, 1996). In developing countries, worries over the increasing hegemonic influence of global capitalism have led to both organized efforts (e.g., W.T.O. anti-globalization protests) and spontaneous reactions (e.g., complaints against the presence of global businesses in cultural heritage sites) that aim to contain and resist global cultural influences (Barber, 1996).

Culturally motivated resistance to foreign businesses could be mild or extreme; they could also be peaceful or violent. Sometimes, these reactions could lead to concerted efforts to protect and preserve vulnerable local cultural heritages. However, such reactions could also lead to nationalistic, parochial, and exclusionary behaviors that hinder intercultural understanding, learning and collaboration. The objective of the present investigation is not to evaluate these reactions, but to understand their social psychological triggers.

Aside from its obvious practical implications for understanding intercultural relations in
increasingly globalized environments, research into this topic will point to new directions in the psychological analysis of cultural processes. First, cross-cultural and cultural psychology has revealed many interesting national differences in behaviors (Lehman, Chiu, & Schaller, 2004) but has not thoroughly examined lay people’s psychological reactions to the cultural implications of intercultural contacts. Second, research on cultural processes has shown that incidental exposure to (or priming of) a culture or cultural construct can affect a wide variety of cognitive processes and behaviors (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000; Oyserman & Lee, 2007). Nonetheless, little is known about the psychological consequences of increasing the perceiver’s awareness of cultural contrasts, which often happens in culturally mixed environments. As Giddens (1985) notes, globalization has resulted in experiential compression of time and space. In culturally mixed environments, people are often exposed to symbolic elements of contrastive cultures (e.g., modern and traditional culture, local and global culture, Asian and Western cultures) simultaneously, and psychological research has just begun to reveal some intricate cognitive consequences of such exposure (see below; Chiu, Mallorie, Keh, & Law, 2009). Third, research on intercultural relations has focused on the acculturation stress of individuals who move to new cultural environments (e.g., Berry, 1997), but has not systematically explored how individuals react to infusion of foreign cultural ideas. Finally, research inspired by social identity theory and terror management theory has shown that threats to the continuity of an ingroup cultural tradition could lead to derogation of outgroup cultures (Rosenblatt, Greenberg, Solomon, Pyszczynski, & Lyon, 1989; Tajfel, 1982; Turner, 1981). Nonetheless, little is known about the joint influence of cultural threats and perceptual salience of cultural contrasts.

Research on the social psychological triggers of culturally motivated resistance of foreign businesses integrates these seemingly disparate research traditions. As an example, consider the
case of Starbucks at the Beijing’s Imperial Palace Museum. In January 2007, Chenggang Rui, who at the time was the director and anchor of a prime-time daily business show on Chinese Central Television (CCTV) International, expressed on his blog strong negative sentiments toward the Starbucks at Beijing’s Palace Museum (Rui, 2007). In an article titled “Why Starbucks needs to get out of the Forbidden City?” he argued that Starbucks inside the Beijing’s Imperial Palace Museum was trampling Chinese culture and should be removed from the museum. Within half of a year since its publication, Rui’s article has attracted more than half a million readers and more than 2700 commentaries, most of which supported Rui’s position. In July 2007, Starbucks closed its shop in the Forbidden City.

Rui’s resistance to Starbucks in the Imperial Palace Museum was not driven by xenophobia or generalized hostility toward Starbucks. CCTV International is an English-language news channel, which specializes in broadcasting world news both within China and around the world. As a director and news anchor at CCTV International, Rui has extensive exposure to foreign cultures. Besides, Rui himself admitted that he personally liked Starbucks coffee. In fact, the business of Starbucks has flourished in many Chinese cities since the opening of its first café in Beijing in 1999. Today, there are more than 230 Starbucks cafés in Mainland China.

Rui’s objection to the Starbucks coffee in the Imperial Palace Museum was culturally motivated. In his own words, “The Forbidden City is a symbol of China’s cultural heritage. Starbucks is a symbol of lower middle class culture in the west. We need to embrace the world, but we also need to preserve our cultural identity. There is a fine line between globalization and contamination…. But please don’t interpret this as an act of nationalism. It is just about we Chinese people respecting ourselves. I actually like drinking Starbucks coffee. I am just against
having one in the Forbidden City.” This quote highlights three conditions that might have motivated Rui’s objection to the Starbucks in the Forbidden City: (a) Starbucks is seen as a symbol of Western (global) culture and the Forbidden City a symbol of Chinese culture; (b) the presence of both symbols in the same space (bicultural priming) enhances the perceived incompatibility of the two cultures; and (c) the penetration of global culture into a symbolic Chinese cultural space evokes fear of cultural erosion and threatens the continuity of the local cultural tradition. Together, these three conditions heighten the need to preserve the Chinese cultural identity and resist influence from foreign cultures.

The above observations suggest that bicultural priming and cultural continuity concern are two important controlling factors of motivated resistance to cultural influence from global businesses. Here bicultural priming refers to priming local and foreign culture at the same time, which is expected to increase the salience of both cultures and their essential qualities, and hence the tendency to use cultural differences as the perceptual schema to organize perceptions (Chiu et al., 2009). I hypothesize that exclusionary cultural reactions would be most likely to occur when individuals are under the joint influence of bicultural priming and cultural continuity concern: When cultural continuity concern is high, enhanced perceived cultural incompatibility through bicultural priming will fuel exclusionary cultural reactions. Although bicultural priming increases the salience of cultural incompatibility, such perceptual salience alone does not always lead to exclusionary cultural reactions. In fact, in the absence of cultural continuity threat, bicultural priming, which increases perceived dissimilarity of foreign culture, may increase people’s eagerness to acquire novel ideas from foreign cultures (Leung & Chiu, in press). Furthermore, cultural continuity concern would not lead to increased exclusionary cultural reactions unless people perceive foreign culture to be incompatible with local culture. This
hypothesis is consistent with my analysis of Starbucks example described above. In addition, it combines insights from several major theories of intercultural relations, including social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982; Turner, 1981), terror management theory (Rosenblatt, Greenberg, Solomon, Pyszczynski, & Lyon, 1989), theory of epistemic security (Chiu, Morris, Hong, & Menon, 2000), and theory of bicultural priming (Chiu & Cheng, 2007; Chiu et al., 2009). According to some of these theories, culture addresses important psychological needs of the individual. For instance, individuals strive to maintain the continuity of their culture as a way to defend their valued identity, manage existential anxiety, and reduce epistemic uncertainty. As a result, people are motivated to protect the continuity of their culture. The bicultural priming theory further posits that bicultural priming draws attention to cultural differences and highlights incompatibility between cultures. Thus, when the concern for cultural continuity is high, enhanced perceived cultural incompatibility through bicultural priming will fuel exclusionary cultural reactions as a way to protect the local culture from foreign cultural influence.

Overview of the Dissertation

In this dissertation, I first flesh out my hypothesis by reviewing the pertinent literature on the role of cultural continuity threats in predicting exclusionary cultural reactions, drawing insights from the literature on social identity, terror management, and epistemic function of culture (Chapter II). Next, I review the culture priming literature and discuss the basic cognitive principles underlying monocultural and bicultural priming (Chapter III). I report three experiments that were conducted to test my hypotheses. Results showed that bicultural priming increased the likelihood of exclusionary cultural reactions only when cultural continuity concern was chronically high (Study 1) or was experimentally heightened (Study 2). To further verify the
role of cultural continuity threats in predicting exclusionary cultural reactions, the last study (Study 3) showed that affirming cultural continuity and/or continuity of personal values reduced the magnitude of exclusionary cultural reactions. Finally, I discuss the theoretical and practical implications of these findings.
II. REACTIONS TO CULTURAL CONTINUITY THREATS

In this chapter, I argue that although people may have both warm reception and hostile resistance to foreign cultural influences, the presence of cultural continuity threat often motivates attempts to preserve the integrity of the local cultural tradition by restricting the extent of foreign cultural influence. This argument is consistent with the predictions of social identity theory, terror management theory, and a recent theory regarding the epistemic function of culture. In this chapter, I first review the possible reactions to foreign cultural influences. Next, I will review pertinent theories that link cultural continuity threats to exclusionary reactions to foreign culture. In the next chapter, I will explain how cultural continuity threats and bicultural priming jointly determine the likelihood of exclusionary reactions.

II.1 Possible Reactions to Foreign Cultural Influences

Sometimes people welcome foreign cultures and try to learn from them (Leung, Maddux, Galinsky, & Chiu, 2008). Sometimes they resist influence from foreign cultures. In this section, I review the several possible reactions when local culture meets foreign culture.

Multicultural Learning

Multicultural learning may occur when individuals encounter foreign cultural ideas and practices that challenge the conventional ideas and practices in the local culture. Encounters with dissimilar cultures can destabilize routinized responses and sometimes lead to acquisition of new knowledge about other cultures (Maddux, Adam, & Galinsky, 2010). Maddux and Galinsky (2009) illustrate the process of multicultural learning with this example of dinning etiquette: leaving food on the plate at the end of dinner is considered rude in the United States but a gesture
of respect in some cultures such as China. Imagine that when a person from the United States dines with a group of Chinese colleagues. Noticing that the Chinese guests have left some food on the plate at the end of dinner would at first be a cultural shock to the American host, who may subsequently reflect on the cultural assumption in the U.S. and learn that the same act could be interpreted differently in other cultures. This learning experience interrupts and destabilizes a routinized cognitive response. The multicultural learning process completes when the American host connects having leftover on the plate with signaling respect and gratitude, obtaining new insights into interpersonal relations in Chinese culture.

At least for some individuals, exposure to dissimilar cultures can also enhance creative performance through synthesizing ideas originated from the dissimilar cultures with existing knowledge (Leung & Chiu, 2008; Leung, Maddux, Galinsky, & Chiu, 2008). Consistent with this idea, Maddux and colleagues (Maddux & Galinsky, 2009; Maddux et al., 2010) found that recalling a multicultural learning experience can help participants overcome functional fixedness, discover underlying connections, and solve problem in multiple ways. For example, in one study, Maddux et al. (2010) found that participants who recalled a multicultural learning experience performed better on the remote association task (which requires discovering underlying connections of word triads) than those who recalled an experience of learning from one’s own culture. In another study (Leung & Chiu, in press), European American undergraduates with little knowledge of Chinese culture completed two creativity tasks after being exposed to images of one culture (American or Chinese culture) or two cultures (American and Chinese culture simultaneously). Neither creativity task requires knowledge of American or Chinese culture. Participants in the bicultural priming condition performed better on the creativity task compared to those in the two monocultural priming conditions. There was a fourth
control group in the study in which the participants did not receive any cultural priming. Performance in the bicultural priming condition was significantly better than performance in the control condition, but performance in the two monocultural priming conditions was not. This finding is particularly important; it shows that bicultural priming does not always lead to exclusionary reactions. According to Leung and Chiu (in press), bicultural priming enhances perceived cultural contrast. When individuals are motivated to learn from a dissimilar culture, bicultural priming draws their attention to cultural differences and facilitates creative synthesis of seemingly incompatible ideas. I will return to this finding in the next chapter.

In short, mere exposure to foreign culture or bicultural priming does not always lead to exclusionary reactions to foreign cultures. For example, although bicultural priming enhances perceived differences or incompatibility between cultures, individuals who are more motivated to learn from dissimilar cultures can derive greater creative benefits from the perceptual contrast. In line with this argument, the novelist Richard Stern had commented on the particular importance of noticing cultural differences for a creative mindset: “Once I went [abroad] it was extremely exciting for me to become a new personality, to be detached from everything that bound me, noticing everything that was different. That noticing of difference was very important. How things were said that were different, the different formulas… So being abroad has been very important.” (quoted in Csikszentmihalyi, 1996, p. 129)

Resistance and Rejection

Despite the potential benefits of multicultural learning, people sometimes react to foreign culture not with a cultural learning mindset, but with resistance and rejection. They perceive foreign ideas and practices as threats to the integrity of the local culture, particularly when these
ideas and practices are becoming popular and may replace the local ones (Pickowicz, 1991). Indeed, several influential theories in social psychology predict that perceived cultural continuity threat is a trigger of exclusionary reactions. These theories include social identity theory, terror management theory and theory of the epistemic function of culture.

II.2 Existing Theoretical Perspectives on Resistance to Foreign Cultural Influence

*Social Identity Theory*

According to the social identity theory, individuals derive self-esteem from the positive distinctiveness of the social groups they belong to. Consequently, when a social identity is salient, people strive to enhance the positive characteristics of the ingroup and derogate the outgroups (Tajfel, 1974, 1982; Turner, 1981). For example, research on social linguistics has shown that individuals use speech divergence as a strategy to maintain the distinctiveness of their group identity (Bourhis, Giles, Leyens, & Tajfel, 1979; Giles, 1977; Giles & Johnson, 1981; Hogg & Abrams, 1988). During a conversation, people usually minimize their distinctive linguistic styles (e.g., accents) to promote psychological convergence with the communication partners (Giles & Smith, 1979; Giles, Taylor, & Bourhis, 1973; Levin & Lin, 1988). However, when individuals from groups with unequal social status interact, members of the higher status tend to display speech divergence, emphasizing the distinctive linguistic styles of the their group to maintain positive group distinctiveness.

More importantly, when the vitality of the ingroup is threatened, individuals strive to defend their ingroup as means to protect their potential loss of self-esteem (Sedikides & Gregg, 2008). Indeed, there is ample evidence that when a social identity is threatened, individuals affirm their identity by making ingroup-favoring attributions (e.g., Islam & Hewstone, 1993),
outcome allocation (e.g., Otten, Mummendey, & Blanz, 1996), and trait evaluations (Bettencourt, Charlton, & Kernahan, 1997). Individuals may also defend their group identity by endorsing the normative values of the ingroup more strongly. In one study, Jetten, Postmes, and McAuliffe (2002) told the psychology students at the University of Amsterdam that their academic achievement was worse (vs. better) than their peers at other universities. This manipulation threatened positive distinctiveness of the students at the University of Amsterdam. Next, the researchers manipulated the participants’ belief of their fellow students’ normative values. Results showed that participants increased their endorsement of the perceived ingroup values only following a group identity threat. When their ingroup positive distinctiveness was threatened, they increased their endorsement of collectivist (individualist) values if they were led to perceive that the normative values of the ingroup were collectivist (individualist). Of even greater relevance to my argument is a classic study conducted in the U.K. with participants of Welsh origin (Bourhis & Giles, 1977). During the experiment, these participants overheard unfriendly comments on the vitality of the Welch language. Those who valued the Welch identity affirmed it by speaking with a heavily Welch-accented English.

In short, social identity theory implies that when individuals feel that their local culture is threatened, they will defend the vitality of the culture. As a result, they are more likely to resist infiltration of foreign culture and limit the extent of foreign cultural influence in the local culture.

**Terror Management Theory**

Terror management theory also predicts that a threat to the continuity of one’s culture can trigger defensive, exclusionary reactions to foreign cultural influence. The theory posits that culture provides a buffer for managing existential anxiety. According to the theory (Greenberg,
Solomon, & Pyszczynski, 1997), human beings have the unique cognitive ability to conceptualize death (Arndt, Soloman, Kasser, & Sheldon, 2004; Sedikides & Skowronska, 1997), and the awareness of mortality is the ultimate anxiety that human beings need to manage. One way to deal with existential anxiety is to believe that one can acquire symbolic immortality by becoming a valued member of a culture: Although one’s physical self will perish, knowing that one’s culture will live on help assuage the existential terror.

Thus, individuals have an existential reason to protect the vitality of their culture (Becker, 1973; Greenberg et al., 1990; Rosenblatt, Greenberg, Solomon, Pyszczynski, & Lyon, 1989). When the thought of mortality is made salient, they become less tolerant of people who violate or attack the dominant worldview in their culture. This hypothesis has received strong empirical support (Burke, Martens, & Faucher, 2010). For instance, when reminded of their own mortality, American participants administered tougher punishment to a prostitute (e.g., Rosenblatt et al., 1989), rated an author with anti-American views more negatively (e.g., Arndt, Greenberg, Pyszcznski, & Solomon, 1997), reduced commitment to romantic partners with different cultural worldviews (Strachman & Schimel, 2006), and administered a particularly large amount of hot sauce to a target who disparaged their political views (McGregor et al., 1998).

**Epistemic Functions of Culture**

Chiu, Hong, and Leung (in press, p.2) define culture as “a constellation of loosely organized ideas and practices that are shared (albeit imperfectly) among a collection of interdependent individuals and transmitted across generations for the purpose of coordinating individual goal pursuits in collective living.” As suggested in this definition, the two defining features of a culture are sharedness and continuity. Unlike family traditions (which have a
history but not widely shared) or fads (which are widely shared but temporal), a culture is a knowledge network that is shared by a large group of individuals and is transmitted to new generations (Chiu & Liu, in press). These two defining properties of culture render culture a useful tool for addressing individuals epistemic needs.

Specifically, sharedness confers consensual validity and continuity confers stability. Thus, by virtue of its sharedness and continuity, culture as a network of consensually validated and stable knowledge confers a sense of epistemic security (Chiu et al., 2000; Fu et al., 2007). Consistent with this idea, research has shown that making salient the need for epistemic security increases conformity to cultural norms. For instance, when asked to explain an ambiguous event, people are more likely to display the attribution style typical in their culture—collectivists are more likely to reference dispositions of the group, whereas individualists are more likely to reference dispositions of the individual (Chiu et al., 2000; Menon, Morris, Chiu, & Hong, 1999). Thus, people have an epistemic reason to protect the continuity of their culture. When the continuity of their culture is threatened, people are motivated to protect it from the erosive effects of foreign cultures.

II.3 Summary

In summary, multicultural experiences could lead to warm reception of or exclusionary reactions to foreign cultures. Because culture serves important identity, existential, and epistemic functions, perceived threats to the continuity of one’s own culture should increase the likelihood of displaying exclusionary reactions to foreign culture. However, cultural continuity threat is unlikely to trigger indiscriminate rejection of foreign cultures. As I will argue in the next chapter, when people are motivated to protect the local culture, they would resist influence from a culture
that is perceived to be incompatible with the local culture. Bicultural priming, which enhances the perceived incompatibility of cultures, will play an important role in predicting the likelihood of exhibiting exclusionary reactions.
III. EFFECTS OF BICULTURAL PRIMING

In the last chapter, I argued that concern over the continuity of the local culture is a contributing factor to exclusionary reactions to foreign cultures. In this chapter, I further propose that both bicultural priming and cultural continuity concern are important for predicting exclusionary cultural reactions. Priming local and foreign culture at the same time increases the salience of both cultures and their essential qualities, and hence the tendency to view cultures as incompatible with each other (Chiu et al., 2009). For example, Chiu et al. (2009) show that compared to priming local or foreign culture only, bicultural priming makes people feel that local and foreign cultures are less compatible with each other. As mentioned in the previous chapter, enhanced perceived cultural incompatibility would not lead to exclusionary reactions unless the individuals are concerned with the continuity of the local culture. Likewise, cultural continuity concern would not lead to increased exclusionary cultural reactions unless people perceive the foreign culture to be incompatible with the local culture. However, when cultural continuity concern is high, enhanced perceived cultural incompatibility through bicultural priming will fuel exclusionary cultural reactions.

According to this line of reasoning, exclusionary cultural reactions would be most likely to occur when individuals are under the joint influence of bicultural priming and cultural continuity concern. Thus, I hypothesize an interaction effect of bicultural priming and cultural continuity concern on exclusionary cultural reactions. To explicate the rationale of this hypothesis, I review the basic principles of monocultural and bicultural priming below.

III.1 Monocultural and Bicultural Priming

In relatively homogeneous cultural environment, presence of symbols of the dominant
culture activates its consensual norms, values, or beliefs, and hence their attendant psychological reactions. As globalization proceeds, multicultural spaces are created, where people are likely to encounter symbols from both local and foreign cultures (Chiu et al., 2009). As a first attempt to investigate reactions to foreign cultures in culturally mixed environments, I focus on the following cultural situations: At any given time, the perceivers may be exposed to symbols of the local or foreign culture (monocultural priming), or symbols of the local and foreign cultures simultaneously (bicultural priming).

III. 2 Basic Principles of Monocultural Priming

As mentioned in the last chapter, culture is a constellation of knowledge. Like other knowledge representations, the application of cultural knowledge follows the basic principles of knowledge activation (Chiu & Hong, 2007; Higgins, 1996; Wyer & Srull, 1986), including the principles of availability, accessibility, and applicability.

Availability

The availability principle posits that a knowledge item must be available in an individual’s memory before it can be applied. There are many ways one can acquire cultural knowledge. From a young age, people are continuously enculturated to accept the shared axiomatic assumptions for sense making (cultural beliefs), socially desirable life goals (cultural values), behavioral constraints in various situations (cultural norms), as well as numerous practices in their culture. Living in foreign cultures affords opportunities to learn the beliefs, values, norms, and practices in the foreign cultures. For example, Heine and Lehman (2004) found that Japanese visiting Canada acquire the consensual cognitive style of the Canadian
culture. They learned to value self-esteem in as few as seven months. Learned cultural knowledge is cognitively available to the perceivers, and will impact behavior when it is cognitively accessible and applicable.

Accessibility and Culture Priming

Among the cognitively available cultural knowledge items that are stored in memory, those that are frequently or recently used are cognitively accessible; they are more likely to be activated than other knowledge items. Some frequently used items may become chronically accessible and are ready for use without situational cues. Because knowledge items are organized in the form of a network, those that are not chronically accessible can be made accessible by spread of activation when a related concept is activated. For example, seeing pictures of the Chinese dragon and other Chinese cultural icons can activate concepts that are cognitively associated with Chinese culture. This effect is commonly referred to as culture priming (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martinez, 2000). Culture priming has been illustrated in studies with bicultural individuals, who have knowledge of American and Chinese cultures available in their mind. In these studies (Hong et al., 2000), American-Chinese bicultural participants were presented with a picture of a fish swimming in front of a group of fish and were asked to explain why one fish was swimming in front of the group. Prior research has established that people from American culture tend to make internal attribution (e.g., “the fish is leading the other fish.”) whereas people from the Chinese culture tend to make external attribution (e.g., “the one fish is chased by the other fish.”; Morris & Peng, 1994). Results showed that exposure to Chinese cultural icons led bicultural participants to make more situational attributions and fewer dispositional attributions, whereas exposure to American cultural icons led the same individuals
to make more dispositional attributions and fewer situation attributions. These results illustrate that viewing images of Chinese or American cultural icons activates the cultural knowledge (in this case, attribution preference) associated with the primed culture.

**Applicability**

Among the cognitively accessible cultural knowledge items, only a small subset is relevant to making behavioral decisions in the current situation. The applicability principle states that only those that are relevant would be applied (Hong, Benet-Martinez, Chiu, & Morris, 2003; Hong et al., 2000; Wong & Hong, 2005). Take Chinese culture priming as an example. Viewing Chinese cultural icons increases the accessibility of many Chinese cultural knowledge items. However, only those that are relevant to guide attribution would be recruited for use when the task asks for causal interpretation of a stimulus event. Other cultural knowledge items, such as display rules of emotions, would not be used even if they are accessible. Hong et al. (2003) illustrated this principle in two experiments with bicultural individuals. Previous research has showed that people from Chinese culture typically believe in group agency more than do people from American culture. As a consequence, Chinese tend to interpret an ambiguous event as influenced by groups whereas Americans tend to interpret the same event as influenced by individuals. The accessibility principle predicts that culture priming will change the way bicultural individuals interpret social events. Thus, priming American-Chinese bicultural individuals with American (Chinese) should lower (increase) the accessibility of the group agency belief. However, group agency belief is only relevant for interpreting events that involve individual-group relations. Thus, the group agency belief would not be applicable if the stimulus event does not involve any individual-group contrast. Hong et al. (2003) tested the prediction
derived from the applicability principle in an experiment. In this experiment, American-Chinese bicultural participants were asked to interpret pictures of a fish swimming in front of a few fish. In the high contrast condition, the fish in front was in one color and the remaining fish shared a different color. This manipulation highlighted the individual-group contrast. In the low contrast condition, each fish in the picture had a different color so the individual-group contrast was reduced. As expected, cultural priming effect was observed in the high contrast condition only.

**Monocultural Priming Effects: A Summary of Basic Principles**

The basic principles of knowledge activation make precise predictions regarding how monocultural priming would influence reaction to foreign cultural influence. When people are primed with their own culture, the culturally typical beliefs of intercultural relation become accessible, guiding subsequent intercultural judgments. In contrast, most people do not know the popular intercultural belief in an outgroup culture. Thus, according to the availability principle, priming an outgroup culture are unlikely to influence intercultural judgments and reactions to foreign cultures.

Furthermore, a foreign company investing locally can be seen as a cultural influence agent or simply a business venture without any cultural agenda. According to the principle of applicability, if individuals perceive the company to be an agent of cultural influence, intercultural belief made accessible by ingroup culture priming would guide reactions to that company. However, if the company is perceived to be a business that does not have a cultural agenda, the primed intercultural belief is non-applicable even if it is available and accessible. That is, ingroup culture priming influences reactions to a foreign company only when the company is perceived to have the intention to spread its culture on local soil.
In sum, I predict that priming an ingroup culture would lead to reactions to a foreign company that are consistent with the mainstream intercultural belief in the primed culture only when the company is perceived to be an agent of cultural influence. Because different cultures have different intercultural beliefs, ingroup culture priming would produce different effects for people from different cultural backgrounds. I also predict that monocultural priming would not have any effect if the primed culture is an outgroup culture or if the foreign company is not perceived to have a cultural agenda.

III. 3 Effects of Bicultural Priming

As a result of globalization, symbols of one’s own culture and other cultures often occupy the same space at the same time. Unlike the situation investigated in most culture priming research (e.g., Hong et al., 2000), exposure to symbols of multiple cultures activates not only one, but two or more cultural representations at the same time. Past research has found some distinctive effects of bicultural priming that are dissimilar from the effects of monocultural priming.

Specifically, bicultural priming draws attention to cultural difference, resulting in the expectation that cultures are discrete entities with relatively impermeable boundaries. Research on behavioral decision-making has consistently shown that seeing options side-by-side leads to a decision process that is qualitatively different from seeing options serially. When options are presented and evaluated side-by-side (joint evaluation), decision makers attend to the options’ common aspects and contrast the options along those aspects (Hsee, 1996). In contrast, when options are presented serially, decision makers are more likely to evaluate both the unique and common aspects of each option. Thus, joint evaluation tends to draw attention to contrastive
dimensions and make salient aspects that can meaningfully differentiate the options (Hsee & Leclerc, 1998; Hsee, Loewenstein, Blount, & Bazerman, 1999).

Recent research on self-regulation provides further evidence that presenting items side-by-side draws attention to the contrast between the two items. Fishbach and Zhang (2008) showed that when healthy and unhealthy foods are presented side-by-side, participants’ attention was drawn to the competing relation between the two items. Thus, participants perceived healthy food to be more healthy and unhealthy food more unhealthy when the two kinds of food are placed side-by-side than when they are presented separately. This finding shows that simultaneous presentation of dissimilar options increases the perceived incompatibility of the options.

The above findings give rise to the possibility that bicultural priming draws attention to cultural differences and leads to the perception that dissimilar cultures are incompatible systems. Consistent with this possibility, Torelli et al. (2010) found that compared to showing American participants with culture-neutral products that carried prototypic British brand names (monocultural priming), showing American participants iconic Mexican products that carry British brand names (bicultural priming) activated representations of Mexican and British cultures at the same time and increased perceived differences between cultures. Note that the effect emerged even when the target cultures are not the primed cultures. Torelli et al showed that after having been primed with iconic Mexican products with British brand names, participants perceived greater differences between Canadian and Puerto Rican cultures.

Other studies have also shown that bicultural priming promotes essentialist belief of cultures. Chiu et al. (2009) found that bicultural priming increases the tendency to project culture-typical characteristics to fellow members of their own culture. In their study, American
participants viewed a Chinese advertisement and an American advertisement placed next to each other. Then, the participants were asked to estimate how a fellow student would respond to an attribution task. As mentioned earlier, people with American cultural background tend to make internal attribution. The results showed that, the participants in the bicultural priming condition were more likely to believe that a fellow American student would make the culturally typical internal attribution. Likewise, Torelli et al. (2010) showed that, under the influence of bicultural priming, people are more likely to believe that a person who endorses a typical Chinese cultural value would not endorse typical American cultural values, and that a person who endorses a typical American cultural value would not endorse typical Chinese cultural values.

III.4 Joint Effects of Bicultural Priming and Cultural Continuity Concern

If bicultural priming draws attention to cultural difference and promotes an essentialist conception of culture, it should influence perceptions of the cultural impact of foreign businesses. Under the influence of bicultural priming, people are likely to attribute distinctive, essential qualities to their own culture and foreign cultures, and perceive the local culture to be very different from the foreign cultures. As mentioned in the previous chapter, increased sensitivity to cultural differences and incompatibility following bicultural priming does not always lead to exclusionary reactions to foreign culture. Sometimes, this may even enhance intercultural learning and creativity (Leung & Chiu, in press). When a foreign business is perceived to be an active carrier of foreign cultural influence, and when the fear of cultural erosion is heightened in the situation, increased sensitivity to cultural differences and incompatibility following bicultural priming may lead to the fear that the infiltration of an incompatible foreign culture into the local environment would undermine the vitality of local
culture. This fear may then motivate exclusionary reactions to limit the cultural influence of the foreign business. Thus, I predict that bicultural priming would lead to negative reactions to foreign business when people have salient concern over continuity of the local culture and when the foreign business is perceived to be an agent of cultural influence.

III.5 Managing Exclusionary Cultural Reactions

The above analysis suggests that exclusionary cultural reactions could be managed by addressing people’s concern over the continuity of their local culture. If the goal behind exclusionary cultural reactions is to preserve local culture, and cultural continuity concern is a critical contributing factor to such reactions, assuaging this concern by assuring people of the continued vitality of their local culture should lower the likelihood of exhibiting exclusionary cultural reactions.

In addition, as argued in Chapter II, people are motivated to preserve their local culture because it confers important psychological benefits to the self—it addresses the need for self-identity, buffers existential anxiety, and provides epistemic security. Previous research has shown that self-affirmation is an alternative way to satisfy epistemic, identity, and existential needs and to mitigate the potential effects of threats to self-identity, as well as threats to epistemic and existential security. For example, Schmeichel and Martens (2005) reported that affirming one’s important life values can reduce accessibility of mortality thought and hostility toward worldview violators. Accordingly, providing people with the opportunity to affirm the importance and vigor of their life values should also reduce the likelihood of exclusionary cultural reactions.
III.6 Overview of Studies

The present research seeks to understand why individuals reject foreign businesses because of their potential cultural influence. I propose that when people are concerned with the continuity of the local culture, they are motivated to preserve the local culture. I also propose that bicultural priming highlights cultural differences and the belief that cultures are incompatible. Thus, under bicultural priming, people are likely to resist the cultural influence from foreign businesses as a way to prevent erosion of the local culture.

I tested these hypotheses in three experiments. To test the effect of chronic culture continuity concerns, in Study 1, I compared American and Chinese participants on their reactions to foreign businesses. I predicted that, because the Chinese have higher chronic concerns over the continuity of their culture, they would react negatively to a foreign company that is perceived to have the intention to spread a foreign culture in the local community. In Study 2, I experimentally heightened American participants’ concern over continuity of the American culture. This allows me to test the causal effect of cultural continuity concern on negative reactions to foreign businesses. In both Studies 1 and 2, I also manipulated culture priming by exposing participants to objects from the American and/or the Chinese culture. Lastly, in Study 3, I tested the hypothesis that cultural affirmation and self-affirmation can reduce culturally motivated exclusionary reactions to foreign businesses.
IV. STUDY 1

Study 1 tested the role of chronic concern over cultural continuity in negative reaction to foreign companies’ cultural influence. As a proxy for chronic concern over cultural continuity, I compared reactions of the Mainland Chinese and Americans. Mainland China has been the recipient of popular cultural influence from the United States (globalization101.org, 2010). As such, Mainland Chinese should have greater chronic concern over erosion of Chinese culture than do Americans over erosion of American culture. Because cultural continuity is a relatively salient chronic concern in Mainland China, the Chinese should feel agitated when they perceive that an American company intentionally spreads American culture in China. In contrast, because cultural continuity is not a major concern in the United States, Americans would not be emotionally affected when they perceive that a Chinese company makes a conscious attempt to spread Chinese culture in America.

Note that the phenomenon (dependent variable) here is emotional reactions driven by perceived intention of cultural diffusion. To capture this phenomenon, I measured the strength of association between perceived intention of cultural diffusion and negative emotional responses toward a foreign company. A strong positive association would indicate the tendency to feel agitated at the perceived intention of cultural diffusion; a strong negative association would indicate the tendency to feel not agitated at the perceived intention of cultural diffusion; whereas a non-significant association would indicate not feeling emotional toward perceived intention of cultural diffusion. I hypothesize a stronger positive association between perceived intention of cultural diffusion and negative emotions toward the company among the Chinese than among Americans.

Study 1 also seeks to verify the dissociation of bicultural priming and monocultural
culture priming. Because bicultural priming is expected to highlight perceived differences and incompatibility between cultures, among the Chinese, bicultural priming (vs. no priming) would lead to negative emotional reactions to perceived intention of cultural diffusion (i.e., stronger association between agitation and perceived intention of the foreign company to spread its country’s culture in the local community). Furthermore, because people exhibit negative emotional reactions to intended cultural diffusion only when they have a chronic concern over cultural erosion, the hypothesized effect of bicultural priming (vs. no priming) is expected to be stronger among the Chinese than among Americans.

In contrast, monocultural priming (vs. no priming) increases the salience of the primed culture and its attendant values and self-identities but not its contrast with other cultures. Thus, monocultural priming is not expected to produce the effects described in the previous paragraph. In short, negative emotional reactions toward intended cultural diffusion (positive association between perceived intention of cultural diffusion and agitation toward the company) should be the strongest when the Chinese (who have a chronic concern over cultural erosion) are exposed to bicultural priming.

Method

Participants

One hundred and seventy-four undergraduate students (86 women) of a university in Nanjing, China, and 116 undergraduate students (66 women) of a university in the United States participated in the study. The Chinese participants received 20 Chinese Yuan (US$2.9) for taking part in this study, whereas the American participants took part in the study in return for course credits.
Design and Procedure

The study had a 2 (U.S. Cultural Prime: yes or no), 2 (Chinese Cultural Prime: yes or no) x 2 (Sample: Chinese or American) design. I used an online survey program to randomly assign participants into one of the four conditions. The experiment was run in groups of 4 to 10. Upon obtaining the participants’ consent to participate in the study, the experimenter directed each participant to a computer and told the participant that he/she would take part in two short online studies. Participants then completed the online questionnaire on their own pace. The two online studies were different parts of the current study, namely the culture priming manipulation and a “business study” that I used to measure emotional reactions to foreign businesses.

Culture priming manipulation. I manipulated culture priming in the first part of the study. Participants saw seven pairs of pictures, with one pair at a time. Their task was to remember the position of the two pictures. After seeing each picture pair for five seconds, the participants saw one picture from the pair just presented and answered whether the picture was on the left or right hand side on the previous screen. The task directed participants’ attention to the pictures but masked the connection between the picture contents and the subsequent task. In the Bicultural Priming Condition, every picture pair was composed of a picture of an object that represents Chinese culture (e.g., a steam bun) and a picture of an object that represents U.S. culture (e.g., a hamburger). In other words, participants in this condition saw symbols of both Chinese and U.S. cultures at the same time. In the U.S. Culture Only (Chinese Culture Only) Condition, each picture pair was composed of a picture of an object that symbolizes either U.S. (Chinese) culture and a picture of clouds (which are unrelated to both cultures). In the Control Condition, both pictures in each pair were pictures of clouds.
Selection of picture primes. I conducted an independent study within each sample population to verify that the selected primes were familiar to the participants and seen as associated with Chinese or American culture. The participants in this study rated each object on how much it was associated with Chinese culture and U.S. culture respectively on a 7-point scale (1 = not at all, 4 = moderately, 7 = very much). As a comparison, they also rated the neutral (i.e., clouds) pictures and cultural symbols of the two cultures (U.S. culture: Golden Gate Bridge and Statue of Liberty; Chinese culture: Forbidden City Museum and the Great Wall). As shown in Appendix A, the objects were seen as highly associated with their respective culture and not with the other culture. The only exceptions were “cookie” (for Chinese participants) and “Western style dinnerware” (for American participants), which were not seen as associated with either culture. In the main study, because participants in each culture priming condition saw all seven objects in the pertinent cultural stimulus set, the (lack of) associations of one object should not undermine the overall culture priming effect.

Measures

Next, participants responded to a “business study” through which I measured the key variables. The cover story was to collect the participants’ opinions on a foreign children book publisher planning to enter the local market. For Chinese participants, a New York-based publisher planned to set up a regional headquarter in Beijing to promote Western folklore in China. For American participants, the Beijing-based publisher planned to set up a regional headquarter in New York to promote Chinese folklore in the United States. After reading the business plan, participants rated the extent to which they felt agitated (angry, fearful, anxious, 3 items; \( \alpha = .83 \)) toward the publisher. I focused on the feeling of agitation because this has been shown to be the confrontational emotional response to threat in intergroup contexts (Mackie,
Next, participants rated the extent to which the company intended to promote its country’s culture and influence the local culture (4 items; $\alpha = .78$). An example item in the Chinese sample is: Pharis’ plan is to increase the influence of Chinese culture in the U.S.. See Appendix B for the remaining items used in the current study.

Finally, to verify my assumption that the Chinese were more concerned about cultural erosion, I included an 8-item measure of concern over cultural erosion. This measure assessed the extent to which the participants expected that the success of the company would cause deterioration of American culture (8 items; $\alpha = .83$). Two example items are: “Pharis' success in the U.S. (China) will lead to erosion of Chinese (American) culture”; and “Pharis' success in the U.S. (China) may threaten the continuity of Chinese (American) culture.”

**Results**

Consistent with my assumption, the Chinese had a greater chronic concern over cultural erosion ($M = 3.66$) than did Americans ($M = 2.73$), $F(1, 291) = 65.74, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .184$.

I hypothesize that exposing the Chinese to bicultural primes would evoke the strongest negative emotional reactions toward intended cultural diffusion (strongest positive association between perceived intention of cultural diffusion and agitation toward the company). To test this hypothesis, I performed a Sample x U.S. Cultural Prime (U.S. Prime) x Chinese Cultural Prime (Chinese Prime) x Perceived Intention (Intent) GLM on agitation. Perceived Intention was mean-centered to minimize the threat of multicolinearity (Aiken & West, 1991) The predicted four-way interaction was significant, $F(1, 274) = 4.93, p = .027, \eta^2_p = .018$.\(^1\)

\(^1\) Other lower-order significant effects were: the main effect of Sample, $F(1, 274) = 20.90, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .071$; the main effect of Intent, $F(1, 274) = 9.60, p = .002, \eta^2_p = .034$; the Sample x
To understand the nature of the four-way interaction, and because of questionable validity of directly comparing cultures due to measurement equivalence issues (Matsumoto & Yoo, 2006), I performed a separate U.S. Prime x Chinese Prime x Intent GLM for each sample (Table 1). Among the Chinese, there was a significant three-way interaction, \( F(1, 166) = 4.03, p = .046, \eta^2_p = .024 \), indicating that the strength of association between perceived cultural intention and agitation varied across the four culture priming conditions. As mentioned, the theoretically meaningful dependent measure here is the strength of association between perceived cultural diffusion intention and agitation. Therefore, I compared the strength of this association across the four culture priming conditions. Table 1 summarizes the result of these comparisons. First, among the Chinese, the effect of perceived cultural diffusion intention on agitation was positive and significant in the Bicultural Priming Condition \( (B = 1.10), t(28) = 5.00, p < .001 \). The association between perceived cultural diffusion intention and agitation was stronger in the Bicultural Priming Condition than in the remaining three culture priming conditions combined, \( F(1, 173) = 4.71, p = .03, \eta^2_p = .027 \). The association between perceived cultural diffusion intention and agitation was not significant in the Chinese Prime Only Condition \( [t(48) = 1.14, ns] \) and the U.S. Prime only Condition \( [t(47) = 1.35, ns] \); this association was significant in the Control Condition \( [t(46) = 2.17, p < .05] \), although the effect was smaller in the Control Condition than in the Bicultural Priming Condition, \( F(1, 74) = 3.47, p = .07 \). The effect of perceived cultural diffusion intention on agitation was also greater in the Bicultural Priming Condition than in the Chinese Culture Only Condition \( [F(1, 76) = 4.94, p = .03] \) and the U.S. Culture Only Condition \( [F(1, 76) = 3.59, p = .06] \). The sizes of the effect of perceived cultural Intent interaction, \( F(1, 274) = 8.27, p = .004, \eta^2_p = .029 \); and the Sample x Chinese Prime x Intent interaction, \( F(1, 274) = 4.19, p = .042, \eta^2_p = .015 \).
Table 1
Estimated Values of Agitation as a Function of Perceived Intention of Culture Diffusion Across Culture Priming Conditions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>Perceived Intention of Cultural Diffusion</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese Primed</td>
<td>Chinese Not Primed</td>
<td>Chinese Primed</td>
<td>Chinese Not Primed</td>
<td>Chinese Primed</td>
<td>Chinese Not Primed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese U.S. Primed</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>2.80</td>
<td>1.49</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>2.20***</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese U.S. Not Primed</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td>2.83</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>0.78*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American U.S. Primed</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>1.58</td>
<td>-0.64</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American U.S. Not Primed</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>1.45</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* *p < .05 for effect of Perceived Intention.
*** p < .001 for effect of Perceived Intention.

diffusion intention on agitation did not differ among the Control Condition, Chinese Culture Only Condition, and the U.S. Culture Only Condition, $F(2, 141) = 0.12, p = .089$.

Table 1 also shows that when the American company was perceived to have a strong intention to spread American culture in China, the level of agitation in the Bicultural Priming Condition was the highest among the four culture priming conditions and was marginally higher than that in the remaining three culture priming conditions combined, $F(1, 173) = 3.17, p = .08, \eta^2_p = .018$. When the American company was not perceived to have a strong intention to spread American culture in China, participants in the Bicultural Priming Condition felt least agitated, although the predicted level of agitation in this priming condition was not significant different from those in the remaining three culture priming conditions combined, $F(1, 173) = 1.93, p = .17, \eta^2_p = .011$. This result showed that bicultural priming does not always lead to negative reaction toward foreign companies. Indeed, as past studies suggested, when the foreign culture is not seen as a threat to the continuity of local culture (e.g., when a foreign company is not seen as an agent of cultural erosion), people under the influence of bicultural priming are particularly open to foreign culture (Leung & Chiu, in press; Leung et al., 2008).
In contrast, the U.S. Prime x Chinese Prime x Intent GLM performed on Americans’ level agitation did not show any significant effects, $F_s < 3.70, ns$, indicating the absence of any priming effects or perceived cultural diffusion effects on Americans’ emotional reactions to the Chinese company. Taken together, the results are consistent with my hypothesis.

To show that the cross-cultural difference was due to greater concern over cultural erosion among the Chinese instead of other factors (e.g., greater ethnocentrism among the Chinese), I performed a mediation analysis to verify if concern over cultural erosion mediated the main findings in the present study. First, I performed a Sample x U.S. Prime x Chinese Prime x Intent GLM on concern over cultural erosion. The four-way interaction was significant, $F(1, 277) = 4.74, p = .03, \eta^2_p = .017$, and the pattern of results in this interaction mirrored the one for agitation. Next, I performed a Sample x U.S. Prime x Chinese Prime x Intent GLM, controlling for concern over cultural erosion. The effect of cultural erosion was highly significant, $F(1, 276) = 49.71, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .153$, and the Sample x U.S. Prime x Chinese Prime x Intent interaction on agitation became non-significant, $F(1, 276) = 1.67, p = .20, \eta^2_p = .006$. This result suggests that concern over cultural erosion fully mediated my main finding; the Sobel statistic for mediation was $2.08, p = .04$.

Finally, I examined whether cultural priming also affected perceived intention of cultural diffusion. I performed a Sample x U.S. Prime) x Chinese Prime GLM on perceived intention of cultural diffusion. There was a significant Sample x Chinese Prime two-way interaction, $F(1, 285) = 5.71, p = .021, \eta^2_p = .020$, and all other effects were non-significant ($ps > .09$). Chinese culture priming did not have any effects on Chinese participants’ perceived intention ($F < 1$). This indicates that among Chinese, perceived cultural diffusion intention and culture priming are independent predictors of agitation. Interestingly, American participants perceived significantly
lower intention of cultural diffusion after they were exposed to Chinese cultural primes ($M = 5.13$ vs. $5.56$), $F(1, 112) = 6.95, p = .01, \eta^2_p = .058$. The Chinese culture priming effect might be an artifact because it was not replicated in Study 2. In addition, none of the predictors had a significant main or interaction effect on agitation among American participants. Therefore, I did not interpret this result further.

**Discussion**

Study 1 shows that the Chinese had a higher level of chronic concern over cultural erosion than did Americans. The Chinese, who tend to be concerned about the cultural erosion effects of globalization, feel agitated when they perceive the marketing activities of a foreign firm as intended acts to spread the influence of foreign culture in China. This is particularly the case when their attention has been drawn to cultural contrast by bicultural priming. In contrast, for Americans, who are relatively unconcerned with the cultural erosion effect of globalization, seem not to be bothered by the perceived intention of a Chinese firm to spread foreign cultural influence in the United States even when they have been exposed to bicultural primes.

However, although Americans have low chronic concern over cultural erosion, such concern can be heightened with an appropriate manipulation in an experiment. According to my hypothesis, once this concern is heightened, Americans would behave like the Chinese, reacting negatively to intended cultural diffusion particularly following bicultural priming. The next study examined this possibility. If the results support my hypothesis, they would help to establish the causal effect of cultural continuity concern on negative reactions to perceived cultural diffusion intention.

Study 1 results also show that bicultural priming effect is distinct from ingroup priming effect. The association between perceived intention of cultural diffusion and feeling agitated was
the strongest when Chinese participants were primed with Chinese and American cultures simultaneously, probably because bicultural priming increased perceived difference between American and Chinese cultures and fueled the emotional responses to a perceived threat to the continuity of Chinese culture. The effect of ingroup culture priming was less evident in the present study. I predicted that priming ingroup culture would activate its attendant intercultural values. However, I could not test this hypothesis because I did not measure the attendant intercultural values of Chinese culture in the current study. To address this limitation, in the next study, in which ingroup culture priming among American participants was examined, I measured the intercultural value (cultural diversity) that attends American culture. I predicted that ingroup culture priming would activate American culture and increase endorsement of cultural diversity belief, leading to warmer receptivity toward attempts to spread foreign cultures on American soil.
V. STUDY 2

In Study 2, I examined Americans’ reactions to foreign cultural influence when they experienced an experimentally induced cultural continuity threat. I manipulated cultural continuity threat by showing participants a news article, which stated that younger generation Americans had lost enthusiasm in core American values. This task was designed to temporarily increase the salience and accessibility of the concern over cultural continuity. When the participants experienced a cultural continuity threat, the perception of deliberate attempts from a foreign company to promote a foreign culture in the U.S. should lead to rejection of the company.

Study 2 further examined the difference between the effect of bicultural priming and that of ingroup culture priming. Bicultural priming should heighten perceptions of cultural differences and increase the salience of culture in subsequent information processing. Thus, participants under bicultural priming should be more likely to reject a company that was perceived to be agent of cultural diffusion. In contrast, priming American participants with American culture should activate American culture and its attendant cultural identity and values. This in turn could produce two opposite effects. On the one hand, activation of ingroup cultural identity could lead to negative evaluations of anything foreign (derogation of outgroup cultures). On the other hand, if cultural diversity is an American ideal (see below; although deviations from this ideal are found in some American practices), priming American culture should increase support of cultural diversity and openness to a company that seeks to promote a foreign culture in America.

To extend the generality of my results, in the current study, instead of agitation, I used a behavioral intention measure to tap reaction toward the foreign company. Specifically, I
measured the intention to reject or punish the target company (e.g., by advocating higher tax rates for the company).

**Method**

**Participants**

One hundred undergraduate students (62 women) of a university in the United States participated in the study in return for course credits.

**Design and Procedure**

The study had a 2 U.S. Culture Prime (yes or no) x 2 Chinese Culture Prime (yes or no) design. The procedure was identical to Study 1 except that the participants were exposed to a cultural continuity threat before taking the dependent measures.

*Cultural continuity threat induction.* After the culture priming manipulation (same as in Study 1), I had participants read and evaluated a news story, ostensibly as a pretest for a reading comprehension study. The news story was created to induce a cultural continuity threat (Appendix C). The news story reported that globalization had led to global weakening of young people’s endorsement of traditional cultural values, including in the United States: Young Americans were less enthusiastic about core American values compared to the previous generations. Participants’ task was to read the news story and evaluate the clarity of the central theme, suitability of the graphics for the article’s contents, and organization of the arguments in the article. These questions directed participants’ attention to the key message of the article without inviting counter-arguments from the participants. Aside from providing ratings, participants summarized the main message of the article in one sentence. Analysis of the summaries provided by the participants showed that all participants understood the main theme of the article.
Measures

Next, participants responded to the same “business study” administered to American participants in Study 1. After reading the business plan, participants responded to the following measures (Appendix D):

Reactions to the Company. Participants responded to 6 questions that measured their behavioral intention to reject the company, such as the extent to which they would support imposition of additional taxes on the company and the likelihood of joining others to oppose government support for the company ($\alpha = .80$).

Perceived Cultural Intention. This measure was identical to the one administered to the American participants in Study 1. The measure assessed the extent to which the company was perceived to have the intention to promote Chinese culture in the United States (4 items; $\alpha = .85$).

Cultural Erosion Concern. This measure was identical to the one administered to the American participants in Study 1. This measure assessed the extent to which the participants expected that the success of the company would cause deterioration of American culture (8 items; $\alpha = .91$).

Cultural Diversity Belief. This 3-item measure assessed the extent to which the participants supported the value of protecting cultural diversity (3 items: $\alpha = .74$).

Results

Effectiveness of Cultural Continuity Threat Induction

First, as a check on the effectiveness of the experimental induction of cultural continuity threat, I compared the mean level of cultural erosion concern in the current study with that in the
American sample in Study 1. The participants in the current study \((M = 3.09, SD = 1.22)\) reported a significantly higher level of cultural erosion concern than did the American participants in Study 1 \((M = 2.73, SD = 1.15)\), \(t(274) = 2.33, p < .01\). This result indicates that the cultural continuity threat induction was successful.\(^2\)

**Rejection of Foreign Company**

I hypothesize that after I had presented a cultural continuity threat to Americans, they would react most negatively to the foreign company when they perceived that it had an intention to spread Chinese culture in the U.S., particularly after bicultural priming. That is, I hypothesize a Chinese Culture Prime X U.S. Culture Prime X Perceived Cultural Diffusion interaction on the reaction to the foreign company. To test this hypothesis, I performed a Chinese Culture Prime X U.S. Culture Prime X Perceived Cultural Diffusion (mean-centered) GLM on rejection of the Chinese company. The only significant effect in this analysis was the predicted three-way interaction, \(F(1, 92) = 8.17, p = .005, \eta^{2}_{p} = .082\).

To understand the nature of this interaction, as in Study 1, I regressed rejection of company on perceived cultural diffusion intention in each of the four culture priming conditions. As shown in Table 2, the effect of perceived cultural diffusion intention on company rejection was significant in the Bicultural Priming Condition only, \(t(26) = 2.58, p = .016\). Consistent with

\(^2\) As in Study 1, I examined whether culture priming affected perceived intention of cultural diffusion. I performed a U.S. Prime x Chinese Prime GLM on perceived intention. There was a significant main effect of Chinese Prime, \(F(1, 96) = 5.00, p = .028, \eta^{2}_{p} = .049\), and all other effects were nonsignificant \((Fs < 1)\). The participants perceived significantly higher intention of cultural diffusion after Chinese culture priming \((M = 5.51, SD = 1.13\) vs. \(M = 4.98, SD = 1.17)\). In all the analyses reported in the present dissertation, I used Type III Sum of Squares as the basis to evaluate the effects of the predictors, which controls for mild correlations among the predictors. Also note that this effect of ingroup culture priming on perceived intention was in the opposite direction of the Chinese culture priming effect in Study 1 and may therefore be a statistical artifact.
Table 2
Estimated Values of the Intention to Reject the Chinese Company As a Function of Perceived Intention of Cultural Diffusion and Culture Priming Conditions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perceived Intention of Cultural Diffusion</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese Primed</td>
<td>Chinese Not Primed</td>
<td>Chinese Primed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Primed</td>
<td>4.48</td>
<td>4.04</td>
<td>3.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Not Primed</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>4.19</td>
<td>3.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05 for effect of Perceived Intention.

the results of the Chinese in Study 1, after bicultural priming, the more the American participants perceived that the company had the intention to spread Chinese culture in the U.S., the more negatively they reacted to the company (B = 0.58).

In addition, as shown in Table 2 and consistent with Study 1 results, reaction to the company with high perceived cultural diffusion intention was the most negative in the Bicultural Priming Condition, compared to the remaining three culture priming conditions combined, $F(1, 96) = 4.03, p = .048, \eta^2_p = .040$. Besides, as in Study 1, when perceived cultural diffusion intention was low, the company received the least negative reactions compared to the remaining three conditions combined, $F(1, 96) = 5.30, p = .02, \eta^2_p = .052$. This result shows once more that bicultural priming does not always increase rejection of foreign companies; it does so only when the foreign companies are perceived to be a threat to the local culture’s continuity. This result resonates with the past result that exposure to multiple cultures can increase openness to foreign culture when intercultural threats are not heightened in the situation (Leung & Chiu, in press).

Interestingly, ingroup culture priming (in the U.S. Culture Only Condition) led to significantly stronger negative reactions to the company when the company was not perceived to have the intention to spread Chinese culture in the U.S., $F(1, 96) = 7.99, p = .006, \eta^2_p = .077$. 
This was probably due to the activation of ingroup identity and its associated tendency to engage in outgroup derogation. Interestingly, when the perceived intention of cultural diffusion was high, participants in the U.S. Culture Only (ingroup culture priming) were not more negative toward the Chinese company, compared to the Control Condition and the Chinese Culture Only Condition, $F(1, 68) = 0.02, p = .93$. As will be shown later, when the cultural diffusion intention was salient, ingroup culture priming increased the endorsement of cultural diversity and attenuated rejection of the foreign company.

**Concern Over Cultural Erosion**

I contend that the effect of perceived cultural diffusion intention following bicultural priming was mediated by a concern over cultural erosion. Mediation analysis results supported this contention. As shown in the previous section, the Chinese Culture Prime X U.S. Culture Prime X Perceived Cultural Diffusion interaction on rejection of company was significant. I performed a Chinese Culture Prime X U.S. Culture Prime X Perceived Cultural Diffusion GLM on cultural erosion concern. As expected, the three-way interaction was significant, $F(1, 92) = 6.38, p = .01, \eta^2_p = .065$.

Table 3 illustrates the nature of this interaction. The pattern of estimated values for concern over cultural erosion resembles those for company rejection. First, the effect of perceived cultural diffusion intention was positively associated with company rejection in the Bicultural Priming Condition only, $t(26) = 2.82, p < .05$. Second, when the company was perceived to have a strong intention to spread Chinese culture in the U.S., participants were most concerned about cultural erosion when they were in the Bicultural Priming Condition. When the

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[3] Other significant effects were: the main effect of perceived cultural diffusion intention, $F(1, 96) = 6.08, p = .02, \eta^2_p = .061$; and the Chinese Prime Only x Perceived Cultural Diffusion Intention interaction, $F(1, 96) = 4.26, p = .04, \eta^2_p = .044$. 

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Table 3
Estimated Values of Cultural Erosion Concern As a Function of Perceived Intention of Cultural Diffusion and Culture Priming Conditions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perceived Intention of Cultural Diffusion</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese Primed</td>
<td>Chinese Not Primed</td>
<td>Chinese Primed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Primed</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>2.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Not Primed</td>
<td>3.13</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>2.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05 for effect of Perceived Intention

company was perceived to have high cultural diffusion intention, participants in the Bicultural Priming Condition were more concerned about cultural erosion than were those in the remaining three culture priming conditions combined, $F(1, 96) = 6.74, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .066$. When the company was perceived to have low cultural diffusion intention, participants in the Bicultural Priming Condition were less concerned about cultural erosion than were participants in the remaining three conditions combined, although the difference was only marginally significant, $F(1, 96) = 2.93, p = .09, \eta_p^2 = .030$.

Table 3 also shows that when the company was perceived to have low cultural diffusion intention, participants in the U.S. Culture Only (ingroup culture priming) Condition reported the highest level of concern over cultural erosion, and the level of concern over cultural erosion in this condition was marginally higher than that of the remaining three priming conditions combined, $F(1, 96) = 3.42, p = .07, \eta_p^2 = .034$. Again, this result may reflect an elevated level of outgroup derogation following ingroup culture priming. Nonetheless, the level of concern over cultural erosion in the U.S. Culture Only Condition was lowered when the company was perceived to have a strong intention to spread Chinese culture in the U.S. Again, as the results in the next section suggest, this effect may arise from activation of cultural diversity values. When
a foreign company is not seen as an agent of cultural diffusion (the value of cultural diversity seems irrelevant or inapplicable in the judgment context), ingroup culture priming leads to derogation of the company. However, when the foreign company is seen as an agent of cultural diffusion, American culture priming activates and reinforces the American value of cultural diversity (which has become an applicable value in the current judgment context) and moderates negative reactions to the company.

The results presented above, coupled with the strong positive correlation between concern over cultural erosion and company rejection (r = .47, p < .001), suggest the possibility that concern over cultural erosion mediated the Chinese Culture Prime X U.S. Culture Prime X Perceived Cultural Diffusion interaction on rejection of company. To verify this possibility, I controlled for concern over cultural erosion in the Chinese Culture Prime X U.S. Culture Prime X Perceived Cultural Diffusion GLM performed on rejection of company. As shown in Figure 1, the three-way interaction was substantially attenuated and became nonsignificant in this analysis, F(1, 91) = 3.73, p = .06, η²_p = .039, while the effect of concern over cultural erosion remained significant, F(1, 91) = 17.84, p < .001, η²_p = .164. The Sobel’s z for mediation was 2.17, which was significant at the .03 level.

Diversity Belief

Next, I examined the effects of cultural priming and perceived cultural diffusion intention on the endorsement of cultural diversity, measured by items such as “We should respect the way of life of people from different cultures”; and “People should make an effect to protect cultural diversity.” The Chinese Culture Prime X U.S. Culture Prime X Perceived Cultural Diffusion GLM performed on endorsement of cultural diversity revealed a significant three-way interaction, F(1, 92) = 4.07, p = 0.46, η²_p = .042. 
As shown in Table 4, in the Control Condition, perceiving the company as a cultural diffusion agent was positively associated with endorsement of cultural diversity ($B = 0.27, p < .05$). Responses in the Control Condition reflects the default way to respond to the company; thus the result suggests that when Americans encounter a company that attempts to spread a foreign culture in the U.S., they tend to value cultural diversity more. This pattern of results was also found in the U.S. Culture Only (ingroup culture priming) Condition ($B = 0.31, p < .05$). The positive association between perceived cultural diffusion and endorsement of cultural diversity in the Chinese Culture Only Condition remained positive, although it was not significant ($B = 0.07, ns$). More important, in the Bicultural Priming Condition, perceiving a company as an agent of cultural diffusion significantly lowered endorsement of cultural diversity ($B = -0.60, p < .05$). Apparently, when induced to experience a threat to cultural continuity, rendering cultural contrast salient through bicultural priming could lead to reduced commitment to cultural diversity, particularly when a foreign agent was perceived to have the intention to spread its culture on local soil.
Table 4
Estimated Values of Diversity Belief As a Function of Perceived Intention of Cultural Diffusion and Culture Priming Conditions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perceived Intention of Cultural Diffusion</th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Primed</td>
<td>Chinese Not Primed</td>
<td>Chinese Primed</td>
<td>Chinese Not Primed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Primed</td>
<td>4.29</td>
<td>5.03</td>
<td>-1.21*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Not Primed</td>
<td>4.90</td>
<td>4.89</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05 for effect of Perceived Intention

Furthermore, when the company was perceived to have a strong intention to spread Chinese culture in the U.S., bicultural priming was accompanied by the lowest support for cultural diversity, a level that was significantly lower than that in the remaining three cultural priming conditions combined, $F(1, 96) = 14.41, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .131$. Again, when the company was not perceived to have a strong intention to spread Chinese culture in the U.S., participants in the Bicultural Priming Condition were more likely to endorse cultural diversity than did the participants in the remaining three cultural priming conditions, although this difference was not significant, $F(1, 96) = 2.62, p = .11, \eta^2_p = .027.$

It is also interesting to note that in the U.S. Culture Only (ingroup culture priming) Condition, endorsement of cultural diversity was stronger when the company was perceived to have clearer intentions to promote Chinese culture in the U.S. Furthermore, when the company was perceived to be an agent of cultural diffusion, priming American culture only resulted in stronger endorsement of cultural diversity. In fact, when the company was perceived to be an agent of cultural diffusion, participants in the U.S. Culture Only Condition endorsed cultural diversity more strongly than did participants in the remaining the three priming conditions combined, $F(1, 96) = 7.54, p = .007, \eta^2_p = .073.$ This result is consistent with the interpretation
that priming American culture only activates the cultural value of cultural diversity, which becomes applicable when American individuals encounter an agent of cultural diffusion.

**Discussion**

Several conclusions could be drawn from the results in the current study. First, although Americans did not react negatively under bicultural priming when they encountered an agent of cultural diffusion in Study 1, this was largely due to the low level of chronic concern over cultural continuity among Americans. When the presence of a threat to cultural continuity activated a concern over cultural continuity, Americans also displayed negative reactions to a foreign agent of cultural diffusion following bicultural priming. Again, mediation results confirmed that concern over cultural erosion mediated the joint effect of bicultural priming and perceived cultural diffusion intention on rejection of the foreign company in the current study. Thus, it appears that when the threat to cultural continuity is salient, enhancing perceived contrast between cultures through bicultural priming can lead to increased concern over cultural erosion, behavioral and emotional rejections of an agent of foreign cultural diffusion, and reduced commitment to the value of cultural diversity.

Ingroup cultural priming also seems to have some effect on responses to foreign cultural influence, although these effects are qualitatively different from the bicultural priming effects. Consistent with past research, ingroup culture priming can produce two effects. First, it raises ingroup identity salience and increases derogation of outgroup cultures. There is some support for this effect in the current study. When the target company was not perceived to be an agent of cultural diffusion, ingroup culture priming increased negative evaluations of the foreign company and the tendency to reject it. Second, ingroup culture priming also increases the temporary accessibility of the values associated with the ingroup culture. One cultural ideal
associated with American culture is the belief in cultural diversity. Thus, in the American context, priming American culture increases the accessibility of the value of cultural diversity. When this value becomes applicable, as when the target company is perceived to be an agent of cultural diffusion, individuals would support this value more and moderate their negative reactions to the company. This interpretation is consistent with the rapidly expanding literature on the effects of culture priming on activation of the cultural self and the cultural mind (Oyserman, 2007; 2009; Wan, Dach-Gruschow, No, & Hong, in press).

To verify this interpretation, I also examined the correlations between endorsement of cultural diversity and (a) rejection of the company and (b) concern over cultural erosion. As shown in Table 5, in the two conditions where participants were primed with American culture (U.S. Culture Only and Bicultural Priming Conditions), endorsement of cultural diversity was negatively related to rejection of the company and concern over cultural erosion. Consistent with my interpretation, in the two conditions where participants were not primed with American culture (Chinese Culture Only and Control Conditions), endorsement of cultural diversity was not significantly related to rejection of the company and concern over cultural erosion. Taken together, our results show that both ingroup culture priming and bicultural priming could affect reactions to foreign cultural influence, but they do so through different mechanisms.

Thus far, the evidence seems to suggest that cultural continuity threats could lead to rejection of foreign cultural influence under bicultural priming. To provide further evidence for this argument, in the next study, I examined whether managing cultural continuity threat through cultural continuity affirmation could reduce the negative reactions toward foreign cultural influence.
Table 5
Correlation Between Endorsement of Cultural Diversity and (a) Intention to Reject Company, and (b) Concern Over Cultural Erosion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Culture Priming Condition</th>
<th>Intention to Reject Company</th>
<th>Concern Over Cultural Erosion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>-.09</td>
<td>-.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Culture Only</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>-.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Culture Only</td>
<td>-.41*</td>
<td>-.52**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicultural Priming</td>
<td>-.42*</td>
<td>-.52**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* *p < .05; ** p < .01
VI. STUDY 3

Study 3 sought to further establish the role of cultural continuity threat in rejection of foreign cultural influence and to address a boundary condition of bicultural priming effect. Studies 1 and 2 show that cultural continuity threat is a necessary condition for negative reactions to foreign cultural influence. Based on these findings, I expect that assuring the participants of the local culture’s continuity would lower cultural continuity threat can reduce negative reactions to foreign culture. Furthermore, based on the assumption that cultural continuity serves the need to affirm one’s epistemic system (Chiu et al., in press), and on the past finding that self-affirmation can mitigate the negative impact of existential anxiety (Schmeichel & Martens, 2005), I hypothesize that when cultural continuity threat is salient, affirmation of one’s personal values can also reduce negative reactions to foreign cultural influence.

I tested these two hypotheses in an experiment with Chinese participants who had chronic concern over cultural continuity. In this study, I manipulated cultural continuity threat by having the participants read a magazine article that either stated that Chinese culture was declining (high continuity threat) or flourishing (low continuity threat) as China was globalizing. I manipulated self-affirmation by asking participant to reflect on their personal values at the beginning of the experiment. Because exclusionary reactions to foreign culture are more likely to emerge following bicultural priming (Studies 1 and 2), all participants in the current study were primed with both Chinese and American cultures. I hypothesize that participants in the high continuity threat, no self-affirmation condition would react most negatively to a company promoting foreign culture, compared to participants in the remaining three conditions.
Method

Participants

Ninety-eight undergraduate students (76 women) of a university in Hong Kong, China participated in the study in return for HK$40 (US$5.2). All participants were born in Mainland China and had lived in Hong Kong for less than three years at the time they took part in the study.

Design and Procedure

The study had a 2 Value Affirmation (yes or no) x 2 Cultural Continuity Threat (high or low) design. The general procedure was identical to Study 1. Participants completed the tasks in the following order on their own pace in a computer lab: Self-affirmation manipulation, bicultural priming, cultural continuity threat manipulation, and reactions to an U.S. company’s plan to promote American literature in China.

Value affirmation manipulation. Half of the participants, randomly selected, responded to a modified version of the self-affirmation task (Steele and Liu, 1983). The original self-affirmation task draws participants’ attention to subjectively important life values, and thus promotes the “perceived integrality of the self, its overall adaptive and moral adequacy” (Steele, 1988, p.291). I modified this task such that participants in the affirmation condition paid attention to the continuity of the their important life values. Specifically, participants in the affirmation condition ranked order the importance of a list of values and personal characteristics. Next, they wrote a short essay (~200 words) to explain how the most important items would prevail over time and give them a sense of self-continuity. As a manipulation check, participants rated the extent to which writing the essay made them have the following thoughts or feelings: “it gives me a sense of ‘who I am’ that will extend into the future,” and “I can see something in me that is stable over
time,” on 7-point scales (1 = Not at all; 4 = Moderately; 7 = Very much). Participants in the no affirmation condition did not perform this task.

**Cultural Continuity Threat Manipulation.** In a “pretest for a reading comprehension study”, participants were asked to evaluate a magazine story. Through this story, I manipulated cultural continuity threat. For half of the participants, the magazine story introduced four traditional Chinese folk arts and reported that these folk arts were declining and might extinguish in the near future because the young generation was not willing to learn them (high cultural continuity threat). For the remaining participants, the magazine story introduced the same folk arts but mentioned that they continued to be a part of the life of the modern Chinese (low cultural continuity threat). Similar to the reading task in Study 2, participants answered three short questions regarding the organization and graphics of the magazine story.

As noted in Chapter II, past research has shown that people would respond to cultural threats by increasing identification with their culture (e.g., Jetten et al., 2002). Thus, as a manipulation check, I measured the participants’ identification with Chinese culture using Wan et al.’s (2007) cultural identification scale. The measure consisted of five items (e.g. ‘Chinese culture is very important to my identity’, ‘I identify with Chinese culture’). Respondents indicated their extent of agreement with each statement on a five-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 3 = neutral, 5 = strongly agree). The reliability of the measure was 0.92.

**Measures**

Participants read the business plan of a New-York based children’s book publisher used in Studies 1 and 2, and responded to the same measure I used in Study 2 to assess intention to reject the company ($\alpha = .70$; Appendix E). I also measured the participants’ concern that the success of the foreign company would lead to cultural erosion using the same measure ($\alpha = .82$).
I used in Studies 1 and 2.

Results and Discussion

Manipulation Checks

Only participants who were assigned to the self-affirmation condition responded to the two self-affirmation manipulation check items. The means of the responses to these two self-affirmation manipulation check items were high (on a scale from 1 to 7, $M = 6.03$, $SD = 1.11$ for the first item; and $M = 5.24$, $SD = 1.26$ for the second item), indicating that participants felt a sense of continuity after the manipulation.

In addition, consistent with past research findings (e.g., Jetten et al., 2002), participants in the high cultural continuity threat condition reported significantly higher identification with Chinese culture ($M = 6.23$), compared to those in the low cultural continuity threat condition ($M = 5.75$), $F(1, 96) = 8.45, p = .005, \eta^2_p = .078$. In short, the manipulations were successful.

The mean level of concern over cultural erosion was relatively high ($M = 3.78$, $SD = 1.03$). This level was comparable to the level of chronic concern over cultural erosion in the Chinese sample in Study 1 ($M = 3.66$).

Intended Rejection of Foreign Culture

I hypothesize that assuring participants of the continuity of local culture and affirming personal values would lower participants’ intention to reject the company. To test this hypothesis, I performed a 2 (Value Affirmation) x 2 (Cultural Continuity Threat) analysis of variance on the intention to reject the company. As predicted, there was a significant main effect of value affirmation, $F(1, 94) = 4.40, p = .039, \eta^2_p = .045$, and a significant Value Affirmation x Cultural Continuity Threat interaction, $F(1, 94) = 6.52, p = .012, \eta^2_p = .065$. The main effect of cultural continuity threat was nonsignificant, $F(1, 94) = 2.92, p = .091, \eta^2_p = .030$. As shown in
Table 6
Estimated Values of the Intention to Reject the American Company as a Function of Cultural Continuity Threat and Personal Value Affirmation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Cultural Continuity Threat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Value Not Affirmed</td>
<td>4.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal Value Affirmed</td>
<td>4.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6, the intention to reject the company was the highest among participants who learned that Chinese culture was declining and did not affirm their personal values ($M = 4.75, SD = 0.64$). The tendency to reject the company was higher in this condition than in any of the three remaining conditions ($ps < .01$), and the mean levels of rejection of the foreign company in the other three conditions did not differ from each other ($Fs < 1$).
VII. GENERAL DISCUSSION

VII.1 Summary of Findings

There are several major findings in the current research. First, the Chinese have a higher level of chronic concern over continuity of Chinese culture than do Americans, probably because China is a major importer of global culture and the U.S. is a major exporter. A recent study also showed that the Chinese generally believe that globalization has caused significant erosive effects on the old way of life in China (Cheng et al., 2010). Because of the chronic cultural continuity concern, the Chinese are more likely than the Americans to show exclusionary responses to foreign cultural influence. Second, when there is a heightened concern over the continuity of one’s own culture, both Americans and the Chinese would have the highest likelihood of exhibiting exclusionary reactions to a foreign company when (a) the perceivers are under the influence of bicultural priming; and (b) when the company is perceived to be an active agent of foreign cultural influence. Results also show that the joint effect of cultural continuity concern and bicultural priming on reactions to foreign cultural influence is fully mediated by concern over cultural erosion.

Besides, the current research shows that bicultural priming and monocultural priming have different effects on culturally motivated exclusion of foreign businesses. When concern over cultural continuity is high, bicultural priming increases concern over cultural erosion, reduces commitment to the value of cultural diversity (for American participants), and increases agitation and exclusionary behaviors toward a foreign company that is perceived to have the intention to spread a foreign culture in the local community. At least among Americans, ingroup culture priming increases commitment to the American value of cultural diversity and attenuates culturally motivated exclusion of foreign businesses. Outgroup culture priming has no effects on
exclusionary behaviors probably because the participants in the current research have little knowledge of the outgroup culture.

Lastly, the results suggest that affirmation of the vitality of the ingroup culture and/or core values of the self can mitigate the joint effect of cultural continuity concern and bicultural priming on culturally motivated exclusion of foreign businesses. This provides further evidence for cultural continuity concern and the epistemic function of culture as the underlying factors driving negative reactions to foreign cultural influence.

VII.2 Implications for the Psychology of Globalization

This research contributes to the growing literature on psychology of globalization. Recent research has used bicultural priming as a proxy to theorize possible psychological consequences of living in a globalized, multicultural place (Chiu & Cheng, 2007). Prior research has shown that people under the influence of bicultural priming tend to adopt essentialist perspectives on culture and be sensitive to cultural differences (Chiu et al., 2009). Subsequently, Cheng and Chiu (in press) theorize that individuals can exhibit hot (emotional, identity-driven, exclusionary) or cool (thoughtful, goal-oriented, integrative) reactions to the cultural implications of globalization. Prior research on the cool responses found that globalization can enhance creative problem solving (Leung & Chiu, in press). The current research is the first attempt to examine some hot responses to globalization. My findings add to the literature by showing cultural continuity concern is a factor that would increase the likelihood of exhibiting culturally motivated exclusionary reactions to carriers of foreign culture. When individuals are concerned that foreign cultural influence would undermine the vitality of their culture and when bicultural priming renders an essentialist view of is rendered accessible, people would be particularly likely
to feel agitated (angry, fearful, and anxious) when they think that a foreign company is trying to spread its culture in the country; they are also particularly likely to take action to block the influence of foreign culture in their country.

VII.3 Theoretical Implications

As noted in Chapter 1, current research in cross-cultural and cultural psychology has focused on cultural similarities or differences in psychological processes (Lehman et al., 2004). The present investigation extends the scope of cultural psychology to an analysis of how people react to foreign cultures in a culturally mixed environment (Cheng & Chiu, in press).

My results qualify the prediction of several theories regarding responses to cultural continuity threats. Social identity theory, terror management theory, and the theory on the epistemic function of culture make the same prediction regarding the effect of cultural continuity threats: The presence of cultural continuity threats is likely to evoke a culture protection motive. Driven by this motive, people would protect the vitality of their culture by resisting foreign cultural influence. However, our results suggest that the presence of cultural continuity threats alone is not sufficient to increase exclusionary reactions. If the perceivers do not view local and foreign cultures as incompatible, they may not exhibit exclusionary reactions to foreign cultures. Instead, they may try to assimilate foreign cultural practices into the local cultural tradition as way to protect the vitality of the local culture. For example, Hong Kong movie director Stephen Chow is well-known for his success in appropriating elements of Hollywood movies in his movies (e.g., *Kung Fu Hustle*), and he did this consciously in response to a cultural continuity threat. At the time when the movie *Kung Fu Hustle* was planned, with the unrivalled popularity of Hollywood movies in Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan (following the overwhelming
success of *the Titanic*), Hong Kong’s film industry was in a very bad shape; new productions had dropped from 200 new movies in 1993 to 52 in 2006. To survive the keen competition from the large-budget Hollywood productions, the Hong Kong film industry must go global. Against this backdrop, Stephen Chow incorporated many elements of American popular culture in the film to cater for the taste of U.S. audiences, while retaining many defining elements of Hong Kong movies including Chinese martial art, Hong Kong style humor and gangster rivalry. In many ways, Chow’s story is similar to the Self-Strengthening Movement that took place in China in the late 19th century when China faced the threats from foreign imperialism. A slogan in the Movement was “to combat the foreigners by learning from their strengths.” Recent studies (Fu & Chiu, 2007) also found that in response to globalization, Hong Kong Chinese are comfortable with accepting global values that promote instrumental rationality (creativity, intelligent, efficiency) into their core value system without giving up traditional Chinese moral values.

My results also point to the need to sharpen some predictions from the social identity theory. The theory predicts that ingroup cultural priming can increase the salience of ingroup identification, which in turn increases ingroup-favoring behaviors. The theory also predicts that enhancing perceptual salience of intergroup difference would increase ingroup-favoring behaviors. My results show that ingroup cultural priming and bicultural priming (which is supposed to increase the perceptual salience of intergroup contrast) produce very different effects on reactions to foreign cultural influence. Whereas bicultural priming increases exclusionary reactions to foreign cultural influence, at least among Americans, ingroup cultural priming increases endorsement of the value of cultural diversity (a socially approved intercultural value in the United States) and attenuates exclusionary reactions to foreign cultural influence.

Thus, my results highlight the importance of distinguishing the effects of monocultural
priming from those of bicultural priming. Past research has provided ample evidence that monocultural priming activates the available knowledge associated with the primed culture and affects subsequent judgments and behaviors (Hong et al., 2004). Consistent to the availability principle, outgroup culture priming did not influence participants’ responses in both Studies 1 and 2: the responses in the outgroup culture priming condition were similar to those in the control condition. Besides, consistent to the accessibility and applicability principles, American participants primed with their ingroup culture valued cultural diversity (a dominant intercultural value in the U.S.) more and displayed weaker exclusionary reactions to Chinese company when the company was seen as a carrier of Chinese culture (Study 2). In contrast, bicultural priming increases the salience of perceived differences and incompatibility between cultures (Chiu et al., 2009), which in turn reinforces motivated resistance to foreign cultural influence when there is a heightened concern over cultural continuity. As shown in Studies 1 and 2, for both Chinese and American participants, bicultural priming effect accentuated culturally motivated exclusionary reactions to a foreign company in the presence of a heightened concern over cultural continuity. This result suggests that bicultural priming is not reducible to the additive effects of priming the two cultures separately. This effect of bicultural priming, which conceptually analogous to priming two options or two contrastive categories simultaneously (Fishbach & Zhang, 2008; Hsee et al., 1999), need to be treated as a new culture priming phenomenon.

VII.4 Implications for Managing Cultural Politics

Globalization has brought cultures closer, created culturally mixed environments, and given rise to new cultural social psychological phenomena that await scientific research. In globalized environments, people become more sensitive to cultural differences, as well as to the
distinctive features that define their cultural tradition. Intensified cultural contacts confer opportunities for intercultural learning and create new business opportunities, but they also give rise to concern over possible erosion of the local cultural tradition. Should local culture embrace and learn from global, foreign cultures, even at the risk of losing one’s cultural identity? Or should people protect and preserve heritage traditions and resist cultural influences from foreign companies (and other agents) at the expense of losing some business opportunities.

How should the society balance the seemingly incompatible goals of promoting international business and preserving local cultural heritage? This is a hard choice that many globalizing countries (including developed countries) need to make, and the choice a country makes will have tremendous economic, cultural and international impacts on the country.

At the individual level, how the choice will be made is predicated on several variables, including whether the individual has been led to believe that cultures are dynamic and changing or culture has essential qualities and impermeable boundaries. Bicultural priming, which often occur in culturally mixed environments, tends to fortify an essentialist belief of culture. However, noticing cultural differences does not always lead to exclusionary reactions. When the individuals are eager to learn from other cultures, they would be more curious about dissimilar cultures that similar ones. Indeed, research has found that bicultural priming can facilitate creative performance when it is coupled with a multicultural learning mindset (Leung & Chiu, in press). However, the present investigation shows that when individuals have a concern over the continuity of the local cultural tradition—when they fear that infiltration of foreign cultures would undermine the vitality of their own culture, highlighting cultural incompatibility through bicultural priming increases the likelihood of displaying exclusionary reactions to foreign businesses. Thus, if the goal is to enhance the individual’s tendency to engage in intercultural
learning and to reduce exclusionary reactions, the best strategy is to increase awareness of cultural differences and at the same time assure individuals the continued vigor of their culture. However, if the goal is mobilize concerted effort to protect vulnerable but valuable local traditions, the best strategy is to awareness of cultural differences by placing local and global cultures in juxtaposition and increase individuals’ awareness of the potential erosive effects of global culture.

My results also have implications for expansion of global businesses into foreign countries. Global businesses seeking entry into a developing country should be aware of cultural dynamics uncovered in the present investigation. First, people in countries that are at the receiving end of global cultural influence are likely to have chronic concern over the erosive effects of global culture. Global brands that are generally perceived to be icons of global or foreign culture are particularly likely to elicit exclusionary reactions from people in these countries, particularly when these brands start to market products that are strongly associated with local culture (e.g., Starbucks coffee flavored mooncakes) or open its stores in cultural heritage sites (e.g., Starbucks (Starbucks coffee in China’s Imperial Palace Museum). Such marketing activities are likely to produce bicultural priming effect, which when coupled with a concern over cultural erosion, are likely to evoke exclusionary reactions from local consumers. To avoid such reactions, marketers of global brands should avoid these activities. If they decide to engage in such activities, care should be taken to downplay the cultural significance of such activities and to avoid creating the impression that they are infiltrating the local culture.

VII.5 Limitations and Future Research Directions

In the current research, I operationalized culturally motivated exclusionary reactions to
foreign cultural influence with the association between perceived intention of the company to promote a foreign culture and the reaction to the company. The way I operationalized this construct takes into consideration the fact that a global business entering into a local culture can be perceived to be a business venture seeking economic benefits or a cultural agent trying to spread foreign culture on local soil. However, it is unclear that why some participants perceived a foreign business as an economic entity and when they would see it as an agent of cultural diffusion. Future research is needed to answer this research question.

The current research has several limitations. For example, the concern for cultural continuity manipulation in Studies 2 and 3 was blatant. Participants might be led by this manipulation to respond to the cultural implications of the business case. Nonetheless, this did not explain why culturally motivated exclusionary behaviors were found only in the bicultural priming condition in Study 2. It also did not explain why self-affirmation would attenuate culturally motivated exclusionary behaviors in Study 3 or why the same pattern of results was found among the Chinese in Study 1 that did not include the cultural continuity manipulation. Another potential methodological problem is the use of the same set of cultural primes and the same business case in all three studies. It is possible that my results were due to certain incidental aspects or specific properties of the primes and/or the business case I used. Thus, it is important to replicate the present studies with other dependent measures.

One interesting result concerning the effect of ingroup cultural priming emerged in Study 2. When the foreign company was perceived to be a carrier of foreign culture, priming American culture increased American participants’ endorsement of the value of cultural diversity. Apparently, this occurs because cultural diversity is a socially approved value in the domain of intercultural relations in the United States. Thus, priming American culture increases the
accessibility of this value among Americans. Furthermore, when the company was seen as a carrier of foreign culture, the cultural diversity value becomes applicable and the activated belief moderates exclusionary reactions to the company. Interestingly, this effect was reversed when the participants were under the influence of bicultural priming: When bicultural priming rendered perceived cultural incompatibility salient and the company was seen as a carrier of foreign culture, the participants reduced their commitment to the cultural diversity value, experienced a heightened concern for cultural erosion, and increased the tendency to limit the influence of the foreign company in the United States. Unfortunately, we did not measure the socially approved intercultural values in Chinese culture in Study 1. Thus, it is unclear whether the same process would be observed in China. This is an important question that needs to be addressed in future research.

Besides, culture priming effects could be sample-specific. Relative to others in the same population, college students probably have more knowledge of foreign cultures, which might be a necessary condition for the bicultural priming effect. However, it is also possible that as long as the participants are aware the differences of local and foreign cultures, deep understanding of the primed cultures is not necessary for the occurrence of the bicultural priming effect. Future research is needed to address whether extensive foreign cultural knowledge is a necessary condition for the bicultural priming effect.

In addition, college students may have relatively liberal views of intercultural relations. This might have contributed to the Study 2 result that priming American college students with the American culture led to more positive reactions to foreign cultural influence. Nonetheless, college students may be relatively critical about the cultural effects of globalization, and this may have contributed to the bicultural priming effects on resistance to cultural influence found in this
research. I did not measure the participants’ opinions on globalization and cannot determine whether attitude toward globalization moderates the bicultural priming effect. This issue merits future research attention.

Finally, future research is needed to extend the present investigation to other countries with varying experiences with globalization. For example, the U.S. is a major exporter of global culture, whereas China is a major beneficiary of globalization. Although a recent study showed that the Chinese are concerned that globalization has caused erosion of the old way of life in China, they are also optimistic that globalization will turn China into a strong and modern country (Cheng et al., 2010). Some countries in the Middle East are more suspicious of the beneficial effects of globalization, whereas many countries in Africa have been economically exploited by global economic powers. Whether the same principles identified in the present investigation can be generalized globally is still an open question.

Nonetheless, the present investigation has made a pioneering effort to uncover some psychological principles that underlie people’s reactions to foreign cultural influences. Like most pioneering research effort, the present investigation raised more questions than it answered. I hope that the answers I offer in this investigation, preliminary as they seen, can provide some leads to investigators who are interested in furthering this exploration.
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APPENDIX A: RESULTS OF CULTURAL PRIMES PRETEST

American Sample (N = 63)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objects from Chinese Culture</th>
<th>Association with Chinese culture</th>
<th>Association with American culture</th>
<th>Paired-Sample t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>6.44 (0.94)</td>
<td>1.72 (1.06)</td>
<td>21.35</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese calligraphy</td>
<td>6.80 (0.65)</td>
<td>1.63 (0.88)</td>
<td>34.41</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mooncake</td>
<td>6.70 (0.75)</td>
<td>1.80 (0.96)</td>
<td>28.04</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese dragon</td>
<td>6.72 (0.70)</td>
<td>1.92 (1.24)</td>
<td>23.07</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pipa</em></td>
<td>6.48 (0.96)</td>
<td>1.77 (0.97)</td>
<td>23.47</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steamed bun</td>
<td>6.30 (1.23)</td>
<td>2.13 (1.15)</td>
<td>17.58</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Koonyum</em></td>
<td>6.47 (1.04)</td>
<td>1.67 (1.02)</td>
<td>21.41</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objects from American Culture</th>
<th>Association with Chinese culture</th>
<th>Association with American culture</th>
<th>Paired-Sample t</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln statue</td>
<td>1.97 (1.11)</td>
<td>6.47 (1.11)</td>
<td>-20.31</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English calligraphy</td>
<td>2.06 (1.25)</td>
<td>5.75 (1.18)</td>
<td>-17.47</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cookie</td>
<td>4.03 (1.62)</td>
<td>4.46 (1.81)</td>
<td>-1.08</td>
<td>0.283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eagle</td>
<td>3.20 (1.55)</td>
<td>5.53 (1.58)</td>
<td>-7.49</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>3.33 (1.66)</td>
<td>5.17 (1.65)</td>
<td>-5.21</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamburger</td>
<td>2.50 (1.44)</td>
<td>6.39 (1.24)</td>
<td>-13.85</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virgin Mary</td>
<td>2.47 (1.62)</td>
<td>5.81 (1.62)</td>
<td>-9.42</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Neutral Objects

| Cloud picture 1               | 3.92 (1.40)                      | 3.69 (1.31)                       | 1.25            | 0.215 |
| Cloud picture 2               | 3.75 (1.43)                      | 3.84 (1.42)                       | -0.44           | 0.663 |

Objects as Comparison (not used in main study)

| Golden Gate Bridge            | 3.56 (1.80)                      | 5.39 (1.63)                       | -5.15           | < .001 |
| Stataue of Liberty            | 1.73 (0.95)                      | 6.76 (0.69)                       | -32.80          | < .001 |
| Forbidden City                | 6.79 (0.68)                      | 1.68 (1.03)                       | 27.37           | < .001 |
| The Great Wall                | 6.86 (0.56)                      | 1.48 (1.01)                       | 34.65           | < .001 |
Chinese Sample (N = 25)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Association with Chinese culture Mean (SD)</th>
<th>Association with American culture Mean (SD)</th>
<th>Paired-Sample t(df)</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Objects from Chinese Culture</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>6.04 (1.02)</td>
<td>2.20 (1.32)</td>
<td>9.25</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese caligraphy</td>
<td>6.80 (0.50)</td>
<td>1.96 (1.14)</td>
<td>17.60</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese style dinnerware</td>
<td>6.56 (0.51)</td>
<td>2.52 (1.39)</td>
<td>11.92</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese dragon</td>
<td>6.80 (0.41)</td>
<td>2.56 (1.69)</td>
<td>11.43</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Pipa</em></td>
<td>5.96 (0.98)</td>
<td>2.08 (1.08)</td>
<td>10.86</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steamed bun</td>
<td>4.92 (1.63)</td>
<td>3.52 (1.53)</td>
<td>2.78</td>
<td>0.010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chopsticks</td>
<td>6.76 (0.52)</td>
<td>2.92 (1.50)</td>
<td>11.46</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Objects from American Culture</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln statue</td>
<td>1.20 (0.58)</td>
<td>6.96 (0.20)</td>
<td>-39.81</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English caligraphy</td>
<td>2.24 (1.42)</td>
<td>5.72 (1.40)</td>
<td>-7.47</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western style dinnerware</td>
<td>3.84 (1.86)</td>
<td>4.76 (1.67)</td>
<td>-1.53</td>
<td>0.138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eagle</td>
<td>1.92 (1.78)</td>
<td>6.36 (1.66)</td>
<td>-6.62</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guitar</td>
<td>3.28 (1.62)</td>
<td>5.92 (1.47)</td>
<td>-5.05</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamburger</td>
<td>2.32 (1.31)</td>
<td>6.64 (1.04)</td>
<td>-10.72</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fork</td>
<td>2.60 (1.23)</td>
<td>6.04 (1.14)</td>
<td>-8.59</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Neutral Objects</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloud picture 1</td>
<td>4.20 (1.76)</td>
<td>4.40 (1.63)</td>
<td>-0.71</td>
<td>0.486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cloud picture 2</td>
<td>4.08 (1.73)</td>
<td>4.40 (1.68)</td>
<td>-1.69</td>
<td>0.103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Objects as Comparison (not used in main study)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Golden Gate Bridge</td>
<td>1.84 (1.25)</td>
<td>6.92 (0.28)</td>
<td>-17.99</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staatue of Liberty</td>
<td>1.48 (0.92)</td>
<td>7.00 (0.00)</td>
<td>-30.05</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forbidden City</td>
<td>6.88 (0.33)</td>
<td>1.44 (0.77)</td>
<td>28.31</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Great Wall</td>
<td>7.00 (0.00)</td>
<td>1.76 (1.27)</td>
<td>20.67</td>
<td>&lt; .001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B: MEASUREMENT ITEMS USED IN STUDY 1

1. Agitation

To what extend do you feel the following emotions toward Pharis and its business plan? [1 = not at all, 4 = moderately, 7 = very much]
   1. I feel angry.
   2. I feel fearful.
   3. I feel anxious.

2. Perceived Cultural Influence Intention

For the American Sample
   How much do you agree/disagree with the following statements? [1 = strongly disagree, 4 = neutral, 7 = strongly agree]
   1. Pharis has a strong interest in promoting Chinese culture in the U.S.
   2. Pharis' ambition is to create a strong impact on the American culture.
   3. Pharis' plan is an act of promoting Chinese culture.
   4. Pharis' plan is to increase the influence of Chinese culture in the U.S.

For the Chinese Sample
   How much do you agree/disagree with the following statements? [1 = strongly disagree, 4 = neutral, 7 = strongly agree]
   1. Pharis has a strong interest in promoting American culture in China.
   2. Pharis' ambition is to create a strong impact on the Chinese culture.
   3. Pharis' plan is an act of promoting American culture.
   4. Pharis' plan is to increase the influence of American culture in China.

3. Cultural Erosion Concern

For the American Sample
   What would be the effects of Pharis' development in the U.S.? [1 = not at all, 4 = moderately, 7 = very much]
   1. It will hurt the development of American culture
   2. It will hurt the education of American kids

   How much do you agree/disagree with the following statements? [1 = strongly disagree, 4 = neutral, 7 = strongly agree]
   3. Pharis' success in the U.S. will lead to erosion of American culture.
   4. Pharis' success in the U.S. will lead to erosion of American values.
   5. Pharis' success in the U.S. will lead to deterioration of American traditions.
7. Pharis' success in the U.S. may threaten the vitality of American culture.
8. Pharis' success in the U.S. may threaten the continuity of American culture.

For the Chinese Sample
What would be the effects of Pharis' development in the China? [1 = not at all, 4 = moderately, 7 = very much]
1. It will hurt the development of Chinese culture
2. It will hurt the education of the Chinese kids

How much do you agree/disagree with the following statements? [1 = strongly disagree, 4 = neutral, 7 = strongly agree]
3. Pharis' success in the U.S. will lead to erosion of Chinese culture.
4. Pharis' success in the U.S. will lead to erosion of Chinese values.
5. Pharis' success in the U.S. will lead to deterioration of Chinese traditions.
7. Pharis' success in the U.S. may threaten the vitality of Chinese culture.
8. Pharis' success in the U.S. may threaten the continuity of Chinese culture.
Survey Confirms Globalization's Side Effects on Erosion of American Values

By BRIAN KNOWLTON
Published: March 8, 2010

WASHINGTON – Battered by globalization, people around the world harbor growing concerns about its side effects: threats to their cultures, according to a new survey conducted by the Pew Research Center.

The survey of people in 47 countries found large majorities all over the world said that their traditional way of life was getting lost. At least half of the respondents in these countries said, "Our way of life needs to be protected against foreign influence."

The United States is no exception. The survey confirmed declining confidence in the vitality of American values in the United States, particularly among the next generation. The survey found a growing majority of Americans value materialism more than the core American values of freedom, independence, and the pursuit of happiness.

Most countries display a clear negative correlation between wealth and strength of traditional beliefs: The latter declines as the former increases. This trend is particularly pronounced among the next generation in the United States. Most 18-24-year-olds in America are cynical toward the foundational values of their country.
APPENDIX D: MEASUREMENT ITEMS USED IN STUDY 2

1. Reactions to the Company

The publisher is negotiating tax arrangement with the government. In your opinion, relative to the tax policy with other similar companies, the government should: [1 = collect substantially lower, 4 = collect the same level, 7 = collect substantially higher]

1. Corporate Income Tax
2. Property Tax
3. Foreign Exchange Tax
4. Print and Publication Tax
5. If someone support the government’s favoring policies for the publisher, I will tell them they are wrong. [1 = extremely unlikely, 4 = uncertain, 7 = extremely likely]
6. If someone opposes the government’s favoring policies for the publisher, I will join them. [1 = extremely unlikely, 4 = uncertain, 7 = extremely likely]

2. Perceived Cultural Influence Intention

How much do you agree/disagree with the following statements? [1 = strongly disagree, 4 = neutral, 7 = strongly agree]

5. Pharis has a strong interest in promoting Chinese culture in the U.S..
6. Pharis' ambition is to create a strong impact on the American culture.
7. Pharis' plan is an act of promoting Chinese culture.
8. Pharis' plan is to increase the influence of Chinese culture in the U.S..

3. Cultural Erosion Concern

What would be the effects of Pharis' development in the U.S.? [1 = not at all, 4 = moderately, 7 = very much]

1. It will hurt the development of American culture
2. It will hurt the education of American kids

How much do you agree/disagree with the following statements? [1 = strongly disagree, 4 = neutral, 7 = strongly agree]

3. Pharis' success in the U.S. will lead to erosion of American culture.
4. Pharis' success in the U.S. will lead to erosion of American values.
5. Pharis' success in the U.S. will lead to deterioration of American traditions.
7. Pharis' success in the U.S. may threaten the vitality of American culture.
8. Pharis' success in the U.S. may threaten the continuity of American culture.
4. Cultural Diversity Belief

How much do you agree/disagree with the following statements? [1 = strongly disagree, 4 = neutral, 7 = strongly agree]

1. We should respect the way of life of people from different cultures.
2. People should make an effort to protect cultural diversity.
3. I feel very upset when I see the erosion of a heritage culture, even though I am not a member of the culture.
APPENDIX E: MEASUREMENT ITEMS USED IN STUDY 3

1. Reaction to the Company

The publisher is negotiating tax arrangement with the government. In your opinion, relative to the tax policy with other similar companies, the government should: [1 = collect substantially lower, 4 = collect the same level, 7 = collect substantially higher]

1. Corporate Income Tax
2. Property Tax
3. Foreign Exchange Tax
4. Print and Publication Tax
5. If someone support the government’s favoring policies for the publisher, I will tell them they are wrong. [1 = extremely unlikely, 4 = uncertain, 7 = extremely likely]
6. If someone opposes the government’s favoring policies for the publisher, I will join them. [1 = extremely unlikely, 4 = uncertain, 7 = extremely likely]

2. Cultural Erosion Concern

What would be the effects of Pharis’ development in the China? [1 = not at all, 4 = moderately, 7 = very much]

1. It will hurt the development of Chinese culture
2. It will hurt the education of the Chinese kids

How much do you agree/disagree with the following statements? [1 = strongly disagree, 4 = neutral, 7 = strongly agree]

3. Pharis’ success in the U.S. will lead to erosion of Chinese culture.
4. Pharis’ success in the U.S. will lead to erosion of Chinese values.
5. Pharis’ success in the U.S. will lead to deterioration of Chinese traditions.
7. Pharis’ success in the U.S. may threaten the vitality of Chinese culture.
8. Pharis’ success in the U.S. may threaten the continuity of Chinese culture.