

The Role of Self-Concept in Cross-Cultural Communication

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Abstract

Empirical evidence supports the notion that communication behaviors in intercultural encounters are effectively extensions of cultural values as well as epistemologies. Study 1 established communication behaviors of Asians and New Zealanders (NZs) as consistent with vertical-collectivism and horizontal-individualism, respectively. In particular, argumentativeness is positively related to independent self-construal and negatively related to interdependent self-construal. This supports Markus and Kitayama's self-construal theory. Study 2 showed that NZs exhibited more idiocentric and argumentative behavior while Asians displayed more sociocentric and less argumentative behavior during two actual interactions; specifically, participants diverged in their communication styles to be more consistent with their cultural values during intercultural interactions. Analyses of decision outcomes provide support that culture moderates cognitive consistency behaviors such that NZs exhibited more inconsistency-reduction behaviors, which is rooted in adherence to non-contradiction. In contrast, Asians exhibited more inconsistency-support behaviors, suggesting that *naïve dialecticism* rooted in acceptance of contradiction is customary in Asian social interaction.

Key words: Intercultural communication, Values, Self-Concept, Argumentativeness, Dialecticism, Idiocentric style, Sociocentric style.

Communication Style as Extensions of Internalized Cultural Values and Epistemology

The topic of cross-cultural communication has received some well-deserved attention in the literature in the past (Adair, Okumura & Brett, 2001; Limaye & Victor, 1991; Lindsley 1999), and recently due to the changes in the world's workforce; now large percentages of a nation's workforce come from a variety of cultural backgrounds (Okoro & Washington, 2012; MacKenzie & Forde, 2009). Prescriptions for effective communication in intercultural encounters often suggest adapting one's behavior to that of the other culture, however, empirical evidence for actual behaviors and effectiveness of adaptive strategies is still equivocal (Gallois, Ogay & Giles 2004; Francis, 1991; Thomas & Ravlin, 1995; Tse, Francis & Walls, 1994). In fact, Adair et al.'s (2001) work suggests that adaptation by negotiating parties does not necessarily ensure the most effective outcomes.

This study aims to investigate communication tendencies of people from different cultures and the extent these styles are shown during initial intercultural interactions. To this end, two studies were conducted. Study 1 examined the relationship between individuals' cultural values, self-concept and argumentative behavior. Study 2 tested actual communication behaviors in intracultural and intercultural situations. As such, it extends previous works by examining the role of self-concept and communication behaviors during intercultural encounters that illustrate internalized cultural values as well as inconsistency-reduction and inconsistency-support behaviors (Kim M-S, Aune, Kim J-S, & Hunter, 2001; Pekerti & Thomas, 2003). The study also contributes to extant debate concerning Markus and Kitayama's (1991) notion of self-concept and how it influence behaviors; showing that communication behaviors are extensions of independent self-construal (independent-SC) or interdependent self-construal (interdependent-SC).

Cultural Values of Individualism and Collectivism

Consistent with previous research (Gudykunst et al., 1996; Kim et al., 2001; Pekerti & Thomas, 2003; Sanchez-Burks et al., 2003; Singelis & Brown, 1995; Suzuki & Rancer, 1994), we predict that culture influences communication behaviors in different situations. We adopted the vertical and horizontal dimensions of individualism and collectivism to differentiate our cross-cultural sample and base our predictions due to the broader variation of possible cultural profiles: vertical-collectivism (V-C) and horizontal-collectivism (H-C); vertical-individualism (V-I) and horizontal-

individualism (H-I). In addition, research indicates that the polarity that emerges from the most sophisticated mapping of cultures to date (Schwartz, 1994) falls quite neatly along the broad cultural profiles of V-C and H-I (Smith & Bond, 1999). In short, *verticality* is conceptually equivalent to the power distance dimension whereby, the positive correlation between power distance and collectivism ($r = .67$, Hofstede 1980) suggests that V-C and H-I may be the dominant cultural profiles around the world (Triandis, 1995).

The attributes of the V-C and H-I cultural profiles suggest the extent which situational factors will influence behavior. For example, *vertical-collectivists* (V-Cs) see themselves as members of in-groups, acknowledging that members are different in terms of status. V-C cultures typically have social systems that do not reflect values of individual freedom and/or equity (Rokeach, 1973). In essence, verticalness causes one to be sensitive to cues coming from authorities while collectivism predisposes them to be willing to sacrifice their individual goals (Triandis, 1995). In contrast, *Horizontal-individualists* (H-Is) are susceptible to self-referent factors in their exchange relationship because of their independent nature and high freedom of choice. H-I cultures are characterized by social systems that emphasize both the values of equality and individual freedom (Rokeach, 1973).

Communication Style and Internalized Cultural Values

A number of theoretical perspectives suggest communication styles also vary across cultures since they are logical extensions of internalized cultural values, which strongly influences style, conventions and practices of communication (Gudykunst et al., 1996). One way which communication varies as a function of culture is the extent messages are varied to communicate according to the culture's norms and social beliefs (axioms; Bond et al, 2004). The low-context (LC) and high-context (HC) communication typology is one that posit communication is culturally driven (Hall 1976). In LC cultures, messages are conveyed largely by verbalization, thus the use of both written and spoken modes whereby meaning is contained in the verbalized message. However, in HC cultures, a good deal of the meaning is implicit, thus the verbal mode convey only a small part of the message. The rest of the message and meaning must be derived based on past knowledge of the speaker, setting, or other contextual cues.

Scholars of culture and communication have documented a link between communication style and cultural values, where LC and HC communication are linked to individualism and collectivism, respectively (Gudykunst, Ting-Toomey, & Chua., 1988; Hofstede, 1980). The logic of this relationship is based on the two primary functions of communication, *affiliation* (relational) and *reducing uncertainty* (functional) (Honeycutt, 1993). Hall (1976) argued that people in all cultures use both LC and HC communication just as individualism and collectivism exist in all cultures, but a culture will have predominate mode depending on that culture's norms and social beliefs. Although the emphasis of communication on affiliation or reducing uncertainty varies according to situations, they also tend to vary according to culturally based motives for communication (Thomas et al., 2008).

Influence of Interdependent-SC and Independent-SC on Communication

Literature suggests that socialization is the mechanism responsible for differing patterns of self-construals, communication and how people interpret information in individualistic and collectivistic cultures (Hofstede, 1980; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Pekerti & Kwantes, 2011).

Markus and Kitayama (1991) posited that everyone in every culture has both independent-SC and interdependent-SC; however, similar to Hall's (1976) view of communication modes one typology tends to predominate depending on the cultural milieu. They described people socialized in collectivistic societies as placing more value on social order and harmony (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Oishi et al., 2004; Singelis, 1994; Singelis & Brown, 1995; Triandis et al., 1993). Actions stemming from a relational motive are labeled *sociocentric*, indicated by behaviors such as, affiliative, flexible, avoiding arguments, fitting-in with the environment and relevant others and emphasizing group identity (Park & Levine 1999) thus akin to HC communication (Gudykunst et al., 1996; Pekerti & Thomas, 2003).

In contrast, a functional approach to communication associated with the motive of achieving (Burgoon & Hale, 1987) are often associated with members of individualistic cultures (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961; Sanchez-Burks et al., 2003; Triandis, Lisansky, Marín, & Betancourt, 1984). While most communication has both relational and functional purposes, when one is emphasized over the other, such as uncertainty reduction, it relegates the affiliative function to a secondary role. This in turn, emphasizes personal identity and task-orientation (Burgoon & Hale, 1987; Gallois et al., 2004;

(Park & Levine 1999). Behaviors associated with this task accomplishment motive are labeled *idiocentric*, indicated by direct communication and other actions such as propensity to argue (Gudykunst et al., 1996; Infante & Rancer, 1996; Pekerti & Thomas, 2003; Suzuki & Rancer 1994). We contend that these behaviors are akin to LC communication modes; please see Figure 1.

Extant literature suggests that individuals socialized in individualistic or collectivistic cultures are more likely to have an independent-SC and idiocentric behavior, or interdependent-SC and sociocentric behaviors, respectively (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989). Further, other scholars have documented that individualism and collectivism are associated with low- and high-context communication (Gudykunst et al., 1996; Pekerti & Thomas, 2003). Based on the above discussions, we present the first of four hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: Individuals from individualistic (Western) cultures will score higher on H-I and have a more salient independent-SC compared to individuals from collectivistic cultures (Non-Western) who will score higher on V-C and have a more salient interdependent-SC.

Culture, Self-concept and Argumentativeness

One communication construct that appears to support Hall's (1976) and Markus and Kitayama's (1991) theories is *argumentativeness*. Argumentativeness refers to a disposition that leads to the propensity to argue (Infante & Rancer, 1996). It is considered constructive since it "involves attacking the positions that others take on given issues as opposed to the negative disposition of verbal aggressiveness which involves attacking the self-concept(s) of others, rather than their positions" (Infante & Rancer, 1996, p. 320). Argumentativeness is related to workplace success especially when used with an affirming communication style (Infante & Rancer, 1996). Argumentativeness has been validated cross-culturally, for example, Infante and Rancer (1996) as well as Suzuki and Rancer (1994) found members of collectivistic Japanese and Korean cultures less argumentative than members of individualistic North American culture. Kim et al.'s (2001) work indicate that individualism is positively linked to independent-SC and argumentativeness; including the idea that as one's level of individualism decreases so does one's argumentativeness.

We contend that argumentativeness is an extension of one's cultural values and self-concept. Logically, collectivists with an interdependent-SC have lower tendencies to attack another's position

concerning a given issue or ideas, because they do not make distinctions between ideas and the person who expresses them (Cross, Morris & Gore, 2002; Cross, Bacon, & Morris, 2000; Kim et al., 2001; Singelis & Brown, 1995). Since, attacks on ideas would be perceived as an attack on the person, collectivists are less likely to be argumentative in communication interactions to ensure harmony with relevant others, especially if the other participants are of higher status. In contrast, individualists with an independent-SC do distinguish between ideas and the person who expresses them thus do not mind attacking an idea and opposing it compared to collectivist, i.e., being argumentative. Therefore, we present the following hypothesis regarding argumentativeness.

Hypothesis 2: Individuals with a more salient independent-SC are higher in argumentativeness compared to individuals with a more salient interdependent-SC.

Communication in Intercultural Interactions

Understanding dominant communication styles used in different cultures is an important step in understanding behaviors of individuals from different cultures. However, this understanding is insufficient in intercultural interactions since it fails to address the extent to which individuals might alter their preferred behavior in these situations. Although there are sound theories that predict probable strategies people may adopt during intercultural encounters (Gallois et al., 2004), to date, we know only few studies that document actual communication behaviors during intercultural interactions (e.g., Adair et al, 2001; Pekerti & Thomas, 2003). As such, extant empirical evidence is still equivocal regarding accommodation strategy in intercultural interactions. Accommodating one's communication style so that it converges with another person's style to bridge cultural distance is largely based on the similarity attraction paradigm (Byrne, 1971; Giles & Noels, 1997). Logically, convergence leads to perceptions of similarity, which leads to positive attitudes towards members of the other culture (Gallois et al., 2004). However, the extent to which stylistic accommodation is viewed positively seems to depend on the motive to which it is attributed (Thomas & Ravlin, 1995). Research indicate that there might be an optimal level of adaptation concerning another culture's pattern of behaviors whereby the effects are less positive if a person goes beyond this threshold (Gallois et al., 2004; Francis, 1991). In short, when people interact with different cultures they have a choice of using either an adaptive strategy or not (Rao & Hashimoto, 1996; Tse et al., 1994).

Other research suggests that when situations fail to yield enough contextual clues to provide participants with cues to behave in a particular manner, people tend to rely on internal cues for guidance (Catrambone & Markus, 1987, Fiske & Taylor, 1991). For example, Laurent (1983) found individuals in multicultural environments exhibiting behaviors that were more characteristic of their own culture (i.e., divergence behavior) than in monocultural situations.

In sum, extant research suggests that people may alter their communication style during intercultural interactions; however, it is still unclear which strategy will bring about a more productive outcome (Adair et al., 2001). We suggest that in situations where cues for behavior are ambiguous, such as in initial encounters or novel situations, a strong case can be made for individuals to revert to preferred communication behaviors that are consistent with their cultural norms. To explore whether people diverged in their communication behavior in ambiguous situation such as initial encounters or novel situations we propose the following regarding communication behaviors in initial intercultural encounters.

Hypothesis 3: In initial intercultural interactions, individuals will behave in way that reflect their cultural values; such that, individualist will communicate in an idiocentric manner (task oriented, direct, propensity to argue) and collectivist in a sociocentric manner (affiliative, flexible, avoid argument).

Cross-Cultural Comparison of Cognitive Consistency Behaviors

An alternative concept that further explains and predicts differences in intercultural encounters is cognitive consistency theory. Cognitive consistency theory posits that all things being equal, individuals will change their attitudes and/or behaviors when there is discrepancy between their views and behavior to maintain consistency (Heider, 1946), especially, when the consequences are of functional importance to them. The theory posits that one might also attempt to influence others to change their attitudes, standards or behaviors to maintain consistency, thus called *inconsistency-reduction* behavior (Iwao, 1997; Kelman & Baron, 1968a; 1968b). In contrast, there are people who are comfortable with differences between their views, behaviors, and not attempt to change their own views and/or behavior or in others; these behaviors are called *inconsistency-support* behaviors.

Studies have shown cultural effects in cognitive consistency behaviors. Iwao (1997), Iwao and Triandis (1993) found Japanese participants exhibited *inconsistency-support* behaviors by not expressing discrepancy between one's private and publically expressed views regarding an issue. In contrast, Iwao and Triandis (1993) found Americans attempted to reduce their cognitive inconsistency by attempting to change another person's opinion to maintain consistency between their privately held and their publically expressed views. Similarly, Khokhlov and Gonzalez (1973) found Americans changed their views to maintain consistency with a significant other (friend, father, country), whereas Greeks were comfortable with perceived cognitive inconsistencies and did not change their views.

The importance of individuals' self-construals lies in the notion that it is the framework that activates the processing of information from the environment (Triandis, 1989). Therefore, we argue that self-construal is linked to cognitive consistency orientation and communication behavior. For example, collectivists with interdependent-SC place primary importance on maintaining relationships thus will behave in ways that avoid conflict, loss of face, and protect relationships (Cross et al., 2002; *e.g., amae in Japan* – Doi, 1974). We argue that Japanese and Greek participants in the previous experiments (Iwao, 1997; Iwao & Triandis, 1993; Khokhlov & Gonzalez, 1973) exhibited inconsistency-support behaviors because their sociocentric communication norms had relegated expressing an opinion that one believes as true secondary to maintaining harmony. Therefore, Greek and Japanese participants did not attempt to maintain consistency between their private and expressed opinions by attempting to change others' opinions.

In short, people who have an interdependent-SC and value harmony are more likely to exhibit inconsistency-support behaviors, such as being less argumentative compared to people who have an independent-SC, who are more likely to be more argumentative to maintain consistency; please see Figure 1. In addition, due to the orthogonality of self-construals (Cross, et al., 2000; Pekerti & Kwantes, 2011), one's self concept is more likely to be a better predictor of cognitive consistency behaviors than one's cultural background.

Dialecticism as Cultural Foundations of Cognitive Consistency

A metaphysical and epistemological view, which explains cognitive-consistency and inconsistency in Asians versus Westerners in the workplace, is how people deal with paradoxes and/or

contradictions (Cameron, 1986; Chen, 2002; Lewis, 2000; Nisbett, Peng, Choi, & Norenzayan, 2001; Paletz & Peng, 2009; Peng & Nisbett, 1999; Peng, Spencer-Rodgers, & Zong, 2006). In her exposition, Lewis (2000, p. 760) claimed that paradoxes are socially constructed concepts that incorporate ‘*contradictory yet interrelated elements*’. These works suggest that Westerners approach paradoxes via *dialectical thinking* that is rooted in the concept of non-contradiction. Westerners recognize contradiction then move on towards resolving it via verbal debate and argumentation; which fits in with Western preference for consistency (Boucher, Peng, Shi, & Wang, 2009; Nisbett et al., 2001; Peng et al., 2006; Peng & Nisbett, 1999; Spencer-Rodgers, Williams, & Peng, 2010).

In contrast, East and South East Asian societies (Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Singaporean, and Thailand) approach life and paradoxes via the middle way that prescribes a holistic approach (Chen, 2002; Peng & Nisbett, 1999; Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2010). The middle way has been attributed to the teachings of Lao Tzu and Tao philosophy (Chen, 2001; Chen, 2002), including Confucian teachings (Chen, 2002; Fletcher & Fang, 2006). Symbolized by the *yin-yang*, and coined *naïve dialecticism*, this approach accepts contradictions in life, since life involves as a constant state of flux (Peng & Nisbett, 1999; Nisbett et al., 2001; Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2010), to the extent that individuals can change depending on the context (Boucher et al., 2009; Peng et al., 2006).

A naïve dialectism approaches apparent paradox by believing that both views of a contradiction might be right thus truth lies between the two perspectives (Peng & Nisbett, 1999). Since both views can be correct, people can have differing views without having to persuade another to take another perspective. For example, Peng and Nisbett (1999) found Chinese participants more likely to accept two contradictory propositions compared to American participants, suggesting a holistic approach by the Chinese as opposed to a polarizing approach in dealing with contradictions.

Recent works suggests that tolerance for contradiction has been documented in India and in cultural milieus that accept multitheism (Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2010). Although, cognitive consistency theory posits that the motives for maintaining consistency are universal, studies indicate that occurrence of inconsistency-reduction behaviors may be lower in some cultures (Boucher et al., 2009; Peng & Nisbett, 1999; Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2010). Thus, the need to reconcile the inner-self with external behaviors may be lower for collectivists with an interdependent-SC than for

individualists with and independent-SC (Gudykunst et al., 1996; Kashima, Siegal, Tanaka, & Kashima, 1992); i.e., collectivists accept contradictions as part of life (Boucher et al., 2009; Peng & Nisbett, 1999; Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2010). Based on these findings and previous discussions we propose the following.

Hypothesis 4: In initial intercultural interactions, individualist with and independent-SC will exhibit inconsistency-reduction behavior compared to collectivist with an interdependent-SC who will exhibit inconsistency-support behavior.

The Present Research

Two studies were designed to examine the relationship between cultural value orientations and communication style. Study 1 examines the relationship between cultural values, self-construals and the propensity to argue. Study 2 investigated actual communication behaviors in intracultural versus intercultural interactions with the aim of explaining behavioral adjustment strategies in intercultural interactions.

Study 1

Study 1 tested predictions regarding individuals' cultural orientation, self-concept and propensity to argue.

Method

Participants. Participants were undergraduate students from a large university in New Zealand (NZ). Surveys were administered in English, which was the language of instruction at the university. 193 participants took part in the study; consisting of 96 Asian international students from East and South-East Asia; 97 NZ Caucasian participants with NZ, English, European and North American descent. The average age for NZ participants was 21.1 years and Asians 22.2 years. Of the 97 NZs, 61% were women; while 70% of the 96 Asian participants were women.

To account for acculturation effects, Asian participants were required to meet two criteria to control for possible acculturation effects. First, they had to be either first generation Asian in NZ or international students.

Measures

Argumentativeness. We measured argumentativeness using Infante and Rancer's (1982) 20 item scale; measuring the tendency to argue (ARGap) and avoid arguments (ARGav). The scale had been validated in individualist and collectivist cultures (Kim et al., 2001; Infante & Rancer, 1996; Suzuki & Rancer, 1994). To establish construct equivalence for the present study, the scale was subjected to a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) using structural equation modeling in each culture simultaneously (Bollen, 1989; van de Vijver & Leung, 1997). The model fit for factors ARGav and ARGap had goodness of fit indexes of .97 indicating equivalence of the measure across cultures. The reliabilities of the resulting factors were ARGap $\alpha = .70$, and ARGav $\alpha = .63$.

Horizontal-, vertical-, individualism and collectivism. Horizontal-, vertical-, individualism and collectivism scale was measured with Triandis and Gelfand's (1998) scale. Construct equivalence was established using structural equation modeling. The resulting four scales had goodness of fit indexes ranging from .98 to .99. The internal reliabilities of the resulting scales were H-I $\alpha = .70$; V-I $\alpha = .70$; H-C $\alpha = .70$; and V-C $\alpha = .70$.

Self-construal. Independent-SC and interdependent-SC was measured with Singelis' scale (Singelis, 1994; Yamada & Singelis, 1999). Construct equivalence was established using structural equation modeling. The independent and interdependence scales had goodness of fit indexes of .97. The internal reliability coefficients were independence $\alpha = .60$ and interdependence $\alpha = .72$, which are similar to other works (Green, Deschamps & Paez, 2005).

Results

A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed to test Hypotheses 1 and 2 with Culture as the independent variable (Asians, NZs) and the following as the dependent variables: H-I, V-I, H-C, V-C, Independence, Interdependence and Argumentativeness. There was an effect for Culture, F (Wilks criterion; 7, 192) = 10.23, $p < .001$, Partial Eta Squared ($p\eta^2$) = .28, Univariate effects are presented in Table 1. As shown in Table 1. NZs are higher on H-I compared to Asians; while Asians are higher on V-C and interdependence than NZs. Although not significant, the mean scores indicated that NZs are nominally more argumentative compared to Asians. These results

particularly support Hypothesis 1; while results for argumentativeness are in the predicted direction since Asian participants with higher in interdependence are showing lower argumentativeness.

 Insert Table 1 and 2 approximately here

Within group correlations in Table 2 confirmed our predictions. Within NZs, argumentativeness was positively related to independence and V-I, while argumentativeness is negatively related to H-C. Interdependence was positively related to H-C and V-C while independence is positively related to H-I and V-I. The Asian sample showed some interesting correlations: argumentativeness is negatively correlated to interdependence but positively linked to independence; interdependence and independence are positively correlated; argumentativeness is positively related to H-I and V-I; interdependence is positively related to H-C and V-C; while independence is positively related to H-I and V-I as well as H-C and V-C. These findings indicate that individuals can be both independent-SC and interdependent-SC (Cross et al., 2000; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Pekerti & Kwantes, 2011; Singelis, 1994).

Further analyses confirm that for Asians the concept of independence is driven by both HI and VC, but HI is the predominant source of independent-SC while VC solely drives the concept of interdependence, please refer to Table 3. In contrast, argumentativeness is positively linked to the NZs independent-SC and negatively linked to interdependence, thus supporting the argument that argumentativeness is effectively driven by one's independent-SC (Kim et al., 2001; Infante & Rancer 1996; Suzuki & Rancer, 1994); please refer to Table 4. Taken together these findings partially support Hypothesis 2, in particular, independent-SC is positively linked to argumentativeness.

 Insert Table 3, 4 and 5 approximately here

Mediating effect of self-concept. To examine the possible mediating effect of self-construal as depicted in Figure 1 we used the three-equation approach recommended by Baron and Kenny (1986) as well as Preacher and Hayes (2004). Since H-I and V-C were found to be the factors driving independent-SC and interdependent-SC, respectively, we limited the mediation analyses to these particular relationships. Mediated regression results for interdependence and V-C on

argumentativeness, as well as, independence and H-I on argumentativeness are presented in Table 5. As shown, the pattern of results supports a mediated relationship between H-I, independence and argumentativeness (Preacher & Hayes, 2004; Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007). That is, the relationship between H-I on independence and propensity to argue is as predicted, then H-I on argumentativeness becomes non-significant when independence is in the equation, the Sobel test supports this conclusion ($Z = 2.47, p < .01$). However, this effect was not found for V-C, interdependence and argumentativeness, the Sobel test concurs ($Z = 0.43, p < .068$). As such, it confirms that an individual's independent-SC will mediate one's propensity to argue to the extent the more independent one is the more likely he/she is to be argumentative.

For the most part results of Study 1 are consistent with our predictions, however, a few unexpected findings were observed. Positive relationships between collectivism and independence in the Asian data are examples of such findings. These findings, however, are not surprising since the sample were students. In general, university students are trained to think independently, thus Asian students living and studying in individualistic nations may be more independent compared to Asian students living in their home nations. This also explains why Asians were not significantly different in independence compared to NZs. These results illustrate the advantages and disadvantages of obtaining data from a student sample. Heine, Lehman, Peng and Greenholtz's (2001) suggests that gathering data from people of similar background in different countries such as university students can validate cultural differences when they exist, which we did discover. However, at the same time the similarities in experiences and opportunities that students have may also minimize potential cultural differences that may otherwise exist. Therefore, Heine et al.'s (2001) work suggests that if we were to interview Asians and asked to compare themselves with NZs; it is likely that Asians may view themselves as significantly less argumentative than NZs.

Summary and Discussion

Study 1 provides empirical evidence of the relationship between people's cultural value orientation, self-construal and propensity to argue. Individuals from traditionally collectivistic culture were found to be more interdependent than those from traditionally individualistic culture. Results

lend support to Markus and Kitayama's (1991) theory in that H-I was the predominant factor driving independent-SC while V-C was the predominant factor driving interdependent-SC.

The result also meets the seven criteria set by Matsumoto (1999) for validating the influence of culture on self-construal and behaviors. In short, using samples from two cultural backgrounds, Study 1 showed that there was an effect for H-I and V-C, and for self-construal with both effects and correlations in the predicted direction as described by Markus and Kitayama's (1991) theory. Culture influenced the propensity to argue through the intermediate variable of self-construal. In particular, independent-SC was positively linked to argumentativeness, and the mean scores for argumentativeness were in the predicted direction with NZs more argumentative compared to Asians.

The nominal effect of argumentativeness and significant relationship between independence and argumentativeness found in the present study are consistent with Kim et al.'s (2001) work. They found Koreans less argumentative compared to U.S. participants from the mainland and from Hawaii, but did not find a significant main effect for argumentativeness (Kim et al., 2001). The results suggest that when used with a student sample the argumentativeness scale may suffer the *lack of reference effect*, which serves to minimize cultural effect (Heine et al., 2001). As such, future studies using the argumentativeness measure may need to specify a reference group to compare with to test predictions.

In Study 2, we extend our findings by testing the link between culture and communication and adjustment behavior in intercultural interactions.

Study 2

Study 2 tested predictions that collectivists and individualists will exhibit sociocentric and idiocentric communication behavior, respectively; whereby in initial intercultural interactions the two groups will exhibit communication styles that are representative of their own cultural norms. Finally, we tested the prediction that individualist are more likely to exhibit inconsistency-reduction behavior than collectivist who are more likely to exhibit inconsistency-support behavior.

Method

Participants. Participants were Caucasian NZs as well as East and South-East Asian students at a large NZ university. Asian participants met two criteria to control for possible acculturation effects. First, they had to be a first generation Asian or international student. The sample consisted of

96 volunteer participants with an average age of 23 years, however, each participant was paid NZ \$10.00. The NZ Caucasian sample consisted of 24 men and 24 women who were from New Zealand of NZ, European and North American descent; one participant born in NZ with parents from South Africa. The Asian sample consisted of 24 men and 24 women from East and South-East Asia. They were predominantly of Chinese ancestry with the exception of two participants who were indigenous Indonesians.

Procedures and Experimental Design

Participants interacted in a dyadic consensus communication task performed at two different times. This design was included to test if subsequent interactions might affect behavior patterns, since familiarity can change behaviors between dyads (Honeycutt, 1993; Neff & Karney, 2005). The interactions were videotaped and the setting standardized. The study used a 2 X 2 (Culture X Condition) design, with participants in each cultural groups interacting in either intercultural or intracultural condition. Because communication research has indicated that social-roles and gender can affect communication behaviors (Fletcher, Danilovics, Fernandez, & Reeder 1986), participants were uniformly blocked for gender and age, as well as culture, before being randomly assigned to each condition (Cook & Campbell, 1979). This blocking controlled for possible effects of gender and/or status caused by age.

Consensus task. The experimental task was to rank the severity of 15 crimes (Taylor, 1987/88). Each participant was asked to rank the crimes as quickly and as accurately as possible, individually (individual ranking). Participants were informed that there was a model answer derived from expert opinions consisting of lawyers and judges. After participants completed the task individually, they were asked to interact and complete a new set of rankings via consensus (consensus ranks); a maximum of 15 minutes was given to complete the consensus ranks. The consensus ranks were then compared against the model answers and dyads were given the feedback, "you did not do so well compared to the expert rankings". They were then asked to improve their consensus ranks in a second attempt. This particular consensus task was chosen because it allowed participants to form individual opinions and to think about the rationales of why one maintains those opinions and/or change them during the task at two different points in time. The task fits the study well since we test

whether participants' communication styles and opinions differ at two different points in time. The interactions were conducted in English, which was the language of instruction at the university.

Scoring of crime-ranking task. The scoring of the crime-ranking task was as follows:

A) Individual scores (*I*) were the sum of absolute value of the differences between their individual ranking and the expert ranking. B) Difference scores between individuals (*DI*) were the sum of absolute value of differences between individual's ranks on each crime. C) Difference scores between individual's ranks and consensus ranks (*DIC*) tells us how much an individual had changed their rankings during the consensus task, this was the sum of the absolute value difference between the individual's ranks and consensus ranks. Because of the within-person design, we were able to record scores from Consensus Task at Time-1 (CT1) and Consensus Task at Time-2 (CT2).

Coding procedure of communication task. The experiment resulted in 96 videotaped communication interactions. Three coders unfamiliar with the study's hypotheses coded the interactions. The coders represented both the Anglo New Zealand and Asian cultures and both genders. All coders were trained using videotaped interactions that were *not part of the data*. All coders completed six practice rounds before they coded the actual interactions. Based on observations, pilot study and interviews, including previous research of what constitutes as dyadic and business communication behaviors (Burgoon & Hale, 1987; Gudykunst et al., 1988; Hall 1976; Hinkle, Stiles & Taylor, 1988) 12 behavior categories were used to code the participants communication patterns. Interactions were coded according to the occurrence and intensity of behaviors consistent with dyad communication interactions. Each dyad were labeled A or B on the screen and coders rated who displayed more behaviors than the other participant did, then rated the intensities of these observed behaviors on a 7-point rating scale. For example, all participants displayed expressions, however, one participant might have been more emotive and colorful in his/her expressions; this difference in degree of expressiveness were the basis for the intensity rating. Cognitive consistency behaviors were determined by the degree of change between one's individual crime-rank scores at CT1 and CT2 compared to the consensus scores at CT1 and CT2, respectively.

The interrater criterion was established at two of the three coders concurring on a coded behavior for it to be considered valid for analysis; thus, all data put forward for analysis had at least

0.67 interrater agreement. The study's interrater agreement for the data was .88, which is above the acceptable recommended value of 0.61 to .80 for interrater reliability (Landis & Koch 1977).

Results

Communication style. Testing our predictions involved examinations of participants' behaviors intraculturally and interculturally, results are presented in Table 6a and 6b. Since each behavior occurred with reference to the other participant, the cell counts in Table 6a and 6b depict judgments identifying the participants that exhibited the most of each behavior in the three interaction conditions during CT1 and CT2, respectively.

As shown in Table 6a and 6b individuals in the intracultural interactions were equally likely to exhibit each behavior during the interactions; the exception was in the Asian-Intracultural Condition where one of the dyad members had *regulated the flow interaction* and *attempted eye contact* in CT1 and *stronger opinions* in CT2. In the Intercultural Condition, NZs and Asians demonstrated contrasting behaviors. NZs exhibited *expressiveness, dominance, initiating action, aggressiveness, logical argument, stronger opinion and attempted eye contact in CT1*; the same pattern was found for NZs in CT2 with additional behaviors *regulating flow, finishing task* being significantly different. Taken together these behaviors are akin to idiocentric behaviors. In contrast, Asians exhibited behaviors that can be considered sociocentric behaviors, namely, *accommodating, avoidance of arguments, shifting opinion in both CT1 and CT2*. The results suggest that in intercultural situations both groups exhibited communication behavior consistent with their cultural norms, NZs were observed to be task-oriented and opinionated (idiocentric), while Asians were flexible and accommodating (sociocentric).

 Insert Table 6 and 7 approximately here

Further analysis focused on the intensity of behaviors exhibited by participants, which was analyzed by conducting a 2 X 2 multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) controlling for gender. In CT1, a significant effect was found for Culture F (Wilks criterion; 12, 95) = 2.16, $p < .02$; $p\eta^2 = .25$, but not for Condition. The effect for Gender was also not significant. However, there was a

significant interaction effect for Culture x Condition, $F(12, 95) = 1.92, p < .04; p\eta^2 = .22$. These multivariate results were replicated in CT2.

Univariate analysis indicated that participants' culture had a significant effect on 11 of 12 behaviors in CT1 (*finishing task* was not significant), and 10 of 12 behaviors in CT2 (*finishing task* and *attempted eye contact* were not significant). Taken together, NZs exhibited more intensity for idiocentric behaviors, while Asians for sociocentric behaviors. The impact of culture and situation was reflected by significant Culture x Condition interactions on 10 of 12 behaviors in CT1 (*finishing task* and *avoidance of argument* were not significant), and 11 of 12 behaviors in CT2 (*finishing task* was not significant).

Examination of the interaction effects indicated that communicating with a member of another culture enhanced the intensity of idiocentric behaviors for NZs and of sociocentric behaviors for Asians on both occasions. Table 7a and 7b depicts the intensity of observed behaviors in the three interaction conditions during in CT1 and CT2, respectively. As depicted in Table 7a, individuals in the two intracultural interactions were equally likely to exhibit similar intensity of behaviors during their interactions; the exceptions were for *regulating flow of interactions* and *attempted eye contact* in the Asian-Intracultural Condition. However, in the Intercultural Condition, all behavior categories were significant, NZs exhibited higher intensities *expressiveness, dominance, initiating action, aggressiveness, logical argument, regulating flow, stronger opinion, attempted eye contact*, while Asians exhibited higher intensities of behaviors *accommodating, avoidance of arguments, and shifting opinion* in CT1.

In CT2, the results were replicated for the NZ-Intracultural Condition and Intercultural Condition; however, there were slight variations in the Asian-Intercultural Condition. As shown in Table 7b, Asians in the Intracultural Condition exhibited normative dyad behavior, where one person exhibited higher intensities of *regulating behavior, presenting logical arguments and a stronger opinion*, while his/her counterpart exhibited higher intensities of *accommodating behavior, avoiding arguments and shifting his/her opinions*.

Cognitive consistency. Examining our predictions with regard to inconsistency-reduction or inconsistency support involved an examination of the crime-ranking scores from CT1 and CT2. First, analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on the difference scores between individuals' rankings (*DI*) across the three interaction conditions. The ANOVA showed a main effect, F (Wilks criterion; 2, 47) = 8.27, $p < .001$, $p\eta^2 = .27$, the largest difference was found in the Intercultural Condition ($M = 52.06$), then Asian-Intracultural Condition ($M = 49.88$) and smallest in the NZ-Intracultural Condition ($M = 34.94$). Because the consensus ranks were derived during dyad interactions, we also examined the difference scores between individual and consensus ranks for both participants A and B (*DIC A* and *DIC B*, respectively) in each interaction condition in CT1 and CT2.

Table 8 presents the mean difference scores between individual versus consensus ranks at CT1 and CT2. At CT1 the difference scores between participants in the NZ-Intracultural Condition was the highest and close to significant $F(1, 31) = 3.93$, $p < .057$. The mean of difference scores between individual versus consensus ranks in CT2 were not significant in all three conditions. Despite NZs in the intracultural interactions having the least difference ($M = 34.94$) in their rankings, the actual difference between their individual and their consensus ranks indicate that one person in the dyad made larger changes compared to the other person in the interaction. Therefore, it is possible that the more dominant person persuaded the other to a greater degree in an attempt to maintain consistency between his/her individual ranks by changing the other person's view.

 Insert Table 8 and 9 approximately here

To explore which of the two participants in the dyad made the largest change between their individual ranks during the consensus task we regressed the difference between individuals' ranks (*DI*) versus the consensus ranks (*DIC A* and *DIC B*). As shown in Table 9, in CT1, in the NZ-Intracultural interactions *Participant B* made significant changes towards the consensus rankings, $\beta = .82$, $p < .01$ while *Participant A* made relatively smaller changes. In the Asian-Intracultural Condition, both participants made significant changes towards the consensus rankings, $\beta = .72$, $p < .05$; and $\beta =$

.60, $p < .05$. In the Intercultural Condition, both participants made significant changes towards the consensus rankings, $\beta = .42, p < .05$ and $\beta = .43, p < .05$.

In CT2, the pattern within the Asian-Intracultural Condition was replicated; both participants made significant changes towards the consensus rankings, $\beta = .54, p < .05$ and $\beta = .64, p < .05$. However, the pattern in the NZ-Intracultural and Intercultural Condition changed. In CT2 of the NZ-Intracultural Condition *Participant A* made significant changes towards the consensus rankings, $\beta = .62, p < .05$, whereas *Participant B* made relatively smaller changes. This is different to the pattern found in CT1 since it was *Participant B* who made the significant changes in CT1. In CT2 of the Intercultural Condition, it was only the Asian participants who made significant changes towards the consensus, $\beta = .39, p < .05$. Again, this is different to the pattern found in CT1 since it was both participants who made significant changes to their rankings in CT1.

Taken together, it suggests that Asians are open to shift their opinions in intracultural and in intercultural interactions as opposed to their NZ counterparts; this effect was especially evident in CT2. This evidence suggests Asians were exhibiting inconsistency support behavior, that is, they did not mind *contradicting* their initial position. In contrast, the results suggests that while some of NZs did not mind changing their minds, the results suggest that one was consistently persuading the other half of the dyad to change their minds. This finding corroborates our findings regarding communication styles in intercultural interactions, namely that culturally based communication style became more pronounced during the intercultural interactions.

Summary and Discussion

Study 2 contributes to our understanding of cross-cultural interactions in several ways. First, it provides actual empirical behaviors as opposed to recalled or intended strategies documenting distinctive communication styles exhibited by collectivists and individualists during intercultural interactions. Second, it showed that idiocentric style was dominant for NZs and sociocentric style dominant for Asians, as well as evidence for cognitive inconsistency-reduction versus cognitive inconsistency-support behaviors, respectively. Third, we documented that communication styles were different in intercultural compared to intra-cultural interactions with patterns suggesting that in

intercultural interactions participants were more likely to diverge and rely on their culturally dominant communication style as rather than converging to the style of their counterpart.

Fourth, notwithstanding the Asian-Intracultural Condition showing variations in intensities of communication behavior in CT2 compared to CT1, it still points to the fact that Asians were the group exhibiting inconsistency-support behaviors. Analyses on the crime ranking scores indicate that all Asians participants in the Intracultural and Intercultural Conditions made significant changes in ranking the crimes towards the consensus in both CT1 and CT2. In the Asian Intracultural Condition, both participants made changes equally in both CT1 and CT2, while in the Intercultural Condition CT2 it was only the Asian participants that made significant changes. This provides some evidence that collectivists have a propensity to be flexible during communication interactions. This pattern is different to NZs. For the most part, it was only one participant or the other that significantly changed their rankings in the NZ-Intracultural condition. It suggests that one-half of the dyad consistently exhibited inconsistency-reduction behaviors, possibly to reduce cognitive dissonance (Peng & Nisbett, 1999). This corroborates that Westerners have a propensity to take a strong view of initial preference or positions compared to Asians (Nisbett et al., 2001; Peng & Nisbett, 1999; Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2010) and will argue to maintain this position.

General Discussion

The generalizability of this research has some limitations associated with survey research and student samples. However, we contend that appropriate use of a student sample can properly reflect a fundamental process such as communication, especially for cross-cultural communication (Basil, 1996; Locke, 1986). A number factors point to the appropriateness of our sample and suggests that our findings are generalizable to cross-cultural interactions. First, we used a sample from cultures that were different to New Zealand who can speak English fluently. Second, since we are investigating cultural patterns, our sample with mean age of 21.5 years has internalized their respective cultural values. Third, the task performed required argumentation, a skill which university students have been trained to do. This leads to our final point in that cross-cultural studies with samples that have similar experiences and opportunities across cultures, such as a student population may actually have higher validity than if we are less certain about the sample's conditions (Heine et al., 2001). With that in

mind, the sample was appropriate to address Matsumoto's (1999) concerns regarding empirically demonstrating the validity of core beliefs underlying our theories and research. In particular, it showed that the theoretical predictions posed by Markus and Kitayama's (1991) independent and interdependent construal theory were valid despite the fact that the sample had cross-cultural experiences, which might have minimized the effect.

Underlying any intercultural interaction is communication behaviors and the processes involved in the interactions. Results of this research provide evidence that culturally based rules govern the style, conventions, and practices of language usage. Additionally, it validates communication styles that have not been empirically well documented in previous research (e.g., Glenn 1981; Hall 1976; Servaes, 1989). Overall, findings indicate that Asians who are collectivists-interdependents are less argumentative. These findings suggest that collectivists might ascribe a higher priority to the affiliative function of communication, which are prescribed by harmony-maintenance scripts found in collective cultures. In contrast, NZs who are more individualists are predisposed to be argumentative. It suggests that individualists may ascribe a higher priority to the functional facet of communication, which are associated with a direct and task-oriented style during communication (Gudykunst et al., 1996; Pekerti & Thomas, 2003).

A key issue in understanding intercultural interactions is the extent to which the act of interacting with a member of another culture influences behavior. Results showed that interacting with a member of a different culture enhanced individuals' culturally dominant communication style. Therefore, participants *diverged* by exhibiting more and higher intensities of their culturally dominant behavior. We offer several possible reasons for this divergent behavior. First, interacting with a member of a different culture may have created uncertainty concerning the appropriate behavioral norms. Therefore, in the absence of explicit situational cues individuals may have relied on their culturally based norms for guidance. In addition, the presence of a culturally different other may have caused individuals to represent their culture and motivated them to display culturally consistent behavior (Laurent, 1983). In either case, results suggest that the dominant tendency in initial intercultural interaction is not adaptation towards the style of the counterpart, but enhancement of their culturally dominant behavior. These findings are consistent with other previous research on

intercultural and intergroup interactions (e.g., Aberson, Healy, Romero, 2002; Laurent, 1983; Pekerti & Thomas, 2003).

Our present study partially corroborate Adair et al. (2001) and Sanchez-Burks et al.'s (2003) findings, which suggests that communication behaviors across context may be consistent for members of different cultures, however, the behaviors within each context are different when cross-cultural comparisons are made. The implication is that when cross-cultural encounters do occur, members of these different cultures are likely to communicate using different styles and behaviors thus may lead to misunderstandings if people are not prepared.

The present study underscores that it is the interdependent person socialized in a collective society and not the independent person socialized in an individualistic society that has changed his/her behavior more during a consensus task; i.e., collectivists/interdependents exhibits inconsistency-support behaviors (Iwao, 1997; Khokhlov & Gonzalez, 1973; Suh, 2002). It supports cognitive consistency theory's premise that consistency behaviors are determined by individuals' perception of value concerning a particular issue (Kelman & Baron, 1968b). This was evident in our study, since NZs in the Intercultural Condition exhibited higher intensities of *finishing the task*, and more occurrences (in CT2) suggesting that completing the task was prioritized, which facilitated idiocentric behaviors compared to Asian participants who may have prioritized other things, such as harmony.

Results also implied that inconsistency-support could also be viewed as behavior that is consistent with the valued norm of harmony in collective cultures (Oishi et al., 2004; Suh, 2002). For example, in Japan the ability to behave in a *face-saving* manner (*tatemaie*) as opposed to expressing brutal truths (*honme*) verbally or non-verbally is valued. "In Japan inconsistency-support is at least on certain occasion valued more than inconsistency-reducing behavior" (Iwao, 1997, p. 324). The fact that both Asians and NZs in the Intercultural Condition made significant changes towards a consensus during the first interaction clearly indicated that both participants were active. However, it was only Asians who made the significant changes towards a consensus during the second interaction; taken together, this point to Asians in the Intercultural Condition, not simply acquiescing during the second interaction but consciously invoking g sociocentric communication behaviors. This finding corroborates Cross et al., (2002) and Doi's (1974) views that exhibiting sociocentrism such as

avoiding conflict is part face-maintenance behaviors that is paramount in collective and interdependent societies thus serving to avoid loss of face, and protect relationships.

These findings also lend support to theories that posit naïve dialecticism is prevalent a social processing norm in Asian societies (Peng & Nisbett, 1999), in practice, Asians are sensitive to change and do not mind changing their own views to maintain harmony (Nisbett et al., 2001; Paletz & Peng, 2009; Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2010). Along the same theoretical vein, the fact that NZ participants took turns persuading each other in the intra-cultural situation provide evidence for cognitive consistency or the need to reduce dissonance (Peng & Nisbett, 1999). In short, Western dialectical approach of non-contradiction and preference for consistency can manifest as a propensity to take a strong view of initial preference or position, which in turn may require arguing and persuading others to change their positions (Nisbett et al., 2001; Peng & Nisbett, 1999; Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2010).

Conclusions and Implications

In summary, our study showed that communication styles are extensions of one's cultural values, metaphysics and epistemology. There are several practical implications for cross-cultural management from these findings.

First, where people were socialized is consistent with their cultural value orientations including their self-construal. Horizontal-individualism was found as a significant contributor to one's independent-SC, and in turn, one's propensity to argue. The implication for individuals and managers in intercultural settings is that they have a basis for systematically predicting probable communication behaviors of their counterparts or colleagues in initial interactions. At the same time our results serves as a caveat that we must not interpret these findings as a form of stereotypes, but rather to go beyond it. In particular, we found that Asians in our sample may have salience of both independent-SC and interdependent-SC. It points to the importance of knowing people's background and experiences beyond where they come from, as well as their chosen self-identity. In other words, an Asian with a more salient independent-SC can be argumentative. An awareness of this possibility can help managers not to interpret argumentativeness (an unexpected and non-stereotypical behavior) from members of collective societies as undesirable behaviors (Burgoon & Hale, 1988; Rosenthal, 2002), but rather a positive individual idiosyncrasy.

Second, individualists and collectivists, respectively use idiocentric and sociocentric communication styles, and these behaviors are more likely to be enacted and exaggerated during intercultural interactions. Further, given the opportunity to adjust, participants from two different cultures still communicated with styles that were representative of their own cultures. The implication for individuals and managers in intercultural settings is that despite calls for communication accommodation and convergence strategies, in practice people tend to behave and communicate in ways that reflect their cultural background. In sum, one cannot assume that members of different cultures will accommodate to communication and behavior patterns of host cultures, especially in initial interactions. In fact, our findings suggest that the behavior that one encounters in initial intercultural interactions may be more culturally stereotypical than an individual's style once he/she is familiar with the counterpart. In addition, it may take more time than two encounters for hosts and members of different cultures to accommodate their behavior and communication styles.

Third, culturally dominant communication styles may be compounded by the fact that the need to reconcile the inner-self with external behaviors may be lower for collectivists than for individualists. The inconsistency-support behaviors exhibited by Asians in our sample suggest that outcomes of initial negotiation and business discussions may not reflect the true views of collectivist participants. The implication for individuals and managers in intercultural settings is that views expressed in public meetings or initial encounters may not be consistent subsequent views or views expressed privately in an attempt to maintain harmony.

Finally, managers should acknowledge that adaptation of behaviors to or in response to another culture is not a normal reaction. In adapting, one's behaviors may not seem natural and might be attributed to insincere motives (Thomas & Ravlin, 1995) which in turn may negate any potential positive effects from the adaptation. It is crucial for managers to implement training to overcome workers normal tendencies to behave in their culturally dominant styles in different settings. Further, training and/or mentoring where there are opportunities for feedback is important to ensure that adaptive behaviors are effectively appropriate and not interpreted as patronizing and/or offensive in different multicultural settings.

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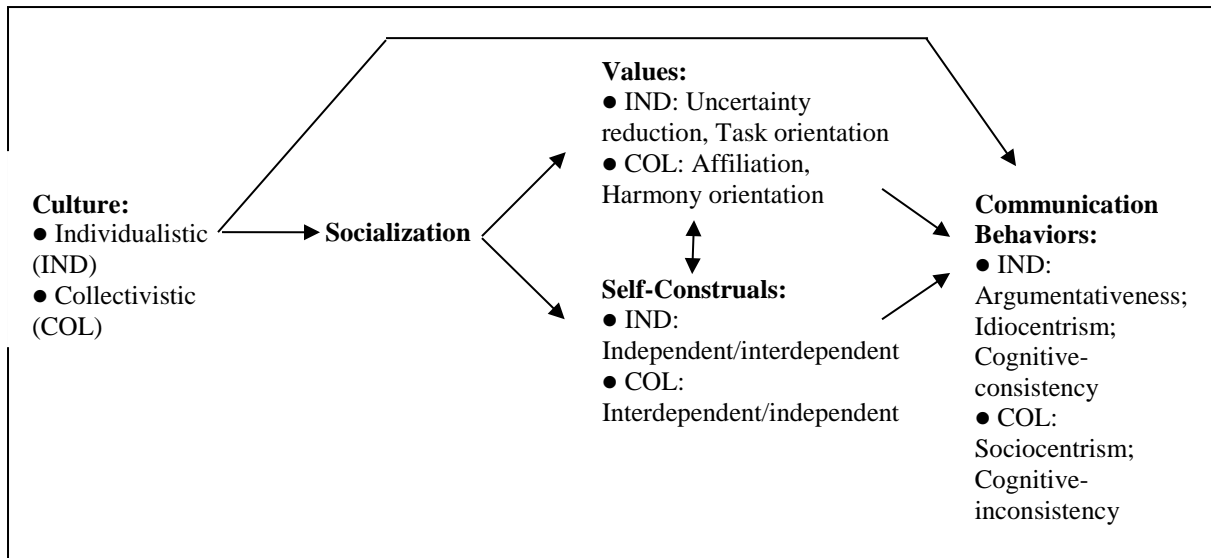


Figure 1: Influence of culture on communication behavior (Adapted from Gudykunst et al., 1996).

Table 1. MANOVA, culture and gender on argumentativeness, horizontal-vertical individualism-collectivism, self-concept.

Dependent Variable	Culture				F (1, 192)	η^2
	M Asians	Std.	M NZ	Std.		
Horizontal-individualism (H-I)	6.7	1.33	7.1	.96	8.33*	.04
Vertical-individualism (V-I)	7.3	1.48	7.4	1.84	.48	.00
Horizontal-collectivism (H-C)	11.4	1.74	11.6	1.75	.77	.01
Vertical-collectivism (V-C)	8.5	1.38	7.5	1.37	26.54**	.11
Independent	2.0	.29	2.06	.28	2.03	.01
Interdependent	2.29	.34	2.0	.37	31.9**	.13
Argumentativeness	5.47	7.31	6.6	9.69	.83	.00

Note: * = $p < .01$; ** = $p < .001$

Table 2. Means, standard deviations and intercorrelations of variables in Study 1 for Asian and New Zealand data.

		Asian data ($n = 96$)								
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Argumentativeness	5.47	7.31	-						
2	Interdependent	2.29	.34	-.12	-					
3	Independent	2.00	.29	.13	.27**	-				
4	H-I	6.7	1.33	.22*	-.05	.61**	-			
5	V-I	7.3	1.48	.27**	-.06	.21*	.37**	-		
6	H-C	11.4	1.74	-.09	.44**	.22*	-.00	-.09	-	
7	V-C	8.5	1.38	.03	.55**	.31*	.17	-.03	.63***	-
		New Zealand data ($n = 97$)								
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Argumentativeness	6.60	9.69	-						
2	Interdependent	2.00	.37	-.13	-					
3	Independent	2.06	.28	.33**	.02	-				
4	H-I	7.1	.96	.14	.02	.55**	-			
5	V-I	7.4	1.84	.35**	.09	.28**	.18	-		
6	H-C	11.6	1.75	-.22*	.46**	.17	.13	-.03	-	
7	V-C	7.5	1.37	-.04	.67**	.15	.11	.22*	.51**	-

Note: * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$; *** = $p < .001$

Table 3a. Backwards regression analyses testing link between independence and individualism-collectivism variables in Asian sample.

Equation	Variables	Predictor	B	ΔF	R^2	$p\Delta R^2$
1	Independence [overall, $F(4, 91) = 16.95^{***}$]	H-I	.584***	16.95	.424	.424***
		V-I	.009			
		H-C	.151			
		V-C	.115			
2	Independence [overall, $F(3, 92) = 22.57^{***}$]	H-I	.587***	.012	.424	.000
		H-C	.150			
		V-C	.115			
3	Independence [overall, $F(2, 93) = 32.41^{***}$]	H-I	.570***	.211	.411	-.013
		V-C	.213**			

Note: * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$.

Table 3b. Backwards regression analyses testing link between interdependence and individualism-collectivism in Asian sample.

Equation	Variables	Predictor	B	ΔF	R^2	$p\Delta R^2$
1	Interdependence [overall, $F(4, 91) = 11.35^{***}$]	H-I	-.133	11.35	.333	.333***
		V-I	.018			
		H-C	.126			
		V-C	.495***			
2	Interdependence [overall, $F(3, 92) = 14.32^{***}$]	V-I	-.031	1.973	.318	-.014
		H-C	.144			
		V-C	.460***			
3	Interdependence [overall, $F(2, 93) = 21.62^{***}$]	H-C	.148	.129	.317	-.001
		V-C	.458***			
4	Interdependence [overall, $F(1, 94) = 41.13^{***}$]	V-C	.552***	.178	.304	-.013

Note: * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$.

Table 3c. Backwards regression analyses testing link between argumentativeness and independence-interdependence in Asian sample.

Equation	Variables	Predictor	B	ΔF	R^2	$p\Delta R^2$
1	Argumentativeness [overall, $F(2, 93) = 2.15$]	Interdependence	-.172	2.15	.44	.44
		Independence	.176			
2	Argumentativeness [overall, $F(1, 94) = 1.60$]	Independence	.130	2.67	.17	.17

Table 4a. Backwards regression analyses testing link between independence and individualism-collectivism variables in NZ sample.

Equation	Variables	Predictor	B	ΔF	R^2	$p\Delta R^2$
1	Independence [overall, $F(4, 92) = 12.55^{***}$]	H-I	.503***	12.55	.353	353***
		V-I	.197*			
		H-C	.108			
		V-C	.003			
2	Independence [overall, $F(3, 93) = 16.31^{***}$]	H-I	.514***	1.178	.345	-.008
		V-I	.180*			
		V-C	.061			
3	Independence [overall, $F(2, 94) = 24.35^{***}$]	H-I	.519***	.498	.431	-.04
		V-I	.193*			

Note: * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$.

Table 4b. Backwards regression analyses testing link between interdependence and individualism-collectivism variables in NZ sample.

Equation	Variables	Predictor	B	ΔF	R^2	$p\Delta R^2$
1	Interdependence [overall, $F(4, 92) = 22.37^{***}$]	H-I	-.061	22.37	.493	.493***
		V-I	-.035			
		H-C	.153			
		V-C	.622***			
2	Interdependence [overall, $F(3, 93) = 29.72^{***}$]	V-I	-.046	.650	.489	-.004
		H-C	.145			
		V-C	.622***			
3	Interdependence [overall, $F(2, 94) = 44.71^{***}$]	H-C	.153	.356	.488	-.002
		V-C	.608***			

Note: * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$.

Table 4c. Backwards regression analyses testing link between argumentativeness and independent-interdependent in NZ sample.

Equation	Variables	Predictor	B	ΔF	R^2	$p\Delta R^2$
1	Argumentativeness [overall, $F(2, 94) = 7.02^{***}$]	Interdependence	-.137	7.02	.13	.13***
		Independence	.336***			
2	Argumentativeness [overall, $F(1, 95) = 11.88^{***}$]	Independence	.333***	2.03	.02	.02***

Note: * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$.

Table 5. Test for mediated regression of independence and horizontal-individualism on argumentativeness, as well as interdependence and vertical-collectivism on argumentativeness.

Equation	Predictor		B	ΔF	R ²	pΔR ²
Independence and horizontal-individualism on argumentativeness						
1	Independence	Horizontal-Individualism	.584***	98.77	.341	.000***
2	Argumentativeness	Horizontal-Individualism	.18**	6.38	.032	.012**
3	Argumentativeness	Horizontal-Individualism	.055	6.34	.063	.002**
		Independence	.214**			
Equation	Predictor		B	ΔF	R ²	pΔR ²
Interdependence and vertical-collectivism on argumentativeness						
1	Interdependence	Vertical-Collectivism	.670***	155.99	.450	.000***
2	Argumentativeness	Vertical-Collectivism	-.029	.163	.001	.687
3	Argumentativeness	Vertical-Collectivism	.121	2.785	.028	.064
		Interdependence	-.224*			

Note: * = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$.

Table 6a. Comparative judgments of observed behaviors in inter cultural and intracultural interactions during the Consensus Task at Time-1.

Individual Behavior	Experimental Condition					
	NZ-Intracultural		Asian-Intracultural		Intercultural	
	NZ	NZ	Asian	Asian	NZ	Asian
Expressiveness	8	8	6	10	13	3
Dominance	10	6	7	9	14	2
Initiating action	7	9	6	10	13	3
Aggressiveness	8	8	7	9	13	3
More logical argument	10	6	9	7	12	4
Regulating flow of interaction	11	5	4	12	11	5
Finishing task	11	5	7	9	11	5
Stronger opinion	11	5	8	8	13	3
Attempted eye contact	7	9	4	12	12	4
<i>Accommodating</i>	7	9	7	9	3	13
<i>Avoidance of argument</i>	7	9	7	9	5	11
<i>More inclined to shift opinion</i>	6	10	9	7	3	13

Note: χ^2 for bold cell in the same row and same column are significant at $p < .05$. Italicized behaviors denote behaviors that are akin to sociocentrism.

Table 6b. Comparative judgments of observed behaviors in intercultural and intracultural interactions during the Consensus Task at Time-2.

Individual Behavior	Experimental Condition					
	NZ-Intracultural		Asian-Intracultural		Intercultural	
	NZ	NZ	Asian	Asian	NZ	Asian
Expressiveness	10	6	10	6	13	3
Dominance	9	7	10	6	15	1
Initiating action	8	8	9	7	15	1
Aggressiveness	9	7	9	7	15	1
More logical argument	7	9	11	5	14	2
Regulating flow of interaction	9	7	10	6	14	2
Finishing task	7	9	8	8	13	3
Stronger opinion	10	6	12	4	15	1
Attempted eye contact	8	8	7	9	10	6
<i>Accommodating</i>	6	10	5	11	3	13
<i>Avoidance of argument</i>	7	9	5	11	3	13
<i>More inclined to shift opinion</i>	8	8	6	10	2	14

Note: χ^2 for bold cell in the same row and same column are significant at $p < .05$. Italicized behaviors denote behaviors that are akin to sociocentrism.

Table 7a

Summary of intensity in communication behaviors in intercultural and intracultural interactions for Consensus Task at Time-1.

Individual Behavior	Experimental Condition					
	NZ-Intracultural		Asian-Intracultural		Intercultural	
	NZ	NZ	Asian	Asian	NZ	Asian
Expressiveness	1.79	1.70	1.91	1.93	3.42^c	0.58 ^c
Dominance	1.78	1.34	1.65	2.34	3.41^c	0.27 ^c
Initiating action	1.24	1.36	1.43	1.68	2.86^c	0.66 ^c
Aggressiveness	1.61	1.67	1.41	1.64	2.56^c	0.53 ^c
More logical argument	2.11	0.99	1.59	1.46	2.88^c	0.56 ^c
Regulating flow of interaction	1.62	1.03	0.88 ^a	2.01^a	2.48^c	0.31 ^c
Finishing task	1.30	1.08	1.19	1.15	1.65^a	0.57 ^a
Stronger opinion	1.98	1.53	2.23	1.70	3.23^c	0.55 ^c
Attempted eye contact	1.62	1.80	0.66 ^b	2.58^b	2.62^c	0.61 ^c
<i>Accommodating</i>	1.06	1.76	2.04	2.44	0.45 ^c	3.14^c
<i>Avoidance of arguments</i>	1.15	1.42	2.28	1.66	0.64 ^b	2.29^b
<i>More inclined to shift opinion</i>	1.14	1.74	2.09	1.77	0.47 ^c	2.59^c

Note: Means in the same row and same column that share the same subscripts are significant at: ^a = $p < 0.05$; ^b = $p < 0.01$; ^c = $p < 0.001$. Italicized behaviors denote behaviors that are akin to sociocentrism.

Table 7b

Summary of intensity in communication behaviors in intercultural and intracultural interactions for Consensus Task at Time-2.

Individual Behavior	Experimental Condition					
	NZ-Intracultural		Asian-Intracultural		Intercultural	
	NZ	NZ	Asian	Asian	NZ	Asian
Expressiveness	2.32	1.36	2.16	1.29	3.27^c	0.55 ^c
Dominance	2.03	1.61	2.84	1.49	4.13^c	0.19 ^c
Initiating action	1.40	1.11	2.19	1.20	3.38^c	0.14 ^c
Aggressiveness	1.76	1.30	2.12	1.23	2.89^c	0.22 ^c
More logical argument	1.46	1.49	2.44^b	0.63 ^b	3.38^c	0.25 ^c
Regulating flow of interaction	1.47	1.07	2.13 ^a	1.02 ^a	3.13^c	0.47 ^c
Finishing task	0.98	1.44	1.62	1.29	1.91^b	0.44 ^b
Stronger opinion	1.91	1.33	2.87^b	1.01 ^b	3.60^c	0.23 ^c
Attempted eye contact	1.54	1.30	1.53	1.54	1.71	1.27
<i>Accommodating</i>	1.32	2.03	1.41 ^b	3.51 ^b	0.50 ^c	3.62^c
<i>Avoidance of arguments</i>	1.33	1.49	1.38 ^b	2.64 ^b	0.36 ^c	3.01^c
<i>More inclined to shift opinion</i>	1.37	1.37	1.36 ^a	2.71 ^a	0.31 ^c	3.12^c

Note: Means in the same row and same column that share the same subscripts are significant at: ^a = $p < 0.05$; ^b = $p < 0.01$; ^c = $p < 0.001$. Italicized behaviors denote behaviors that are akin to sociocentrism.

Table 8

Within Condition ANOVA for difference between individual ranks versus consensus ranks (DIC) at Consensus Task Time-1 (CT1) and Consensus Task Time-2 (CT2).

DIC	Means CT1		
	Participant A	Participant B	F 1, 30
Asian-Intracultural	33.44	30.69	0.33
NZ-Intracultural	17.00	23.43	3.93 ⁺
Intercultural	30.38	36.19	1.29

DIC	Means CT2		
	Participant A	Participant B	F 1, 30
Asian-Intracultural	43.69	43.69	0.00
NZ-Intracultural	30.19	30.06	0.001
Intercultural	38.06	39.75	0.072

Note: DIC scores indicate difference between individual rankings and consensus ranks.

⁺ $p = .057$; it indicates that *Participant B* made more changes nominally than *Participant A*

Table 9

Regression Analysis: Difference scores between individual rankings and consensus ranks for Consensus Task at Time-1 (CT1) and Consensus Task at Time-2 (CT2).

		<u>CT1</u>	
Experimental condition			
Asian-Intracultural	β	DIC A 0.72**	DIC B 0.60*
	SE β	0.22	0.26
NZ-Intracultural	β	DIC A 0.36	DIC B 0.82**
	SE β	0.28	0.23
Intercultural	β	DIC NZ 0.42*	DIC Asian 0.43*
	SE β	0.19	0.20
		<u>CT2</u>	
Experimental condition			
Asian-Intracultural	β	DIC A 0.54*	DIC B 0.64*
	SE β	0.29	0.30
NZ-Intracultural	β	DIC A 0.62*	DIC B 0.20
	SE β	0.34	0.27
Intercultural	β	DIC NZ 0.30	DIC Asian 0.39*
	SE β	0.30	0.22

Note: Scores indicate the degree of change each *Participant* (A & B) made during the consensus task; a higher score indicate larger changes made.

* = $p < .05$; ** = $p < .01$.

DIC A and *DIC B* are the difference scores between Participant A and Participant B's ranks and consensus ranks, respectively.

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