

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: THE CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY OF REVENGE IN
THE UNITES STATES AND SOUTH KOREA

Gary Shteynberg, Master of the Arts, 2005

Directed By: Professor Michele Gelfand, Department of Psychology

Although there has been notable progress in the study of the revenge (Vidmar, 2001) its triggers and processes have eluded cross-cultural investigation. I argue that although revenge is likely a universal phenomenon, the process of revenge may be culture-specific. A unifying theme of this thesis is the influence of the cultured self-construal (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Markus & Wurf, 1987) on the stages of the revenge process: naming, blaming and claiming. Two scenario studies, carried out in the United States and South Korea examined the theory presented. The results generally support the hypotheses posited. Most notably, the found cross-national differences in cognitions of harm, blame and revenge intentions were mediated by construals of the self. Theoretical implications for further cross-cultural study of the revenge process are discussed.

THE CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY OF REVENGE IN THE UNITES STATES
AND SOUTH KOREA

By

Gary Shteynberg

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of the Arts
2005

Advisory Committee:
Professor Michele Gelfand, Chair
Professor Paul Hanges
Professor Arie Kruglanski

© Copyright by

Gary Shteynberg

2005

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my family. Mama, Papa, Babushka, Dedushka and Monya – all my work is a product of your efforts. I would also like to thank my primary advisor, Dr. Michele Gelfand, who has profoundly shaped my thinking on the specifics of this thesis as well as cross-cultural psychology in general. Her enthusiasm for helping students is without bounds. Finally, I would like to thank my committee members, Dr. Paul Hanges and Dr. Arie Kruglanski, for offering their expertise. The breadth and depth of their knowledge was indispensable to the quality of the final product.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables.....	iv
List of Figures.....	v
List of Appendices.....	vi
CHAPTER 1. REVENGE AND CULTURE	1
<u>NAMING, BLAMING AND CLAIMING</u>	3
<i>The Naming Transformation</i>	5
<i>The Blaming Transformation</i>	6
<i>The Claiming Transformation</i>	8
<u>NAMING, BLAMING AND CLAIMING: THE ROLE OF SELF-CONSTRUALS</u>	10
<i>Self-Construal and Naming</i>	12
<i>Self-Construal and Blaming</i>	13
<i>Self-Construal and Claiming</i>	15
<u>CONCEPTUALIZATION AND MEASUREMENT OF SELF-CONSTRUALS</u>	16
CHAPTER 2: METHOD	19
<u>STUDY 1</u>	20
<i>Participants</i>	20
<i>Experimental Design</i>	20
<i>Procedure</i>	20
<i>Materials</i>	21
<i>Analysis</i>	25
<i>Results: Descriptives</i>	25
<i>Results: Hypothesis Testing</i>	28
<i>Study 1 Discussion</i>	29
<u>STUDY 2</u>	31
<i>Participants</i>	31
<i>Experimental Design</i>	31
<i>Procedure</i>	32
<i>Materials</i>	32
<i>Analysis</i>	37
<i>Results: Descriptives</i>	39
<i>Results: Hypothesis Testing</i>	40
<i>Study 2 Discussion</i>	43
CHAPTER 3: GENERAL DISCUSSION	46
<u>SOCIETAL REFERENT SELF-CONSTRUAL</u>	46
<u>LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS</u>	47
<u>PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS</u>	47
<u>REFERENCES</u>	76

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1:	Self-Construal (Individual Referent) CFA in US and Korea	49
Table 2:	Self-Construal (Societal Referent) CFA in US and Korea.....	50
Table 3:	Descriptive Statistics for Study 1.....	51
Table 4:	Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Study 1.....	52
Table 5	Descriptive Statistics for Study 2.....	53
Table 6	Hierarchical Regression Blame Analyses for Study 2.....	54
Table 7:	Hierarchical Regression Revenge Intentions Analyses for Study 2.....	55

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1:	Dispute Transformation Model	56
Figure 2:	General Revenge Model.....	57
Figure 3:	Perceptions of Right Violations in US and Korea across Right and Duty Conditions.....	58
Figure 4:	Perceptions of Duty Violations in US and Korea across Right and Duty Conditions.....	59
Figure 5:	Interaction of Country by Violation Condition on Perceived Harm (Hypothesis 1).....	60
Figure 6:	Interaction of Collective Self -Construal (Societal Referent) by Violation Condition on Perceived Harm (Hypothesis 2).....	61
Figure 7:	Interaction of Country by Control Condition on Ascribed Blame (Hypothesis 4).....	62
Figure 8:	Interaction of Collective Self-Construal (Societal Referent) by Control Condition on Ascribed Blame (Hypothesis 5).....	63
Figure 9:	Interaction of Country by Shame Level on Revenge Intentions (Hypothesis 11).....	64
Figure 10:	Interaction of Collective Self -Construal (Societal Referent) by Shame Level on Revenge Intentions (Hypothesis 12).....	65
Figure 11:	Interaction of Country by Control Condition on Perceived Role Level.....	66
Figure 12:	Interaction of Collective Self-Construal (Societal Referent) by Control Condition on Perceived Role Level.....	67

LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. Study 1 Scenario Manipulations.....	68
APPENDIX B. Independent and Collective Self-Construal (Individual Referent Items).....	69
APPENDIX C. Independent and Collective Self-Construal (Societal Referent Items).....	70
APPENDIX D. Study 2 Scenario Manipulations.....	71
APPENDIX E. Ascriptions of Blame Scale Items.....	72
APPENDIX F. Anger Scale Items.....	73
APPENDIX G. Shame Scale Items.....	74
APPENDIX H. Revenge Intentions Scale Items.....	75

Chapter 1. Revenge and Culture

Revenge behavior, or acts intended to directly or indirectly harm a party blamed for some prior wrongdoing (Aquino, Tripp & Bies, 2001; Bradfield & Aquino, 1999; Allred, 1999), are ubiquitous. Even the casual observer of the geo-political scene is likely to acknowledge that the desire 'to get even' underlies many of humanity's worst conflicts. Although revenge within organizations is not as widely publicized, it is by no means uncommon. The National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) estimates that 1 million employees are assaulted on the job each year. Albeit not all these acts are revengeful in nature, the desire for revenge has been found to elicit such counterproductive behaviors as employee theft (Terris & Jones, 1982; Greenberg, 1990), employee sabotage (Crino, 1994), antisocial behavior (Robinson & O'Leary-Kelly, 1998), workplace aggression (Folger & Skarlicki, 1998) and violence (Folger & Baron, 1996).

In recent years, the advancement of theoretical models of the revenge process has sky-rocketed (Allred, 1999; Bies, Tripp & Kramer, 1997; Folger & Skarlicki, 1998; Glomb, Steel, & Arvey, 2002; Martinko & Zellars, 1998), and empirical evidence is also beginning to accumulate (Aquino, et al., 2001; Bradfield & Aquino, 1999). The majority of these studies have followed Felstiner, Abel and Sarat's (1980/81) dispute formation framework which begins with an employee's perception of a harmful act, or '*naming*', followed by employee's assignment of responsibility for that harm, or '*blaming*', and concludes with the revenge act aimed at the blamed party, or '*claiming*' (See Figure 1).

This line of investigation suggests that revenge behavior is more likely to be committed by an employee when there is a severe injury perceived by that employee

(Bradfield & Aquino, 1999), when a substantial amount of blame for the injury is assigned by that employee to another party (Allred, 1999; Aquino, et al., 2001; Bradfield & Aquino, 1999), and when a considerable level of the employee's anger is directed at the blamed party (Allred, 1999).

Notwithstanding the rapid progress in this area, an important limitation of the organizational revenge literature is that it has been focused almost exclusively on Western samples. The study of cross-cultural differences in the revenge process is both theoretically and practically critical. Although the occurrence of revengeful acts may be universal (Vidmar, 2001), the process of revenge, including its triggering events, consequent cognitions, and emotions may vary considerably across cultures. We already know that cultures differ on a wide range of important phenomena ranging from micro-level processes such as basic social cognition (Nisbett, Peng, Choi & Norenzayan, 2001) to more social interaction processes such as negotiation (Gelfand, Nishii, Holcombe, Dyer, Ohbuchi & Fukumo, 2001) and leadership (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman & Gupta, 2004), and revenge should be no exception. Examining cultural influences on the revenge process may allow for a more complete account of the reasons for revenge behavior, paving the way for revenge theories unbiased by cultural perspective. Also, given the increasing globalization of commerce, travel, as well as conflict, culture's consequences for revenge is of substantial practical importance. Knowledge of cross-cultural differences in the mediating process of revenge bolsters our ability to intervene in this cyclical and often destructive practice.

With notable exceptions (e.g. Hamilton & Sanders, 1992), there have been few studies examining the influence of culture on the revenge process. Drawing on research

in law, sociology, and psychology, this thesis will explore such questions as: How does culture influence the perceived injuriousness of the triggering act (i.e. naming)? How does culture influence who and how much the injured party blames for the act (i.e. blaming)? And finally, how does culture influence the types of emotive pathways that lead to revenge acts (i.e. claiming)?

To preface the following discussion, one of the major and unifying themes of this thesis is the influence of the victim's construal of self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Markus & Wurf, 1987). I argue that construals of self govern every stage of the revenge process – from what is seen as a harmful act, to the ascription of blame, and finally to the emotions that spark revenge intentions. Moreover, self-construals have been shown to be profoundly shaped by culture (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), and thus provide a powerful theoretical basis for understanding cross-cultural differences in the revenge process. Specifically, the revenge model proposed will explore how independent versus collective self-construals influence the pathways leading to a retributive act (please see Figure 2).

In what follows, I will introduce the present-day, dominant paradigm of the retaliation process, and the relevant evidence. Subsequently, I will offer a theory and hypotheses proposing cultural differences in the revenge process, describe the method used to test the hypotheses proposed, and conclude with a discussion of how this research contributes to the organizational revenge literature.

Naming, Blaming and Claiming

In 1980/1981, Felstiner, Abel and Sarat proposed a framework for dispute emergence and transformation. As this perspective dominates the workplace revenge

literature and allows for the integration of research findings, it will be the guiding model for the following literature review, as well as for the proposed theoretical extensions.

The emergence and transformation of disputes framework proposed by Felstiner and colleagues consists of three sequential stages: naming, blaming and claiming. In the naming stage, an employee perceives an injurious event, in essence ‘naming’ some harm. Once an injury is perceived, the blaming stage materializes. In this second stage of dispute transformation, the injured employee assigns responsibility for the injury to another party, or in other words, ‘blaming’ someone for the injury. The third stage of claiming involves the injured employee seeking compensation from the blamed party. Thus, in this final stage of dispute transformation the injured party is literally ‘claiming’ what he perceives to be owed to him.

Felstiner, et al. (1980/1981) stress that the naming, blaming, claiming model (NBC) consists of stages that are “...subjective, unstable, reactive, complicated and incomplete” (p.631). Although this model is a valuable heuristic for a variety of dispute processes, it must be supplemented by further conceptual development if specific predictions concerning revenge behavior are to be made.

Moreover, Felstiner, et al. (1980/81) argue that the usefulness of this paradigm rests not in the stages themselves, but rather in the transformations among the stages, since it is these transformations that “...have consequences for the parties, [and for] their attributions of responsibility, [for] the scope of conflict, [for] the mechanism chosen, [for] the objectives sought, [for] the prevailing ideology, [for] reference groups, [for] representatives and officials, and [for] dispute institutions” (p.631). As such, the focus of

this paper is on the factors within the revenge process that help transform one stage into another.

The Naming Transformation

The naming transformation focuses on the process by which a stimulus or an event is translated into a perceived harm by the employee. Most theoretical models of the revenge process contend that the transformation into the naming stage consists of an event that is perceived to be a rule violation (Allred, 2000; Bradfield & Aquino, 1999; Vidmar, 20012). For example, Aquino, et al. (2001) argue that the revenge process ensues as a result of a perceived injustice citing the violations of justice rules (Folger & Baron, 1996; Greenberg & Alge, 1998; Skarlicki & Folger, 1997). However, it is somewhat unclear why some rule violations set the revenge process in motion, while others do not. A common explanation proposed in the above literature focuses on the severity of the rule violation as the variable that determines whether blame and revenge thoughts follow. Indeed, Bradfield and Aquino (1999) found that as the severity of the perceived violation increases, the occurrence of revenge cognitions and behaviors is more likely.

Although the severity of the violation can be a significant factor in the naming stage within the revenge process, it may not be the only one. In his theory of emotion, Lazarus (1991) has suggested that events that threaten one's *ego identity* evoke strong feelings aimed at reclamation of one's self-concept. Given that acts of revenge can be interpreted as a reclamation of one's self-concept (Bradfield & Aquino, 1999; Vecchio, 1995), a reasonable proposition is that threat or damage to the employee's self-concept

can be a critical catalyst that is necessary for the emergence of a naming stage that is uniquely suited for the materialization of the revenge process.

Given that culture shapes construals of self, the triggers of the naming stage (i.e., harm perceptions) are likely to vary across cultures. Later, I will argue that differences in self-construals may cause cross-cultural differences in the perception of right and duty violations, leading to differences in the naming stage emergence across cultures.

The Blaming Transformation

Following the naming transformation, the blaming transformation involves the assignment of blame for the perceived harm. Borrowing heavily from attribution theory (Heider, 1958; Jones & Davis, 1965; Shaver, 1985; Weiner, 1995), the workplace revenge literature has assumed that the amount of internal control ascribed to the actor parallels the degree of blame imputed onto that actor (Allred, 1999; Bradfield & Aquino, 1999; Martinko & Zellars, 1998).

For example, Alicke (2000) suggests that the victim's perceived level of internal control ascribed to the offending actor is determined by estimating the actor's purposefulness to commit the behavior, and intention for or foreknowledge of the outcome resultant of that behavior. Thus, for example, a person who shot and killed someone is assumed to have the greatest volitional control over that death, if this person (1) intentionally shot the gun aiming at the victim, and (2) wanted this action to kill the victim or knew that it would do so. Such planned and informed behavior has been found to increase judgments of blameworthiness. For example, Roberts and Golding (1991) found that when presented with vignettes depicting more or less planning of harmful behavior by a defendant, participants imputed more blame onto the defendants if they

planned their behavior more. Similarly, in another study, Fincham and Emery (1988) showed that when individuals were asked to judge the blameworthiness of a child, they blamed the child less and assigned less punishment if the child had a psychological disorder. However, this effect was only present when participants thought that the disorder would negatively impact the child's capacity to control his or her behavior.

The role of the actor's controllability in blame determination has generally gone undisputed in the organizational revenge literature (Aquino, Tripp & Bies, 2001; Allred, 1999; Bradfield & Aquino, 1999; Martinko & Zellars, 1998), and much less empirical and theoretical attention has been paid to other possible determinants of blame attributions. The social role of the alleged transgressor is one of such determinants. Consistent with Hamilton (1979) and Schlenker, Britt, Pennington, Murphy and Doherty (1994), I argue that two separate bases for blame ascription may exist. Specifically, the actor can be blamed if (1) he or she is seen as having volitionally controlled his or her behavior and desired the negative outcome of that behavior as discussed before, and/or (2) he or she is seen as having the *responsibility* over the outcome by the virtue of his or her social role or status, irrespective of his or her foreknowledge of the outcome or actual action taken.

For instance, imagine an employee who perceives that others are spreading hurtful rumors about him. This employee may blame his co-workers by focusing on the volitional control of his office mates, brooding about their planned assault on his reputation, believing that they intended or at least must have foreseen the emotional pain experienced by him as a result of their actions. Conversely, this same employee may blame his supervisor who did not know of or participate in the rumor spreading. In this

case the employee, may focus not on the supervisor's volitional control in the situation, but concentrate on what the supervisor *should* have done and known as prescribed by his role as the person in charge, thus focusing on the social role occupied by the supervisor. Notably, as bases for the ascription of blame, the actor's *controllability* and *social role* are not necessarily mutually exclusive. However, they may provide distinct bases for the determination of blame. Although several scholars have discussed both of these determinants of blame (Folger & Skarlicki, 1998; Hamilton 1979; Schlenker, et al., 1994), there is a dearth of research on these factors as they apply to the blaming transformation within the revenge process.

Furthermore, the impact of different determinants of blame on the blaming transformation may differ across cultures which cultivate distinct self-construals. I will later argue that cross-cultural differences in construals of self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) may partially mediate the influence of culture on the blaming process. Specifically, the nature of the victim's cultured self-construal may have a significant impact on his or her imputations of blame due to his or her differential weighting of the actor's controllability versus social role determinants. Thus, the content of the dominant self-construal may be of considerable relevance in the blaming transformation within the revenge process.

The Claiming Transformation

The claiming transformation begins after the blamed party for a harmful act is identified. The claiming transformation process refers to the manner in which the blaming cognitions translate into claiming actions. The emotion nature of the claiming transformation is addressed by this thesis.

Lazarus (1991) argues that the feeling of anger is likely when an individual's ego-identity is harmed, and the responsible actor is identified. Likewise, the majority of revenge models argue that anger arises after a party is blamed for some harm (Allred, 1999; Bies, et al., 1997; Glomb, et al., 1998). Thus, there appears to be some consensus identifying the emotion of anger as the principal catalyst responsible for the transformation of blaming cognitions into claiming action.

However, the involvement of other emotions is possible. Markus and Kitayama (1991) argue that individuals in Eastern cultures, which are more collectivist (Hofstede, 1980) tend to exhibit more other-focused emotions such as shame as compared to ego-focused emotions such as anger. It is therefore possible that the type of the emotion experienced can also be influenced by the nature of the assaulted self-concept, suggesting that in Eastern cultures, shame will be the more likely emotion to spark revenge cognitions. As such, cross-cultural variance in the emotional process preceding revenge cognitions will also be explored.

In sum, although there has been some theoretical and empirical progress in the area of workplace revenge, the present-day organizational revenge frameworks have been developed and tested in the West and have yet to address cross-cultural variation in revenge processes. As such, the extant organizational revenge paradigm risks limiting itself to the prediction and explanation of revenge acts committed within Western contexts. It is important not only to identify differences in the cognitive and emotive pathways of the revenge process across cultures, but also to explain why these differences exist. The focal purpose of this thesis is to examine the role of the cultured construals of the self within blaming, blaming, and claiming transformations of the revenge process.

Naming, Blaming and Claiming: The Role of Self-Construals

Through the examination of the revenge process from the self-construal paradigm, I hope to show how societal culture, through the influence of the independent versus collective self-construals, affects the pathways leading to (1) the perception of harm, (2) the blame for the harm, and (3) the behavioral response. The general model outlining the proposed pathways and the relative difference in emphasis across independent and collective self-construals can be seen in Figure 2.

According to Markus and Kitayama (1991), the distinction between independent versus collective self-construals relates to whether people see themselves as separate from others or as connected to others. People who are socialized in Anglo-Saxon and European societies generally share a common moral imperative to develop a unique and *separate* identity, and assert that identity in a way that emphasizes one's distinctive characteristics (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Seeing oneself as a completely independent entity requires the development, in the words of Geertz (1975), of a "...bounded, unique, more or less integrated motivational and cognitive universe, a dynamic center of awareness, emotion, judgment, and action organized into a distinctive whole and set contrastively both against other such wholes and against a social and natural background" (p.48). Thus, individuals with highly developed independent self-construals view themselves as detached from their social contexts and define themselves in terms of specific traits, abilities and accomplishments (Gelfand, et al., 2001). Further, individuals in cultures where the dominant construal of self is independent share certain societal beliefs or focal concerns (Mesquita & Frijda, 1992) that continually reinforce the view of an individual as a contextually-independent agent, endowed with certain rights that are

not contingent on the situation, but are inalienable. Information or actions that challenge these rights may undermine the very foundation of the independent self.

By contrast, people who are socialized in Confucian, Latin American, African and Islamic societies share a common moral imperative to develop and maintain an identity marked by interconnectedness. Experiencing interdependence as Markus & Kitayama (1991) argue, "...entails seeing oneself as part of an encompassing social relationship and recognizing that one's behavior is determined, contingent on, and, to a large extent organized by what the actor perceives to be thoughts, feelings and actions of *others* in the relationship" (p. 227). Due to the social context embeddedness of the collective self, social roles and obligations are highly salient for individuals with more dominant collective self-construals (Gelfand, et al., 2001). Further, individuals in cultures where the dominant construal of self is collective share societally derived focal concerns (i.e., shared values and beliefs) (Mesquita & Frijda, 1992) that reinforce the view of oneself as interdependent with the social context. Thus, central to the collective self are the relationships between close others that define the individual. Such self-defining relationships are characterized by duties owed to and from others, helping individuals maintain face in front of others. In contrast to the contextually independent rights, duties are defined situationally and thus can vary across relationships. Information or actions that challenge these relationally prescribed duty expectations are likely to be seen as violations of the collective self.¹

¹ It is important to note that both independent and collective self-construals may be present within the individual (Markus & Wurf, 1987). In a recent study, Hong, Ip, Chiu, Morris and Menon (2001) conducted a priming experiment demonstrating that both independent and collective self-construals can be activated within the same individual. However, although both self-construals are available to most individuals, one of the self-construals is likely to be more cognitively accessible (Higgins, 1996), leading to its greater rate of activation upon contact with the environment (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martinez, 2000).

Self-Construal and Naming

As discussed earlier, the naming stage is critical to the emergence of the revenge process. In other words, the harm perceived by the individual must be of sufficient intensity and *type* to spark the revenge process. One of the types of harm sufficient for the materialization of the naming stage may involve damage to the victim's self-concept. Of interest then is how culturally shaped construals of self influence the specific events which spark the revenge process.

Individuals' self-construals across cultures are shaped and reinforced by the culturally derived focal concerns. According to Mesquita and Frijda (1992), concerns are called *focal* when "...they represent socially defined and shared concerns" (p.184). Moreover, these authors argue that the focal concerns guide the interpretation or coding of events in one's environment. By extension, these societally shared concerns may be incorporated into individuals' self-concepts, heightening intra-cultural similarity in the types of interpretations that can challenge individuals' notions of self. For instance, the shared focal concern for freedom irrespective of the social context is likely to be incorporated in the self-definitions of many Westerners and may be represented as a right to autonomy or self-expression. An event that impairs these rights across situations may very well be an assault on the very definition of personhood in Western culture, where the independent self is dominant. Conversely, a shared focal concern for maintenance of face as well as obligations owed varies in salience across cultural contexts and is represented in self-construals of many Easterners as a duty owed by or to a certain someone. An event that violates this duty of face maintenance or obligation fulfillment in a given situation may challenge the concept of personhood in Eastern cultures.

Accordingly, I predict the following:

H1: Koreans will perceive the violation of a duty as more harmful than Americans, whereas Americans will perceive the violation of a right as more harmful than Koreans.

Moreover, I posit that it is not one's country of origin, but construals of the self that will ultimately predict perceptions of harm.

H2: Cultural construals of self will interact with type of violation to predict perceptions of harm

H3: Cultural construals of the self will mediate the country by violation interaction on the person's perception of harm.

Self-Construal and Blaming

Cross-cultural research focusing on the blaming transformation is sparse. With the notable exception of the sociologists Hamilton and Sanders' (1992) comparison of Japan and United States, little work has been done on the subject. Hamilton and Sanders (1992) demonstrated that when ascribing blame, the Japanese put less stress on the controllability dimension (i.e. what they called deeds) and more stress on the social role dimension than the Americans. This line of research is highly applicable to the revenge process, as it moves away from focusing exclusively on the control of the actor in blame determination and examines how social roles can contribute to blame ascription. The extension of Hamilton and Sander's research into the domain of revenge is thus highly warranted. Additionally, by accounting for the relative predominance of independent versus collective self-construals, cross-cultural differences in blame ascription can be further explicated.

As argued earlier, blame for injury in social interaction can be assigned on the basis of both controllability of the actor (i.e. degree of volition, intent) as well as the actor's social role (i.e. degree of social role obligation). For example, Schlenker, et al. (1994) argue that an actor's job description may speak to his or her social role obligations in a given situation, while the actor's level of intention refers to his or her level of control in a given situation. Moreover, while both variables may be active in the determination of blameworthiness, the influence of these blame determinants on blame determination may vary across individuals with differentially dominant self-construals. For instance, individuals in cultures where the independent self is more dominant occupy a social world where self-determination and volition are the bedrock of human interaction. In these cultures, individuals are more attuned to volitional issues and thus may put more weight on the level of control exercised by the actor at the expense of a focus on the actor's social role prior to the incident. Accordingly, I predict the following:

H4: In determining actor's blame, Americans will be more influenced by the actor's level of control than Koreans.

H5: Cultural construals of self will interact with level of control to predict perceptions of blame.

H6: Cultural construals of self will mediate the country by level of actor's control interaction on actor's blame.

On the other hand, individuals in cultures where the collective self is dominant navigate in a social world infused with interconnectedness and obligations. For these individuals, according to Gelfand et al. (2001) "...meeting social responsibilities and obligations in one's social position is a moral imperative..." (p. 1061). This greater focus

on duty may also translate into a greater influence of the social role of the actor and a lesser impact of the actor's control in the process of blame ascription. Accordingly, I predict the following:

H7: In determining actor's blame, Koreans will be more influenced by the actor's social role obligation than Americans.

H8: Cultural construals of self will interact with social role to predict perceptions of blame.

H9: Cultural construals of self will mediate the country by level of actor's social role obligation interaction on actor's blame.

Self-Construal and Claiming

Behavior, the final step in the revenge process, begins to restore the victim's threatened or damaged self-construal. It is important to identify the process by which blaming cognitions transform into claiming intentions and actions. Most revenge scholars have argued that the process that follows blame and precedes revenge action is of an emotional nature (Allred, 1999; Buss, 1967; Lazarus, 1991). In particular, the emotion of anger is thought to motivate claiming behavior. This paper assumes that the relationships between intensity of blame and intensity of anger and the consequent intensity of retaliation intention are likely to occur in all cultures. However, there is also some evidence (Mesquita & Frijda, 1992; Markus & Kitayama, 1991, Tinsley & Weldon, 2002) to suggest that the emotion of shame may also play an important role in interpersonal relations within cultures where individuals' collective self-construals are dominant. Therefore, although anger is likely to predict revenge intentions in the U.S.

and Korea, feelings of shame may predict revenge intentions over and above feelings of anger for individuals from Korea. Thus, I posit the following:

H10: Feelings of anger will predict revenge intentions for Americans and Koreans.

H11: Controlling for feelings of anger, feelings of shame will predict revenge intentions for Koreans more than for Americans.

H12: Cultural construals of self will interact with feelings of shame to predict revenge intentions.

H13: Cultural construals of self will mediate the country by level of shame interaction on revenge intentions.

Conceptualization and Measurement of Self-Construals

Due to the central role of self-construals in this thesis, I am also interested in addressing some conceptual and measurement issues related to the self. To date, the dominant approach in the literature has been to explore how the variance in independent versus collective content of the self influences psychological processes. Largely missing from the literature is a discussion on the role of ambient normative pressures related to the independent and collective self. The examination of the larger normative environment in prediction of cross-cultural differences is highly warranted since perceived normative pressures may play an important role in psychological processes. As noted by Fishbein and Ajzen (1975), social constraints and affordances (i.e., norms) are important predictors of human functioning above and beyond individual attitudes.

Moreover, normative pressures remain largely unaccounted for in the extant measurement of self-construals. To date, the dominant measurement approach in the

self-construal literature has focused exclusively on individuals' reports of their independent and collective selves. Most notably, Singelis (1994) developed a scale which has been widely used. Example items for the independent and collective scales are "I enjoy being unique and different from others in many respects (I)," "My personal identity, independent of others, is very important to me (I)," "I will sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of the group I am in (C)," "It is important to me to respect decisions made by the group (C)." Singelis' self-construal scale, while useful for measuring independent and collective self-construal as an individual difference variable, does not *directly* reflect societal normative pressures related to the independent and collective self.

In order to better explicate the potency of one's normative environment, along with exploring Singelis' measure and its predictive power in the revenge process, I also created a new version of the self-construal scale designed to investigate individuals' perceptions of the dominant self-construal within a societal context. In particular, the items paralleled those of the Singelis measure, but they incorporated a societal referent instead of an individual one. A similar procedure was used by Chirkov, Ryan, Kim and Kaplan (2003). For example, Koreans were asked how frequently, in their opinion, do most Koreans do the following: "Enjoy being unique and different from others in many respects (I)," "Have a personal identity, independent of others (I)," "Sacrifice own self-interest for the benefit of one's group (C)," "Respect decisions made by the group (C)." The self-construal scale with the societal referent arguably reflects the dominant construal of self that has been cultivated in one's cultural context. Additionally, societal contexts infused with a particular type of self-construal result in a normative environment

that may substantially influence individual behavior. Notably, the measurement of such felt normative pressures via the societal referent self-construal scales may also indirectly capture an individual's 'ought' self (Higgins, 1987) as opposed to the 'actual' self measured by the extant self-construal literature. This idea is further explored in the general discussion.

Chapter 2: Method

The central focus of this thesis is the effect of cultured self-construals on the influence of (1) right versus duty violations in perception of harm (Hypotheses 1, 2 and 3), (2) controllability of the actor in determination of blame (Hypotheses 4, 5 and 6), and social role obligation of the actor in determination of blame (Hypotheses 7, 8 and 9). Also, this thesis investigates the differences in emotive pathways to revenge intentions (Hypotheses 10 - 13). To investigate all hypotheses, two scenario studies were employed. Scenario studies have been widely used to study human judgment processes in attribution (Hamilton & Sanders, 1992; Gonzales, Manning & Haugen, 1992; Walster, 1966) and harm perception research (Gonzales, et al., 1992). The utilization of the scenario methodology in the realm of revenge research allows for a controlled examination of variables deemed important in the revenge context.

The first study examined the influence of duty versus right violations and level of outcome severity in perceptions of harm. The manipulation of outcome severity (i.e., severe vs. mild workplace consequences) is consistent with previous research investigating harm perceptions (Gonzales, et al., 1992). Additionally, this manipulation allowed for the examination of how right and duty violations influence perceived harm in the context of severe versus mild workplace consequences. The second study examined the impact of the offender's control and role obligation information in determination of blame judgments, as well as the influence of anger and shame on intentions to retaliate. The scenarios were administered in the United States and South Korea allowing for comparisons of how individuals from different cultures evaluate harm, ascribe blame, and formulate revenge intentions.

Both studies included measures of cultured self-construal with the individual and the societal referent. The societal referent construal of self scales proved to have more predictive power.

Study 1

Participants

Participants in Study 1 included 80 students from a mid Atlantic U.S. university and 83 students from a university in Seoul, Korea. The average age for participants was 19.8 (U.S. average was 18.7, Korean average was 20.8.). The overall gender composition was 66.3% female (in the U.S., the sample was 76.3% female; in Korea, the sample was 56.6% female). The participants' reported full-time work experience averaged 1 year and 2 months (9 months for U.S. participants and 19 months for Korean participants).

Experimental Design

The study consisted of a 2x2x2 between subject design: 2 (Country: US vs. Korea) x 2 (Type of violation: Right vs. Duty) x 2 (Severity: High vs. Low). Additionally, participant self-construals were measured to test interactions regarding self-construal moderation relevant to the Hypotheses 2 and 3.

Procedure

Participants were first asked to read the informed consent form. After signing the informed consent form, the participants read a scenario describing an offensive episode in the workplace and responded to the scales that followed. Before proceeding to the next part of the study, the participants were asked to complete a distractor task, which

consisted of putting 28 numbers in order and then answering questions about the task. In the second part of the study, the participants answered a series of scales, including the original, individual referent Singelis (1994) self construal scale and a parallel, societal referent self-construal scale. Additionally, the order of the individual and societal referent items was counterbalanced in the study, with half of the participants receiving the individual referent items first and the other half of the participants receiving the societal referent items first.

Materials

Development of dimension manipulations. The scenarios were piloted with a small sample of bi-cultural individuals fluent in English and Korean to ascertain whether the scenarios were sufficiently realistic in both cultures. The translation procedures included initial translation by our Korean collaborators, then independent back-translation by a party unaware of the nature of the study. Finally, the original scenarios were compared with the back-translated version and discrepancies between the two versions were resolved through several discussions with both sets of translators. All manipulations are shown in Appendix A.

The following is an example of a right violation that has a severe consequence:

You work at an advertising agency. Last month your agency was asked to come up with a new advertising campaign for a mobile phone company. You and your co-workers were given two weeks to brainstorm ideas for the project. You were told that at the end of the two weeks all of you would meet and present your suggestions.

After considerable effort, you came up with some unique and creative ideas for the advertising campaign. As the deadline

approached, you happened to share your ideas with a co-worker, with whom you work regularly. However, at the end of the two weeks, during your meeting, that co-worker spoke before you and presented your rightful ideas as his own without giving you any credit

(Right Violation).

As a result, you were unprepared for the meeting and you did not get the promotion you would have otherwise **(High Severity)**.

The following is an example of duty violation that has a mild consequence:

You work at an advertising agency. Last month your agency was asked to come up with a new advertising campaign for a mobile phone company. You and your co-workers were given two weeks to brainstorm ideas for the project. You were told that at the end of the two weeks, all of you would meet and present your suggestions.

A co-worker, with whom you work regularly, owed you favor and promised to help. While you were going to brainstorm for ideas, he promised to do research on your client, the mobile phone company, which was vital to completing your recommendations. As the deadline approached, your co-worker informed you that he didn't do the research he owed you, and was not going to fulfill his obligation to you **(Duty Violation)**.

However, due to your quick thinking, you had ideas to present and seemed prepared for the meeting **(Low Severity)**.

Manipulation Checks. Manipulation checks for the violation variable were employed. Participants were asked to agree or disagree on a 5-point Likert scale to the following statements: "My rights were severely violated in this situation (for rights)," "The-coworker failed to fulfill a duty he had to me (for duties)."

Realism Check. The comparative cross-cultural realism of the scenarios presented was ascertained by asking participants to agree or disagree on a 5-point Likert scale to the following statement: “The situation described in the story is realistic.”

Perception of Harm. Perception of harm was measured via one question on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = Not at all hurtful, 5 = Extremely hurtful): “How hurtful was your co-worker’s behavior to you?”

Individual Referent Self-Construal Measures. The independent and collective self-construal scales comprised of 15 items each (Singelis, 1994) (Appendix B). The following are example items from the independent self-construal scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree): “I enjoy being unique and different from others in many respects,” “My personal identity, independent of others, is very important to me,” “Being able to take care of myself is a primary concern for me.” The collective self-construal scale is exemplified by the following items (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree): “I will sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of the group I am in,” “It is important to me to respect decisions made by the group,” “It is important for me to maintain harmony within my group.” The independent self-construal scale was found to have a Cronbach α of .75 for the American sample and .69 for the Korean sample. The collective self-construal scale was found to have a Cronbach α of .77 for both American and Korean samples.

Also separate confirmatory factor analyses for both country samples were conducted using the parceling method in MPLUS. Since individual items tend to exhibit low reliability and may violate multivariate normality assumptions, the parceling method was preferable to the use of individual items (Bandalos, 2002; Nesser & Wisenbaker,

2003). Each of the 15-item measures was divided into 5 parcels of 3 items each. In the interest of maximizing sample size, for this analysis, participant responses from both studies were considered. The data suggests a good fit for the U.S with a CFI of .95 (Chi-Square/df = 1.66) and a modest fit for Korea with a CFI of .86 (Chi-Square/df = 2.9). Complete goodness of fit data along with the loadings of parcels are presented in Table 1.

Societal Referent Self-Constraint Measures. The societal referent construal of self measure consisted of the items parallel in content to the individual referent scales.

However, the items asked the participant what other people in their country would think, feel, and do (see Appendix C). For instance, Korean participants were asked how frequently, in their opinion, do most Koreans “have a personal identity, independent of others” in the independent societal scale, and “sacrifice own self-interest for the benefit of one’s group” in the collective societal scale. The societal referent independent self-construal scale was found to have a Cronbach α of .81 for the American sample and .70 for the Korean sample. The societal referent collective self-construal scale was found to have a Cronbach α of .65 for the American sample and .71 for the Korean sample.

As with individual referent scales, separate confirmatory factor analyses for both country samples were conducted using the parceling method in MPLUS with the societal referent scales. Each of the 15-item measures was divided into 5 parcels of 3 items each. In the interest of maximizing sample size, for this analysis, participant responses from both studies were considered. The data suggests a good fit for the U.S with a CFI of .91 (Chi-Square/df = 2.21) and for Korea with a CFI of .90 (Chi-Square/df = 2.41). Complete goodness of fit data along with the loadings of parcels are presented in Table 2.

Analysis

Hierarchical regression analyses were used to test Hypotheses 1, 2 and 3.

Hypothesis 1, which stated that country will interact with the type of violation to predict perceptions of harm was tested by entering the main effects of country, type of violation, and severity in the first step and the interaction of country by severity, type of violation by severity, and country by type of violation, in the second step. In the third step, a three-way interaction among country, severity, and violation was entered. Hypothesis 2, which stated that the cultured self-construal will interact with the type of violation to predict perceptions of harm, was tested by entering the main effects of cultured self-construal and type of violation in the first step and the interaction of cultured self-construal and type of violation in the second step. Hypothesis 3, which stated that the interaction of self-construal by type of violation will mediate the effect of the country by type of violation interaction, was tested in three steps. In the first step, the main effect of country, type of violation, and self-construal were entered. In the second step, the interaction of self-construal by type of violation was entered. In the final step, the country by type of violation interaction was entered.

The above procedures were conducted for each of the self-construal scales discussed: (a) independent self with an individual referent, (b) collective self with an individual referent, (c) independent self with a societal referent, and (d) collective self with a societal referent.

Results: Descriptives

Means, standard deviations, and inter-correlations among all the Study 1 variables can be found in table 3.

Manipulation Checks. First, the manipulation of the violation condition (i.e., right vs. duty) was checked by asking whether participants' rights were violated. It was expected that participants will perceive greater right violations in the right violation condition than the participants in the duty violation condition. For the perceptions of a right violation, multiple regression analysis revealed a significant main effect of condition (Beta = $-.56$, $t = -9.45$; $p < .001$) and no condition by country interaction (Beta = $.09$, $t = .342$; $p = .733$). That is, participants in the rights violation condition reported that their rights were violated more than the participants in the duty violation condition ($M_{\text{right_cond}} = 4.37$; $M_{\text{duty_cond}} = 3.07$). As Figure 3 illustrates, both American and Korean participants experienced greater right violations in the right violation condition than the duty violation condition.

The manipulation of the violation condition was also checked by asking whether participants' duties were violated. It was expected that participants will perceive greater duty violations in the duty violation condition than the participants in the right violation condition. Multiple regression analysis revealed no main effect of condition (Beta = $.12$, $t = 1.62$; $p = .11$) and a significant condition by country interaction (Beta = $-.9$, $t = -2.9$; $p < .01$). Consistent with expectations, Americans in the duty violation condition perceived greater duty violations than Americans in the right violation condition ($M_{\text{right_cond}} = 3.78$; $M_{\text{duty_cond}} = 4.30$). By contrast, Koreans perceived high duty violations in both duty and right violation conditions ($M_{\text{right_cond}} = 4.71$; $M_{\text{duty_cond}} = 4.57$). As Figure 4 shows, Koreans construed both the right and duty violation conditions as violating duties.

In sum, similar to Americans, Koreans perceived greater right violations in the right violation condition versus the duty violation condition. However, in contrast to Americans, Koreans perceived violations of duty to be equal across both right and duty violation conditions. Interestingly, this result is paralleled in Gelfand's et al. (2001) research, where the authors found that the same events can be construed as right violating by Americans, but duty violating by Japanese. This cultural difference has implications for the interpretation of the results to be presented and will be discussed in greater length in the discussion section.

Realism Check. The realism of the scenarios presented was checked by asking whether the situation in the story presented was realistic. Multiple regression analysis revealed no significant main effect of country (beta = .05, $t = .58$; $p = .56$) ($\underline{M}_{USA} = 4.54$; $\underline{M}_{KOREA} = 4.60$), violation condition (beta = -.09, $t = -1.14$; $p = .25$) ($\underline{M}_{right} = 4.62$; $\underline{M}_{duty} = 4.51$), or severity condition (beta = .05, $t = .62$; $p = .54$) ($\underline{M}_{low} = 4.54$; $\underline{M}_{high} = 4.59$). Also, no significant interactions were found.

Self-Construal Scales. When measured on an individual referent self-construal scale, Americans did not score significantly higher on the independent self-construal than Koreans (Beta = .11, $t = -1.46$; $p = .15$) ($\underline{M}_{USA} = 4.82$; $\underline{M}_{KOREA} = 4.67$). Moreover, Koreans did not score significantly higher on the individual referent collective self-construal than Americans (Beta = .05, $t = .65$; $p = .52$) ($\underline{M}_{USA} = 4.81$; $\underline{M}_{KOREA} = 4.87$).

By contrast, results of the newly constructed societal referent self-construal scales were substantially different from the individual referent scales. Americans scored significantly higher on the societal referent independent self-construal than Koreans (Beta = -.25, $t = -3.31$; $p < .001$) ($\underline{M}_{USA} = 3.20$; $\underline{M}_{KOREA} = 2.95$). Also, Koreans scored

significantly higher on the societal referent collective self-construal than Americans (Beta = .64, $t = 10.4$; $p < .001$) ($M_{USA} = 3.13$; $M_{KOREA} = 3.79$).

Results: Hypothesis Testing

Consistent with Hypothesis 1, Koreans experienced more harm than Americans in the duty violation condition. Table 4 demonstrates that there was a significant interaction between country and violation condition on perceived harm (Beta = .73, $p < .05$). At the same time, Koreans and Americans experienced an equal amount of harm in the right violation condition, which is consistent with the finding that Koreans perceive high duty violations in the right violation condition. In support of hypothesis 1, Figure 5 demonstrates that Koreans perceived more harm in the duty violation condition than Americans and an equal amount of harm in the right violation condition. With regard to the severity manipulation, as Table 4 demonstrates, there was no main effect of or interaction with the outcome severity condition.

Consistent with Hypothesis 2, Table 4 demonstrates that there was a significant interaction between societal referent collective construal of self and violation condition on perceived harm (Beta = 1.17, $p < .05$), which parallels the country effect just described. Figure 6 illustrates that individuals with high societal referent collective selves experience more harm in the duty violation condition and similar harm in the right violation condition when compared to individuals with low societal referent collective selves.

In support of Hypothesis 3, Table 4 demonstrates that when societal referent collective self-construal by violation condition is controlled, the country by violation condition interaction is no longer significant (Beta = .45, $p = .28$). Furthermore, Sobel

test analyses (Sobel, 1982) indicate a significant mediation of the societal referent collective self-construal ($t = 2.11, p < .05$). Thus, Hypothesis 3 is supported.

Notably, neither the individual referent independent self scale (Beta = $-.82, p = .16$), nor the individual referent collective self scale (Beta = $.72, p = .25$) interacted with type of violation to predict perceptions of harm. Additionally, the societal referent independent self scale did not interact with type of violation to predict perceptions of harm (Beta = $-.54, p = .31$).

Study 1 Discussion

As predicted, the results indicate that the breaking of a duty (i.e., promise) constitutes a graver act for individuals socialized in Korea than the United States. Furthermore, the duty violation was particularly salient for individuals with high societal referent collective construals of self. Finally, when the societal referent collective construal of self was controlled, the country difference in harm perceptions after duty violations reduced considerably. The latter finding suggests a mediating role of self-construal in the naming process.

Contrary to the prediction, however, the breaking of a right did not result in greater harm for Americans than for Koreans. Notable, however, is the finding that Koreans were more likely to view the violation in the right condition as also indicative of a broken promise or a duty as compared to Americans. It is relatively clear that in the experimental right condition, an individual may either focus on the loss of stolen intellectual property (i.e. violation of a right) or on the breach of a duty owed by the co-worker (i.e., violation of a duty). This is consistent with Gelfand, et al.'s (2001) multidimensional scaling study where given the same set of conflict descriptions,

Americans were more likely to construe the conflicts as violations of rights, while the Japanese were more likely to interpret them as violations of duty. Moreover, manipulation check analyses make it clear that while Americans perceived duty violations mostly in the duty violation condition, Koreans perceived duty violations in *both* right and duty violation conditions, suggesting that Koreans' high perceptions of harm in the right violation condition are a result of a perceived duty breach, whereas Americans' high perceptions of harm in the right condition are a result of a perceived individual right infringement. Given the utmost importance of duties and obligations in the Korean cultural context, it is perhaps of no surprise that Koreans applied a duty-focused cognitive "hammer" across both situations.

Interestingly, exploratory analyses with the outcomes severity manipulation yielded no relevant main effects or interactions. It is suspected that the right and duty violations were more psychologically salient to participants than the severity of workplace outcomes presented.

Another purpose of this study was to examine the moderating influence of individual referent and societal referent self-construal scales. Results indicate that there were no cross-cultural differences on individual referent independent and collective self scales. However, the societal referent independent and collective self scales did show significant differences across cultures in the expected direction. Furthermore, only the societal referent scales, and in particular, the collective self scale, explained country by condition interaction. As discussed previously, societal referent scales may be better able to capture the present-day, normative pressures experienced by the respondents that are not captured by self-construal scales aimed solely at individual beliefs. It may be the

case that it is not one's 'actual' self-construal that is determinative of reactions to violations, but rather it is one's 'ought' self-construal, shaped by the people that surround, that is more predictive of differences in harm perceptions across cultures.

Thus, Study 1 provides some evidence of cross-cultural differences in the naming process, as well as demonstrates the mediating role of societal referent collective self-construal in the naming stage. In the next study, I examined cross-cultural differences in ascribing blame and formulating revenge intentions. I also investigated whether self-construal mediates these cross-cultural differences.

Study 2

Participants

Participants in Study 2 included 117 students from a mid-Atlantic U.S. university and 122 students from a university in Seoul, Korea. The overall average age for participants was 19.7 (U.S. average was 19.1; Korean average was 20.3). The overall gender composition was 63.6% female (in the U.S., the sample was 64.1% female; in Korea, the sample was 63.1% female). The participants' reported full-time work experience averaged to 1 year and 4 months (16 months for U.S. participants and 15 months for Korean participants).

Experimental Design

The study consisted of a 3x2x2 between subject design: 2 (level of control: high vs. low vs. none), 2 (level of role: high vs. low), 2 (country: US vs. Korea). In this study, outcome severity was held constant across all manipulations. Additionally, participant

individual and societal referent self-construals were measured to test interactions regarding self-construal moderation.

Procedure

Participants were first asked to read the informed consent form. After signing the informed consent form, the participants read a scenario describing an offensive episode in the workplace and responded to the scales that followed. Before proceeding to the next part of the study, the participants were asked to complete a distractor task, which consisted of putting 28 numbers in order and then answering questions about the task. In the second part of the study, the participants answered a series of scales, including the original, individual referent Singelis (1994) self-construal scale, and a parallel, societal referent self-construal scale. Additionally, the order of the individual and societal referent items was counterbalanced in the study, with half of the participants receiving the individual referent items first and the other half of the participants receiving the societal referent items first.

Materials

Development of dimension manipulations. As with Study 1, the scenarios were piloted with a small sample of bi-cultural individuals fluent in English and Korean to ascertain whether the scenarios were sufficiently realistic in both cultures. The level of control manipulation mirrored the three control states typically used in the attribution literature (cf. Gonzales, et al., 1992): Intentional, Negligent, and Accident. The role manipulation was designed to vary the level of the a priori responsibility of the co-worker. In particular, the co-worker either had a high role due to the possession of

position-mandated duties or lack of them. The translation procedures followed for Study 2 were the same as in Study 1. All manipulations can be seen in Appendix D.

The following is an example of a low role, high control scenario:

You work at an advertising agency. Last month you were asked to come up with a new advertising campaign for a mobile phone company. Your agency was very interested in attracting more business from this mobile phone company in the future.

A co-worker, with whom you work with regularly, was going to deliver your project by 5 p.m. that day, the deadline for the job. You asked the co-worker to deliver your project over to the phone company by that deadline although delivering documents was not part of his job duties (**Low Role**).

Unfortunately, later in the day he decided that the delivery of your project was not a priority. As a result, he intentionally turned in your project after the 5 p.m. deadline (**High Control**).

Due to the lateness of the project the mobile phone company could not consider your advertising campaign and did not buy it.

The following is an example of a high role, no control/accident scenario:

You work at an advertising agency. Last month you were asked to come up with a new advertising campaign for a mobile phone company. Your agency was very interested in attracting more business from this mobile phone company in the future.

A co-worker, with whom you work with regularly, was going to deliver your project by 5 p.m. that day, the deadline for the job. You asked the co-worker to deliver your project over to the phone company

by that deadline since he was in charge of office mail and delivering documents was part of his job duties (**High Role**).

Unfortunately, on the way to delivery, he got into a car accident that was completely not his fault. As a result, he turned in your project after the 5 p.m. deadline (**No Control**).

Due to the lateness of the project the mobile phone company could not consider your advertising campaign and did not buy it.

Finally, the following scenario had a low control condition that was in between high and no control conditions:

You work at an advertising agency. Last month you were asked to come up with a new advertising campaign for a mobile phone company. Your agency was very interested in attracting more business from this mobile phone company in the future.

A co-worker, with whom you work with regularly, was going to deliver your project by 5 p.m. that day, the deadline for the job. You asked the co-worker to deliver your project over to the phone company by that deadline since he was in charge of office mail and delivering documents was part of his job duties (**High Role**).

Unfortunately, he forgot about the delivery. As a result, he unintentionally turned in your project after the 5 p.m. deadline (**Low Control**).

Due to the lateness of the project the mobile phone company could not consider your advertising campaign and did not buy it.

Manipulation Checks. Manipulation checks for the control and role variables were employed. Perceived control level was measured via a 3-item scale that asked participants to agree or disagree on a 5-point Likert scale to the following statements: “It

was possible for the co-worker to have behaved differently,” “The co-worker had a lot of control over what happened in the situation,” and “The co-worker could not have prevented what happened in the situation (R).” The control manipulation check scale demonstrated Cronbach α of .87 and .78 in American and Korean samples, respectively. The role level manipulation check consisted of the following three items: “The co-worker had a strong obligation to act differently,” “The co-worker had a big responsibility to prevent what happened in this situation,” and “The co-worker had an obligation to prevent what happened in this situation.” The role level manipulation scale demonstrated Cronbach α of .88 and .82 in American and Korean samples, respectively.

Realism Check. The comparative cross-cultural realism of the scenarios presented was ascertained by asking participants to agree or disagree on a 5-point Likert scale to the following statement: “The situation described in the story is realistic.”

Blame of Actor. Blame ascribed to the actor was operationalized by a 6-item measure (see Appendix E). Participants were asked if they agree (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree) with the statements on a 5-point Likert scale. The following are representative items from the scale: “I blame the co-worker,” “The co-worker is guilty,” and “The co-worker wronged me.” The scale was adapted from Wade’s (1989) victimization scale and has been used repeatedly in workplace revenge research (Bradfield & Aquino, 1999; Bies, Tripp and Kramer, 2001). The blame scale was found to have a Cronbach α of .84 in the American sample and .90 in the Korean sample.

Anger. Anger at the co-worker was measured via a 5-item scale (Appendix F). On 5-point Likert scale, participants were asked the extent to which they would feel a certain way. The following are representative items (1 = very unlikely, 5 = very likely):

“I would feel angry at the co-worker,” “I would feel hostility towards the co-worker,” and “I would be furious at the co-worker.” The scale’s Cronbach α was .92 for both the American and Korean samples.

Shame. The feeling of shame felt was measured via a 7-item scale (Appendix G) that was adopted from Harder and Zalma’s (1990) Personal Feelings Questionnaire-2 (PFQ2) shame measure. On a 5-point Likert scale, participants were asked the extent to which they would feel a certain way. The following are representative items (1 = very unlikely, 5 = very likely): “I would feel humiliated in this situation,” “I would feel embarrassed in this situation,” and “I would feel self-conscious in this situation.” The scale’s Cronbach α was .71 in the American sample and .85 in the Korean sample.

Revenge Intentions. Revenge intentions were measured via a 5-item scale (Appendix H) that was adopted from Wade’s (1989) victimization scale. The following are sample items (1 = very unlikely, 5 = very likely): “I would get even,” “I would make him pay,” and “I would want to see him hurt and miserable.” The scale’s Cronbach α was .90 in the American sample and .94 in the Korean sample.

Self-Construal Measures. The independent and collective self-construal scales at the individual referent were identical to those of Study 1. The individual referent independent self-construal scale was found to have Cronbach α s of .76 for the American sample and .72 for the Korean sample. The individual referent collective self-construal scale was found to have Cronbach α s of .72 for the American and .69 for the Korean sample. As in Study 1, the societal referent construal of self measure consisted of the items parallel in content to the individual referent scales. The societal referent independent self-construal scale was found to have Cronbach α s of .76 for the American

sample and .75 for the Korean sample. The societal referent collective self-construal scale was found to have Cronbach α s of .73 for the American sample and .75 for the Korean sample.

Analysis

Hierarchical regression analyses were used to test blame, emotion, and revenge intention hypotheses.

Blame Hypotheses. Hypotheses 4 and 7, which stated that country will interact with role level as well as control level to predict ascriptions of blame were tested by entering the main effects of country, role level, and control level in the first step and the interactions of country by control level, country by role level, and control by role in the second step. In the third step, a three-way interaction of country, control, and role level was entered. Hypothesis 5, which stated that the cultured self-construal will interact with level of control to predict ascriptions of blame, was tested by entering the main effects of cultured self-construal and level of control in the first step and the interaction of cultured self-construal by level of control in the second step. Hypothesis 8, which stated that the cultured self-construal will interact with level of role to predict ascriptions of blame, was tested by entering the main effects of cultured self-construal and level of role in the first step and the interaction of cultured self-construal by level of role in the second step. Hypothesis 6, which stated that the interaction of cultured self-construal by level of control will mediate the effect of the country by level of control interaction, was tested in three steps. In the first step, the main effects of country, level of control, and self-construal were entered. In the second step, the interaction of self-construal by level of control was entered. In the final step, the country by level of control interaction was

entered. Hypothesis 9, which stated that the interaction of cultured self-construal by level of role will mediate the effect of the country by level of role interaction, was tested in three steps. In the first step, the main effects of country, level of role, and self-construal were entered. In the second step, the interaction of self-construal by level of role was entered. In the final step, the country by level of role interaction was entered.

All analyses involving self construals were performed four times for each of the self-construal scales discussed: (a) independent self with the individual referent, (b) collective self with the individual referent, (c) independent self with the societal referent, and (d) collective self with the societal referent.

Revenge Intentions Hypotheses. Hypothesis 10, which stated that anger would predict revenge intentions in both the U.S. and Korea, was tested by looking at whether there was a main effect of anger and anger by country interaction. Hypothesis 11, which stated that controlling for anger, country will interact with shame level to predict revenge intentions was tested by entering the main effects of country, anger level, and shame level in the first step, and the interactions of country by anger level and country by shame level in the second step. Hypothesis 12, which stated that the cultured self construal will interact with the level of shame to predict revenge intentions, was tested by entering the main effects of cultured self-construal and shame level in the first step and the interaction of cultured self-construal by shame level in the second step. Hypothesis 13, which stated that the interaction of cultured self-construal by shame level will mediate the effect of the country by shame level interaction, was tested in three steps. In the first step, the main effects of country, anger, shame, and self-construal were entered. In the second step, the interaction of self-construal by shame level was entered. In the final step, the country by

anger level and the country by shame level interactions were entered. I examined the hypothesis that the country by shame level interaction will not explain additional variance when self-construal by shame level is controlled.

All analyses involving self construals were performed four times for each of the self-construal scales discussed: (a) independent self with the individual referent, (b) collective self with the individual referent, (c) independent self with the societal referent, and (d) collective self with the societal referent.

Results: Descriptives

Means, standard deviations, and inter-correlations among all the study variables can be found in Table 5.

Manipulation Checks. First, the manipulation of the control condition (i.e., high vs. low vs. none) was checked via a 3-item perceived control scale. It was expected that participants will perceive the greatest control in the high control condition and the lowest in the no control condition. Multiple regression analysis revealed a significant main effect of the control condition ($\beta = -.67$, $t = -13.77$; $p < .001$). More participants agreed that the actor had control in the high control condition than in the low control and no control conditions ($M_{\text{highC}} = 4.24$; $M_{\text{lowC}} = 3.98$; $M_{\text{noC}} = 2.48$), and there was no condition by country interaction ($\beta = .30$, $t = 1.54$; $p = .13$).

The manipulation of the role condition (i.e., high vs. low) was checked via a 3-item perceived role scale. It was expected that participants would perceive the actor to have a higher role in the high role than in the low role condition. Multiple regression analysis revealed no significant main effect of the role condition ($\beta = -.11$, $t = -1.68$; p

= .10) ($M_{\text{highR}} = 3.62$; $M_{\text{lowR}} = 3.40$) and no significant role condition by country interaction. This suggests that the role manipulation was not salient to the participants.

Realism Check. The realism of the scenarios presented was checked by asking whether the situation in the story presented was realistic. Multiple regression analysis revealed no significant main effect of country (beta = .08, $t = 1.19$; $p = .24$) ($M_{\text{USA}} = 4.41$; $M_{\text{KOREA}} = 4.46$), control condition (beta = -.07, $t = -1.04$; $p = .30$) ($M_{\text{highC}} = 4.47$; $M_{\text{lowC}} = 4.59$; $M_{\text{noC}} = 4.34$), or role condition (beta = .09, $t = 1.32$; $p = .19$) ($M_{\text{highR}} = 4.4$; $M_{\text{lowR}} = 4.53$). Also, no significant interactions were found.

Self-Construal Scales. Americans scored significantly higher on the individual referent independent self-construal than Koreans (beta = -.20, $t = -3.1$; $p < .01$) ($M_{\text{USA}} = 4.91$; $M_{\text{KOREA}} = 4.65$). Moreover, Americans scored significantly higher on the individual referent collective self-construal than Koreans (beta = -.17, $t = -2.68$; $p < .01$) ($M_{\text{USA}} = 4.84$; $M_{\text{KOREA}} = 4.63$).

As in Study 1, results of the societal referent self-construal scales were different from the individual referent scales. As would be expected, Americans scored significantly higher on the societal referent independent self-construal than Koreans (beta = -.31, $t = -4.9$; $p < .001$) ($M_{\text{USA}} = 3.19$; $M_{\text{KOREA}} = 2.89$). Also, Koreans scored significantly higher on the societal referent collective self-construal than Americans (beta = .66, $t = 13.49$; $p < .001$) ($M_{\text{USA}} = 3.03$; $M_{\text{KOREA}} = 3.80$).

Results: Hypothesis Testing

Blame Hypotheses. Table 6 demonstrates that there was a significant interaction of country and the control condition on ascribed blame (Beta = .43, $p < .05$). Figure 7 illustrates the nature of this interaction. In support of Hypothesis 4, Americans appeared

to be more sensitive to the actor's level of control when ascribing blame than Koreans. In particular, in the no control or accident condition, Koreans ascribed substantially more blame than Americans.

Consistent with Hypothesis 5, Table 6 demonstrates that there was a significant interaction of collective construal of self with the societal referent and control condition on ascribed blame ($Beta = .66, p < .05$). Figure 8 illustrates the nature of interaction. It appears that high collective self individuals are less sensitive to actor's control when ascribing blame than low collective self individuals. Similar to the country by control interaction on blame, the disparity in blame ascriptions between high collective and low collective self individuals is especially high in the no control/accident condition.

In support of Hypothesis 6, Table 6 demonstrates that when the self-construal (societal referent) by control condition interaction is controlled, the country by control condition interaction is no longer significant ($Beta = .21, p = .43$). Furthermore, Sobel test analyses indicate a significant mediation of the societal referent collective self-construal ($t = 2.10, p < .05$). Thus, Hypothesis 6 is supported.

Notably, neither the individual referent independent self scale ($Beta = -.21, p = .60$), nor the individual referent collective self scale ($Beta = .10, p = .82$) interacted with control to predict ascriptions of blame. Additionally, the societal referent independent self scale did not interact with control to predict ascriptions of blame ($Beta = -.19, p = .58$).

However, hypotheses involving the role manipulation were not supported. As Table 6 demonstrates, there was no significant interaction of country and the role condition on ascribed blame ($Beta = -.12, p = .58$). Thus, Hypothesis 7 was not

supported. Also, Hypothesis 8 was not supported as there was no significant interaction of construals of self and role condition on ascribed blame (Beta = $-.56$, $p = .20$). The failure to support Hypotheses 7 and 8 precludes the possibility of confirming the mediation posited in Hypothesis 9.

Revenge Intentions Hypotheses. As can be seen in Table 7, there was a significant main effect of anger on revenge intentions (Beta = $.51$, $p < .01$), but no significant interaction between country and anger on revenge intentions (Beta = $.31$, $p = .27$), which is supportive of Hypothesis 10.

Consistent with Hypothesis 11, Table 7 demonstrates that controlling for anger, there was a significant interaction of country and level of shame on revenge intentions (Beta = $.71$, $p < .05$). Figure 9 illustrates the nature of this interaction. In support of Hypothesis 11, it appears that Koreans are more sensitive to experienced shame when formulating revenge intentions than Americans.

Consistent with Hypothesis 12, Table 7 demonstrates that there was a significant interaction of collective construal of self at the societal referent and shame level on revenge intentions (Beta = 1.04 ; $p < .05$). Figure 10 illustrates the nature of the interaction. In support of Hypothesis 12, it appears the individuals with high collective selves are more sensitive to experienced shame when formulating revenge intentions than individuals with low collective selves.

Finally, Table 7 demonstrates that when the self-construal (societal referent) and shame level interaction is controlled, the country by shame level interaction becomes insignificant (Beta = $.60$, $p = .14$). Furthermore, Sobel test analyses indicate a significant

mediation of the societal referent collective self-construal ($t = 2.19, p < .05$). Thus, Hypothesis 13 was supported.

Notably, neither the individual referent independent self scale (Beta = $-.36, p = .48$), nor the individual referent collective self scale (Beta = $-.70, p = .19$) interacted with shame level to predict revenge intentions. Additionally, the societal referent independent self scale did not interact with shame level to predict revenge intentions (Beta = $-.41, p = .37$).

Study 2 Discussion

Blame Hypotheses. As predicted, the results indicate that Americans are more sensitive to the actor's level of control when ascribing blame to the actor. Furthermore, the actor's level of control was particularly salient for individuals with high collective construal of self (societal referent). Finally, when the societal referent collective construal of self was controlled, the country difference in blame perceptions as a function of control level decreased substantially. The finding suggests a mediating role of self-construal in the blaming process.

Also noteworthy are the findings related to the control manipulation check. These results indicate that the level of actor's control perceived by the participants was similar across countries. Thus, given this evidence, it would be inconsistent to claim that Americans perceive the actor to have more control and thus blame him more than Koreans. Rather, it seems that Americans are more sensitive to the actor's control than Koreans when ascribing blame.

Contrary to predictions, however, Koreans did not appear more sensitive to the level of actor's role in ascription of blame. The failure of the role manipulation check to detect the saliency of the role manipulation to the participants is a possible explanation for the lack of confirmation of the role hypotheses. The role was manipulated by varying the amount of unofficial versus official role the co-worker possessed. It is possible that the unofficial role was construed just as strongly as an official role (a job position) by the participants. Future role manipulations should vary the amount of responsibility along the same role dimension, whether it be official (e.g., manager vs. vice president) or unofficial (e.g., casual agreement vs. strong promise).

In sum, Americans seem to put greater emphasis on the actor's level of control than Koreans when determining blame. As can be seen in Figure 7, this effect is especially potent in the no control condition (i.e., co-worker got into an accident that was not his fault) where Americans ascribe much less blame than Koreans. The following question still remains: Why do Koreans ascribe substantial blame in the no control/accident condition, while Americans do not? I believe the answer lies with the perceived amount of role responsibility in this condition. Using the role manipulation check scales as a dependent variable, the results show that there is a significant interaction of country by control level on perceived actor's role level (Beta = .58, $t = 2.56$; $p < .05$). As can be seen in Figure 11, while Americans perceive minimal amount of actor's role in the no control/accident condition, Koreans perceive substantial level of actor's role responsibility. Furthermore, collective self-construal by control interaction parallels this finding (Beta = .953, $t = 2.72$; $p < .01$). As can be seen in Figure 12, participants with high societal referent collective self-construals perceived high role

responsibility in the no control/accident condition, while participants with low societal referent collective self-construals perceived substantially less role responsibility in that condition. Clearly, Koreans and those with dominant societal referent collective selves perceived high role responsibility in the no control/accident condition. This finding is important since analyses also show that the perceptions of actor's role level predict ascriptions of blame above and beyond the control condition (Beta = .51, $p < .001$). In fact, when the control condition is taken into account, perceptions of actor's role explain 21% of additional variance in blame ascriptions. Therefore, perceptions of high role level by Koreans in the no control/accident condition may explain why they continue to blame the actor when Americans do not.

Revenge Intention Hypotheses. Results indicate that anger motivates revenge intentions in both U.S. and Korea. However, as predicted, when anger level is controlled, Koreans revenge intentions are more a function of their shame emotions than they are for Americans. Furthermore, the shame emotions are more predictive of revenge intentions for individuals with high collective self-construal (societal referent). Moreover, when the societal referent collective construal of self was controlled, the country difference in revenge intentions as a function of experienced shame was no longer significant. The latter finding suggests that societal referent collective self-construals mediate the effect of emotions in the claiming process.

Chapter 3: General Discussion

It is fair to say that the extant literature on workplace revenge has confined itself to the borders of the United States not only in terms of samples examined, but theoretical assumptions posited. The central aim of this thesis was to demonstrate the power of people's assumptions about themselves and others around them to explain when they feel the greatest harm, cast the most blame, and most of all, feel the utmost desire to strike back.

Societal Referent Self-Construal

One of the most consistent findings across both studies is the efficacy of participants' perceptions of their compatriots' construals of self to predict relevant dependent variables. It is possible that scales focused on participants' compatriots do not suffer from the social desirability effects that plague scales directed at the participants themselves. However, it may also be the case that the efficacy of societal referent scales resides in their ability to capture normative pressures in one's environment and the associated 'ought' self that is shaped by such pressures.

As touched on previously, Higgins' (1987) self-discrepancy theory postulates the existence of 'actual' and 'ought' selves (among others). The 'actual' self is comprised of the attributes one currently possesses and the 'ought' self is comprised of the attributes one believes they should possess. Arguably, it is the 'ought' self-construals, independent or collective, that are more determinative of cross-cultural differences in harm, blame, and revenge cognitions than the 'actual' self-construals discussed by Markus and Kitayama (1991). The efficacy of 'ought' versus 'actual' self-construals in explaining cross-cultural differences requires further theoretical development and empirical support.

Limitations and Future Directions

In terms of providing firmer support for the influence of the independent variables tested, replication of the effects with behavioral outcomes is warranted. Although cognitions, emotions, and intentions are powerful predictors of behavior in many domains, the link between one's psychology and behavior has not been examined in the realm of revenge. Moving beyond scenario methodology to lab-based experimentation and field-based quasi-experimentation may be as necessary as it is difficult to carry out given the topic's nature.

On more theoretical grounds, the moderating psychological mechanisms are in need of more exact treatment. Key questions remain to be answered. Are cross-cultural differences in harm, blame, and revenge cognitions a consequence of differences in 'actual' or 'ought' self-construals and why? Furthermore, can socio-cultural pressures have an influence on our reactions without the mediation of our actual or ought construals of self, and if so, what psychological structures do mediate? Finally, given the explanatory power of the societal referent collective self-construal to predict in the context of this thesis, further theoretical and empirical work on the *why* behind the potency of this scale, and not any other, is highly warranted.

Practical Implications

As the results suggest, duty or promise breaking can be substantially more hurtful to those cultures where the collective construal of self is cultivated. This finding has very practical implications for intercultural interaction. Most of all, one must be wary of estimating the injuriousness of a duty or a promise breach based on one's own cultural view.

Also, results show that the level of an actor's control may be much less important to the ascription of blame in cultures where the collective self is dominant. This suggests that excuses emphasizing one's lack of control in a given situation are not an effective way of minimizing blame. This finding is of outmost practical importance as attributions of blame and responsibility are ubiquitous in intercultural dealings. Also, attributions of severe blame, in spite of no or minimal control in the situation, suggests that for cultures where the collective self is dominant, blame ascriptions may stand on a different foundation. Particularly, in these cultures, a person's social role responsibility may be another critical determinant of blame ascriptions. Thus, the most successful excuses in such cultures may comprise of *convincing* justifications emphasizing one's lack of an a priori role obligation to prevent the incident.

Finally, cross-cultural differences in the motivational meaning of the shame emotion appear to be highly relevant to intended actions. As results suggest, in cultures where the collective self is dominant, felt shame is a call to action. Understanding distinct motivational qualities of emotions in cross-cultural interaction is critical, since intense emotions are often proximal precursors of drastic action.

As this research demonstrates, it is not the origin of one's passport, but the cultured construal of the self that is most determinative of psychological reaction. However, construals vary systematically across national borders, and thus, understanding cross-national differences in these construals allows for a more global insight into the variety of cognitive and emotive revenge pathways extant, making distinct methods of pacification, and perhaps prevention, of the revenge impulse possible.

Table 1. Self-Construal (Individual Referent) CFA in US and Korea

	U.S. Sample	Korean Sample
Chi-Square	56.38	98.66
Df	34	34
Chi-Square/Df	1.66	2.9
CFI	.95	.86
RMSEA	.06	.10
SRMR	.06	.10
<u>Parcel Loadings</u>		
Ind1	.71	.72
Ind2	.51	.43
Ind3	.55	.40
Ind4	.53	.74
Ind5	.65	.41
Coll1	.56	.53
Coll2	.46	.52
Coll3	.46	.65
Coll4	.62	.56
Coll5	.65	.56
Corr. b/t Scales	.05	.05

Table 2. Self-Construal (Societal Referent) CFA in US and Korea

	U.S. Sample	Korean Sample
Chi-Square	75.09	81.79
Df	34	34
Chi-Square/Df	2.21	2.41
CFI	.91	.90
RMSEA	.08	.08
SRMR	.07	.08
<u>Parcel Loadings</u>		
Ind1	.36	.44
Ind2	.50	.36
Ind3	.46	.34
Ind4	.39	.48
Ind5	.50	.34
Coll1	.38	.45
Coll2	.32	.38
Coll3	.33	.38
Coll4	.40	.37
Coll5	.29	.35
Corr. b/t Scales	.50	-.16

Table 3. Descriptive Statistics for Study 1

	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Correlations</u>							
			<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
1. Country (1 = U.S.A)	n/a	n/a	1.0	.01	-.01	.17*	-.11	.05	-.25**	.64**
2. Violation Condition (1 = right)	n/a	n/a		1.0	.01	-.30**	-.14	.11	.05	-.07
3. Severity Condition (1 = high)	n/a	n/a			1.0	-.14	.00	.17*	.18*	-.04
4. Perceived Harm	4.50	.67				1.0	-.02	.07	-.15	.08
5. Independent Construal (Individual)	4.75	.64					1.0	-.01	.14	.11
6. Collective Construal (Individual)	4.84	.66						1.0	.21**	.20**
7. Independent Construal (Society)	3.07	.50							1.0	-.02
8. Collective Construal (Society)	3.46	.52								1.0

Note. * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 4. Hierarchical Regression Analyses for Study 1

<u>Hypothesis 1</u>				
Harm				
		ΔR^2	F	Beta
Step 1	Country	.14	8.49	.17*
	Violation			-.30*
	Severity			-.14
Step 2	Country by Severity	.03	5.3	-.04
	Violation by Severity			-.27
	Country by Violation			.73*
Step 3	3-Way Interaction	.00	4.51	-.07
<u>Hypothesis 2</u>				
Harm				
		ΔR^2	F	Beta
Step 1	Collective Self (Society)	.09	8.23	.07
	Violation			-.29**
Step 2	Collective Self (Society) by Violation Interaction	.03	7.16	1.17*
<u>Hypothesis 3</u>				
Harm				
		ΔR^2	F	Beta
Step 1	Country	.12	7.40	.22*
	Violation			-.31**
	Collective Self (Society)			-.08
Step 2	Collective Self (Society) by Violation Interaction	.03	6.94	1.2*
Step 3	Country by Violation Interaction	.03	5.79	.45

Note. *Beta is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**Beta is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 5. Descriptive Statistics for Study 2

	Mean	SD	Correlations										
			<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>
1. Country (1 = U.S.A)	n/a	n/a	1.0	.01	.01	.31**	.28**	.10	.25**	-.20**	-.17**	-.31**	.66**
2. Control Condition (1 = high)	n/a	n/a		1.0	-.02	-.59**	-.31**	-.60**	-.42**	-.07	-.02	-.06	-.09
3. Role Condition (1 = high)	n/a	n/a			1.0	-.08	.10	-.08	-.07	.05	.01	.01	.14*
4. Blame	3.19	.97				1.0	.46**	.76**	.58**	-.03	-.02	-.04	.32**
5. Anger	3.38	1.1					1.0	.54**	.57**	.02	.08	-.01	.23**
		1											
6. Shame	2.99	.85						1.0	.41**	.02	.00	-.05	.32**
7. Revenge Intentions	1.94	1.0							1.0	.00	-.15*	-.17**	.22**
		6											
8. Independent Construal (Individual)	4.78	.67								1.0	.12	.20**	.01
9. Collective Construal (Individual)	4.73	.61									1.0	.23**	.01
10. Independent Construal (Society)	3.04	.50										1.0	-.14*
11. Collective Construal (Society)	3.42	.58											1.0

Note. * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6. Hierarchical Regression Blame Analyses for Study 2

<u>Hypotheses 4 and 7</u>				
Blame				
		ΔR^2	F	Beta
Step 1	Country	.46	65.87	.31**
	Role Level			-.10*
	Control Level			-.60**
Step 2	Control by Role Interaction	.02	34.9	.28
	Country by Role Level Interaction			-.12
	Country by Control Level Interaction			.43*
Step 3	3-Way Interaction	.00	29.94	-.52
<u>Hypothesis 5</u>				
Blame				
		ΔR^2	F	Beta
Step 1	Collective Self (Society)	.42	86.14	.27**
	Control			-.57**
Step 2	Collective Self (Society) by Control Interaction	.01	59.78	.66*
<u>Hypothesis 6</u>				
Blame				
		ΔR^2	F	Beta
Step 1	Country	.45	65.09	.24**
	Control			-.58**
	Collective Self (Society)			.11
Step 2	Collective Self (Society) by Control Interaction	.01	51.39	.74*
Step 3	Country by Control Interaction	.00	41.18	.21
<u>Hypothesis 8</u>				
Blame				
		ΔR^2	F	Beta
Step 1	Collective Self (Society)	.12	15.94	.34**
	Role			-.13*
Step 2	Collective Self (Society) by Role Interaction	.01	11.21	-.56

Note. *Beta is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**Beta is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 7. Hierarchical Regression Revenge Intentions Analyses for Study 2

<u>Hypotheses 10 and 11</u>				
Revenge Intentions				
		ΔR^2	F	Beta
Step 1	Country	.37	46.34	.18**
	Anger			.51**
	Shame			.08
Step 2	Country by Anger Interaction	.03	31.34	.31
	Country by Shame Interaction			.71*
<u>Hypothesis 12</u>				
Revenge Intentions				
		ΔR^2	F	Beta
Step 1	Collective Self (Society)	.18	25.11	.10
	Shame			.38**
Step 2	Collective Self (Society) by Shame Interaction	.02	18.64	1.04*
<u>Hypothesis 13</u>				
Revenge Intentions				
		ΔR^2	F	Beta
Step 1	Country	.38	35.05	.22**
	Anger			.52**
	Shame			.09
	Collective Self (Society)			-.07
Step 2	Collective Self (Society) by Shame Interaction	.02	29.83	1.0*
Step 3	Country by Anger Interaction	.02	22.62	.30
	Country by Shame Interaction			.60

Note. *Beta is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**Beta is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Figure 1. Dispute Transformation Model (Festinger, Abel and Sarat, 1980)

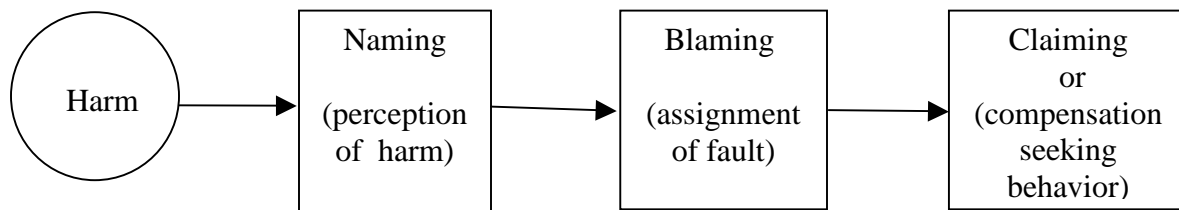


Figure 2. General Revenge Model.

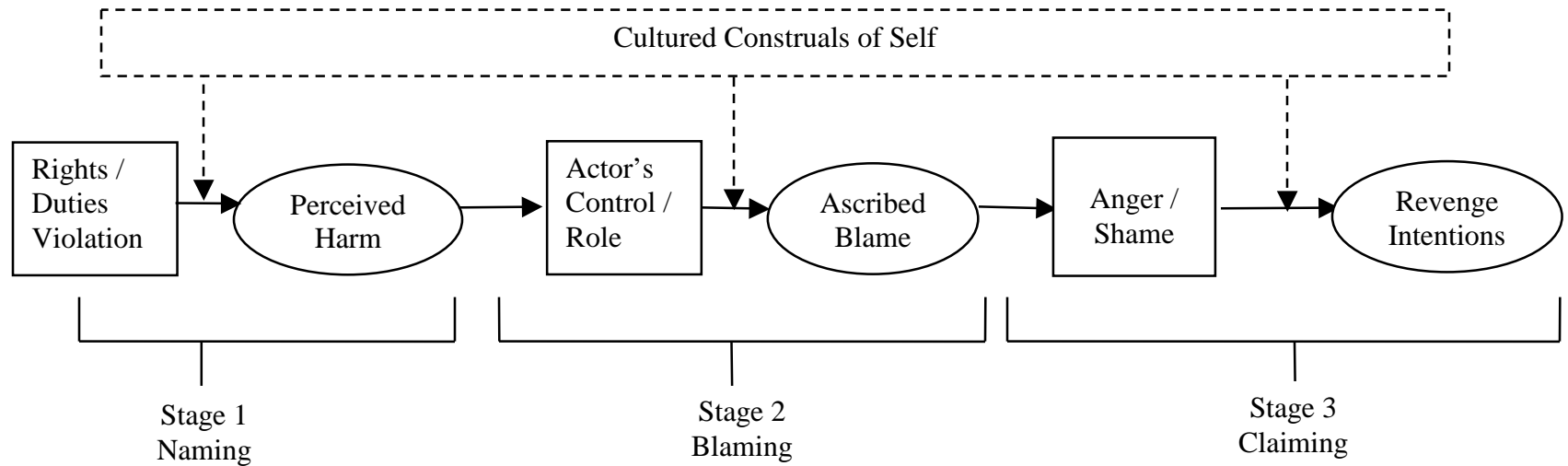


Figure 3. Perceptions of Right Violations in US and Korea across Right and Duty Conditions

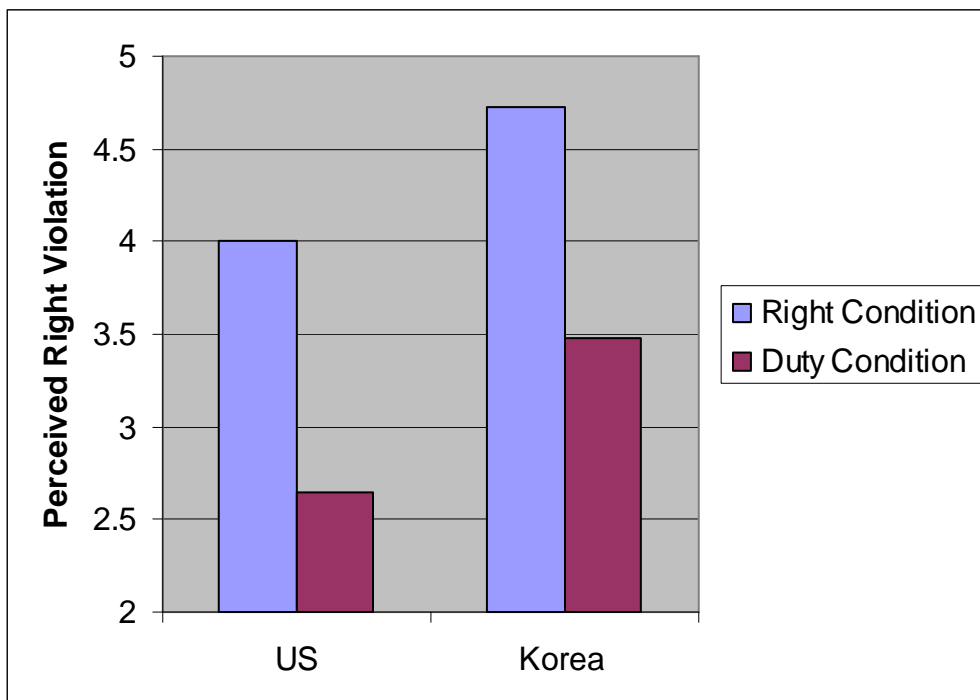


Figure 4. Perceptions of Duty Violations in US and Korea across Right and Duty Conditions

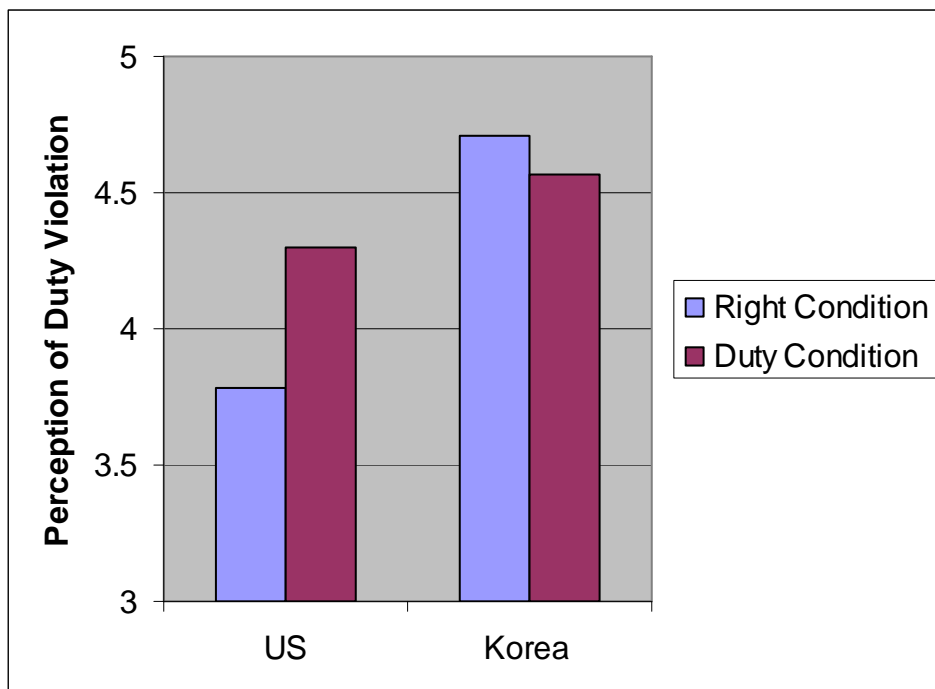


Figure 5. Interaction of Country by Violation Condition on Perceived Harm (Hypothesis 1)

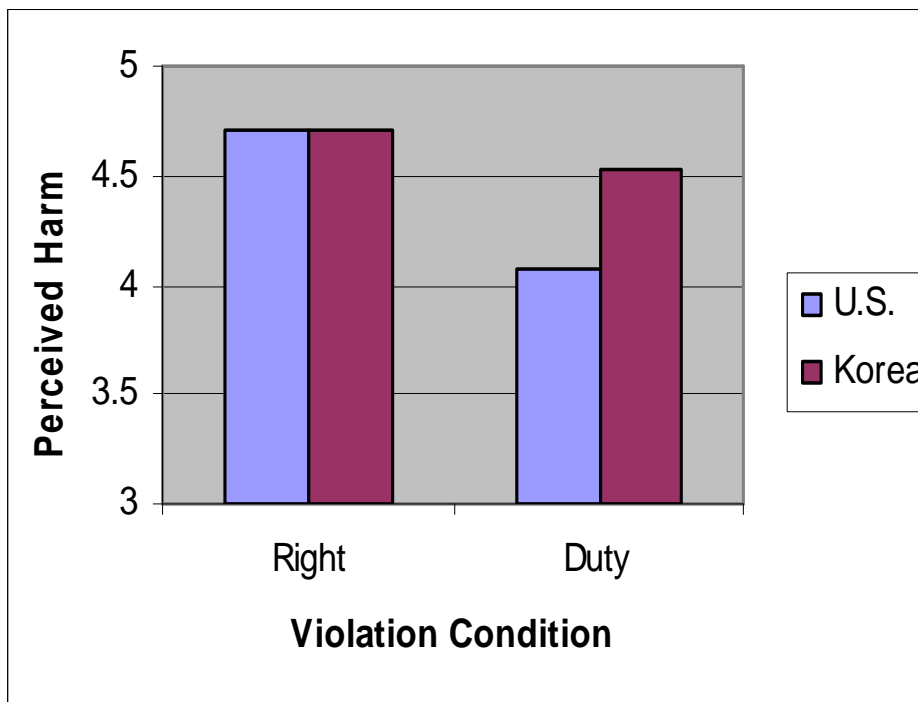


Figure 6. Interaction of Collective Self-Construal (Societal Referent) by Violation Condition on Perceived Harm (Hypothesis 2)

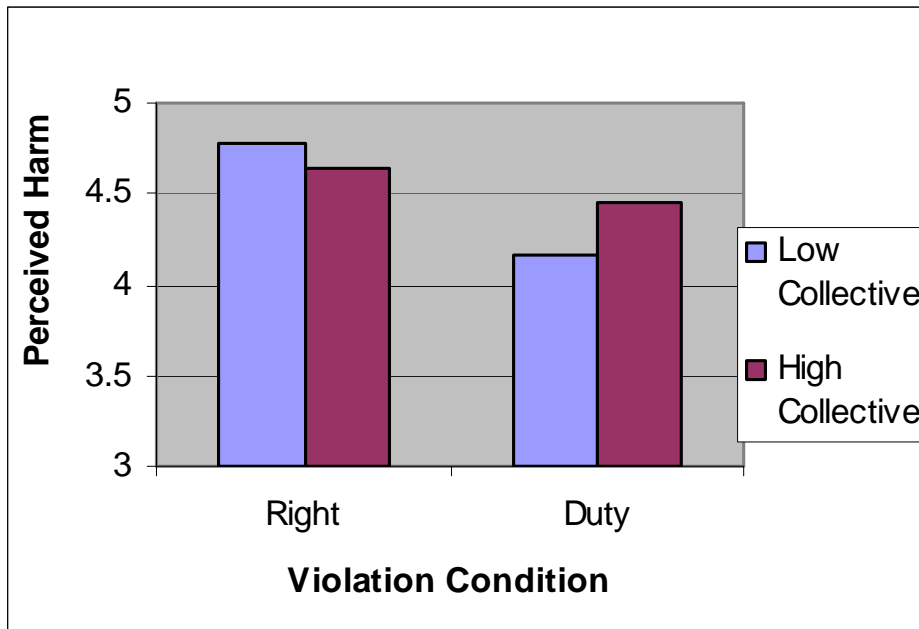


Figure 7. Interaction of Country by Control Condition on Ascribed Blame (Hypothesis 4)

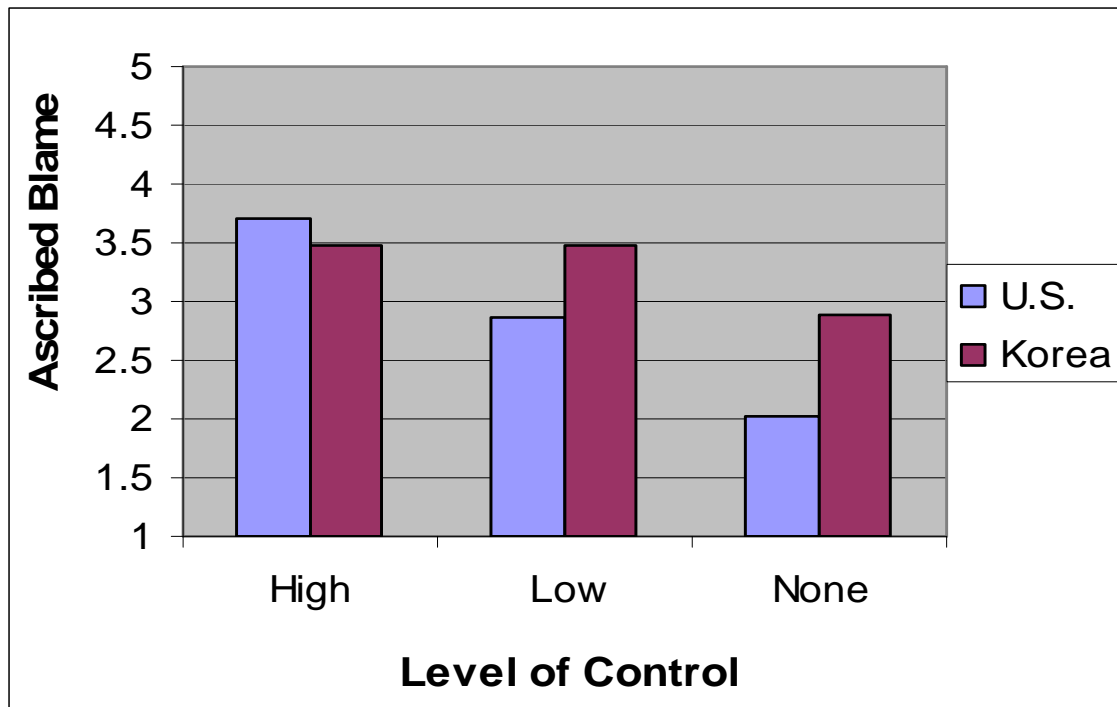


Figure 8. Interaction of Collective Self-Construal (Societal Referent) by Control Condition on Ascribed Blame (Hypothesis 5)

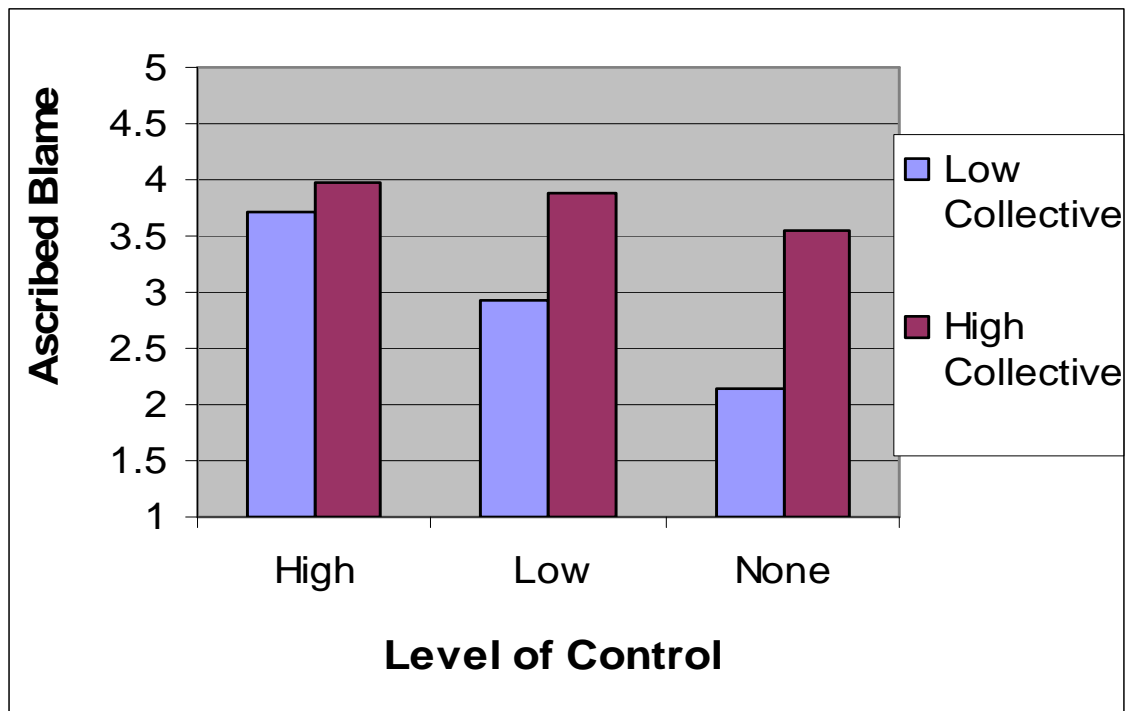


Figure 9. Interaction of Country by Shame Level on Revenge Intentions (Hypothesis 11)

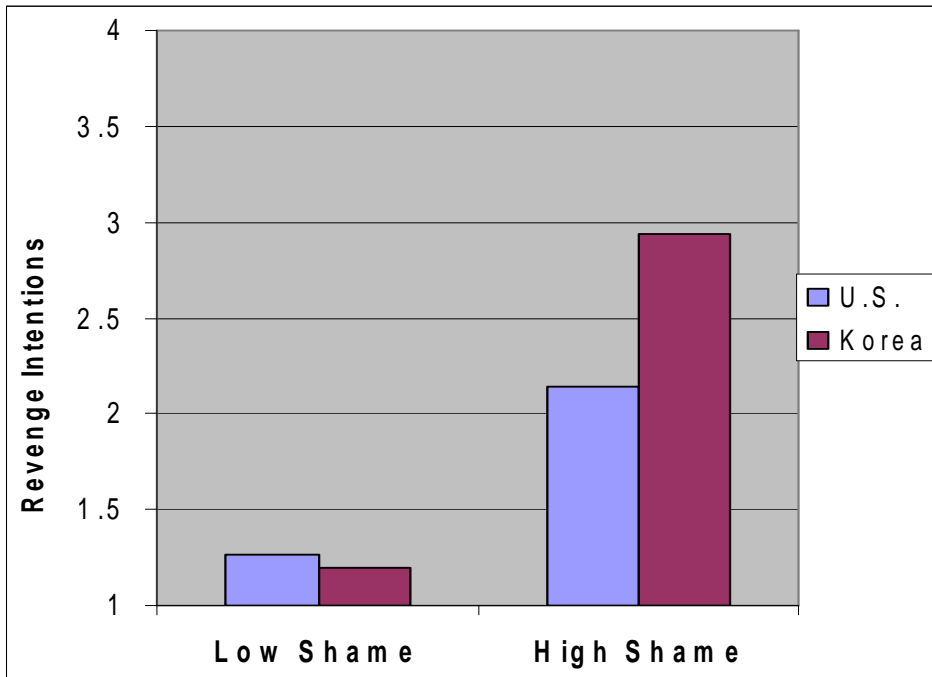


Figure 10. Interaction of Collective Self-Construal (Societal Referent) by Shame Level on Revenge Intentions (Hypothesis 12)

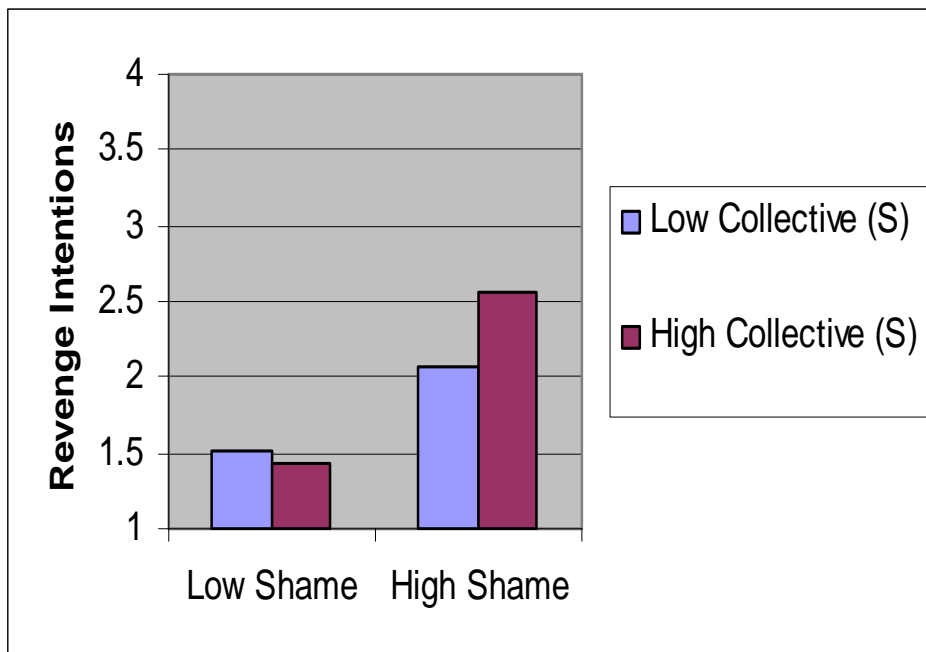


Figure 11. Interaction of Country by Control Condition on Perceived Role Level

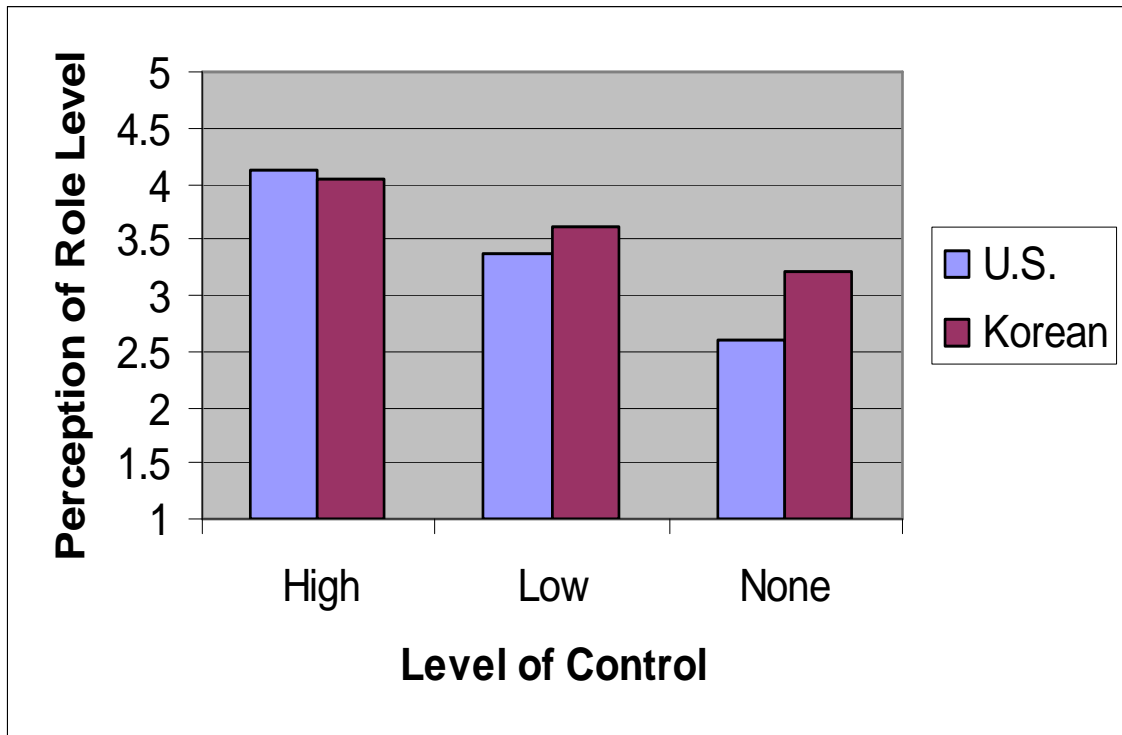
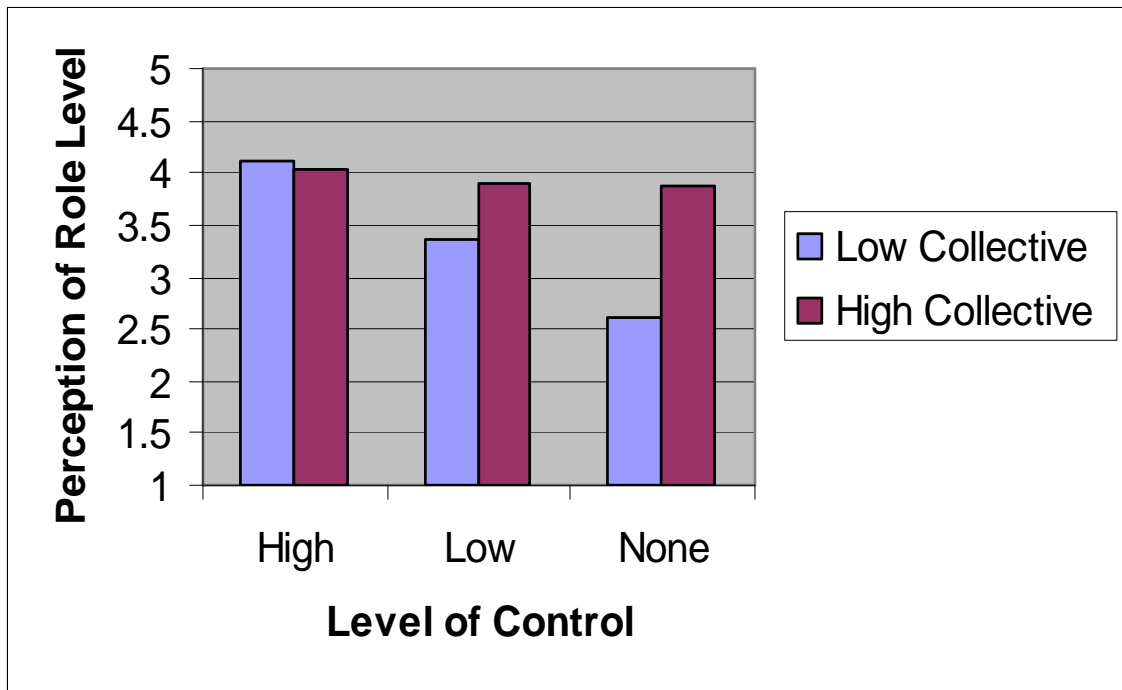


Figure 12. Interaction of Collective Self-Construal (Societal Referent) by Control Condition on Perceived Role Level



APPENDIX A. Study 1 Scenario Manipulations

Participants were told: As you read the story below, please imagine yourself in the situation described.

You work at an advertising agency. Last month your agency was asked to come up with a new advertising campaign for a mobile phone company. You and your coworkers were given two weeks to brainstorm ideas for the project. You were told that at the end of the two weeks all of you would meet and present your suggestions.

[Rights Violation]

After considerable effort, you came up with some unique and creative ideas for the advertising campaign. As the deadline approached, you happened to share your ideas with a co-worker, with whom you work regularly. However, at the end of the two weeks, during your meeting, that co-worker spoke before you and presented your rightful ideas as his own without giving you any credit.

[Duty Violation]

A co-worker, with whom you work regularly, owed you favor and promised to help. While you were going to brainstorm for ideas, he promised to do research on your client, the mobile phone company, which was vital to completing your recommendations. As the deadline approached, your co-worker informed you that he didn't do the research he owed you, and was not going to fulfill his obligation to you.

[High Severity]

As a result, you were unprepared for the meeting and you did not get the promotion you would have otherwise.

[Low Severity]

However, due to your quick thinking, you had ideas to present and seemed prepared for the meeting.

APPENDIX B. Independent and Collective Self-Construal (Individual Referent) Items

Participants were told: This is a questionnaire that measures a variety of feelings and behaviors in various situations. Listed below are a number of statements. Read each one as if it referred to YOU. Please circle the number that best matches your agreement or disagreement.

Independent Self.

- 1) I enjoy being unique and different from others in many respects
- 2) I feel comfortable using someone's first name soon after I meet them, even when they are much older than I am
- 3) I do my own thing, regardless of what others think
- 4) I feel it is important for me to act as an independent person
- 5) I'd rather say "No" directly, than risk being misunderstood
- 6) Having a lively imagination is important to me
- 7) I prefer to be direct and forthright when dealing with people I've just met
- 8) I am comfortable with being singled out for praise or rewards
- 9) Speaking up during a class (or a meeting) is not a problem for me
- 10) I act the same way no matter who I am with
- 11) I value being in good health over everything
- 12) I try to do what is best for me, regardless of how that might affect others
- 13) Being able to take care of myself is a primary concern for me
- 14) My personal identity, independent of others, is very important to me
- 15) I act the same way at home that I do at school

Collective Self.

- 1) Even when I strongly disagree with group members, I avoid an argument
- 2) I have respect for the authority figures with whom I interact
- 3) I respect people who are modest about themselves
- 4) I will sacrifice my self interest for the benefit of the group I am in
- 5) I should take into consideration my parents' advice when making education/career plans
- 6) I feel my fate is intertwined with the fate of those around me
- 7) I feel good when I cooperate with others
- 8) If my brother or sister fails, I feel responsible
- 9) I often have the feeling that my relationships with others are more important than my own accomplishments
- 10) I would offer my seat in a bus to my professor (or my boss)
- 11) My happiness depends on the happiness of those around me
- 12) I will stay in a group if they need me, even when I am not happy with the group
- 13) It is important to me to respect decisions made by the group
- 14) It is important for me to maintain harmony within my group
- 15) I usually go along with what others want to do, even when I would rather do something different

APPENDIX C. Independent and Collective Self-Construal (Societal Referent) Items

Participants were asked: How frequently, in your opinion, do most (Americans/Koreans) do this?

Independent Self.

- 1) Enjoy being unique and different from others in many respects
- 2) Feel comfortable using someone's first name soon after meeting them, even when they are much older
- 3) Do one's own thing, regardless of what others think
- 4) Act as an independent person
- 5) Say "No" directly, rather than risk being misunderstood
- 6) Have a lively imagination
- 7) Be direct and forthright when dealing with people just met
- 8) Be comfortable with being singled out for praise or rewards
- 9) Speak up during a class (or a meeting)
- 10) Act the same way no matter who one is with
- 11) Value being in good health over everything
- 12) Try to do what is best for yourself regardless of how that might affect others
- 13) Take care of one's own needs
- 14) Have a personal identity, independent of others
- 15) Act the same way at home as one does at school

Collective Self.

- 1) Even when strongly disagreeing with group members, avoid an argument
- 2) Have respect for the authority figures with whom one interacts
- 3) Respect people who are modest about themselves
- 4) Sacrifice own self interest for the benefit of one's group
- 5) Take into consideration parents' advice when making education/career plans
- 6) Feel that a person's fate is intertwined with the fate of those around them
- 7) Feel good when cooperating with others
- 8) Feel responsible if one's brother or sister fails
- 9) Feel that one's relationships with others are more important than one's own accomplishments
- 10) Offer one's seat in a bus to my professor (or one's boss)
- 11) Have one's happiness depend on the happiness of those around them
- 12) Stay in a group if one is needed, even when one is not happy with the group
- 13) Respect decisions made by the group
- 14) Maintain harmony within one's group
- 15) Go along with what others want to do, even when one would rather do something different

APPENDIX D. Study 2 Scenario Manipulations

Participants were told: As you read the story below, please imagine yourself in the situation described.

You work at an advertising agency. Last month you were asked to come up with a new advertising campaign for a mobile phone company. Your agency was very interested in attracting more business from this mobile phone company in the future.

[High Role]

A co-worker, with whom you work with regularly, was going to deliver your project by 5 p.m. that day, the deadline for the job. You asked the co-worker to deliver your project over to the phone company by that deadline since he was in charge of office mail and delivering documents was part of his job duties.

[Low Role]

A co-worker, with whom you work with regularly, was going to deliver your project by 5 p.m. that day, the deadline for the job. You asked the co-worker to deliver your project over to the phone company by that deadline although delivering documents was not part of his job duties.

[High Control]

Unfortunately, later in the day he decided that the delivery of your project was not a priority. As a result, he intentionally turned in your project after the 5 p.m. deadline.

[Low Control]

Unfortunately, he forgot about the delivery. As a result, he unintentionally turned in your project after the 5 p.m. deadline.

[No Control]

Unfortunately, on the way to delivery, he got into a car accident that was completely not his fault. As a result, he turned in your project after the 5 p.m. deadline.

Due to the lateness of the project the mobile phone company could not consider your advertising campaign and did not buy it.

APPENDIX E. Ascriptions of Blame Scale Items

Participants were told: Please imagine the story you just read happened to you. Tell us how much you agree with each statement. Please give us your honest opinion by circling the number that best matches your answer.

- 1) I **do not** blame the co-worker for the way he acted (R)
- 2) The co-worker is **solely** to blame for his actions
- 3) I was victimized by the co-worker
- 4) The co-worker wronged me
- 5) I blame the co-worker
- 6) The co-worker is guilty

APPENDIX F. Anger Scale Items

Participants were told: Tell us how likely you are to have the feelings described in each statement. Please give us your honest opinion by circling the number that best matches your answer.

- 1) I would be angry at the co-worker
- 2) The co-worker's actions would make me very mad
- 3) I would feel hostility towards the co-worker
- 4) I would feel loathing towards the co-worker
- 5) I would be furious at the co-worker

APPENDIX G. Shame Scale Items

Participants were told: Tell us how likely you are to have the feelings described in each statement. Please give us your honest opinion by circling the number that best matches your answer.

- 1) I would feel embarrassed in this situation
- 2) I would feel ridiculous in this situation
- 3) I would feel self-conscious in this situation
- 4) I would feel humiliated in this situation
- 5) I would have feelings of blushing in this situation
- 6) I would feel laughable in this situation
- 7) I would feel disgusting to others in this situation

APPENDIX H. Revenge Intentions Scale Items

Participants were told: Tell us how likely you are to take the actions described in each statement. Please give us your honest opinion by circling the number that best matches your answer.

- 1) I would make him pay
- 2) I wish that something bad would happen to him
- 3) I would want him to get what he deserves
- 4) I would get even
- 5) I would want to see him hurt and miserable

References

- Alicke, M. D. (2000). Culpable control and the psychology of blame. *Psychological Bulletin*, 126, 556.
- Allred, K. G. (1999). Anger and retaliation: Toward an understanding of impassioned conflict in organizations. In R.J. Bies, R.J. Lewicki and B.J. Sheppard (Eds.), *Research in negotiation in organizations*, Vol. 7. (p. 27). Stamford, CT: JAI Press, Inc.
- Aquino, K., Tripp, T. M., & Bies, R. J. (2001). How employees respond to personal offense: The effects of blame attribution, victim status, and offender status on revenge and reconciliation in the workplace. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 86, 52.
- Bandalos, D. L. (2002). The effects of item parceling on goodness-of-fit and parameter estimate bias in structural equation modeling. *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, 9, 78.
- Bies, R. J., Tripp, T. M., & Kramer, R. M. (1997). At the breaking point: Cognitive and social dynamics of revenge in organizations. In J. Greenberg and R. A. Giacalone (Ed.), *Antisocial behavior in organizations*. (p. 18). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Bradfield, M., & Aquino, K. (1999). The effects of blame attributions and offender likeableness on forgiveness and revenge in the workplace. *Journal of Management*, 25, 607.
- Buss, A. H. (1961). *The psychology of aggression*. Oxford, England: John Wiley.

- Catherine, H. T., & Elizabeth, W. (2003). Responses to a normative conflict among American and Chinese managers. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management, 3*, 183.
- Chirkov, V., Ryan, R. M., Kim, Y. & Kaplan, U. (2003). Differentiating autonomy from individualism and independence: A self-determination theory perspective on internalization of cultural orientations and well-being. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 84*(1), 97.
- Cohen, J., & Cohen, P. (1975). Applied multiple regression/correlation analysis for the behavioral sciences. New York: Erlbaum.
- Crino, M. D. (1994). Employee sabotage: A random or preventable phenomenon. *Journal of Managerial Issues, 6*, 311.
- Dominguez, A. & Gelfand, M. J. On the role of customer service-provider fit: The importance of values and context in understanding customer satisfaction. Under review.
- Early, C. P. (1993). East meets West meets Mideast: Further explorations of collectivistic and individualistic work groups. *Academy of Management Journal, 36*, 319.
- Felstiner, L. W., Abel, R. L., and Sarat, A. (1980/81). The emergence and transformation of disputes: Naming, blaming, claiming . . . *Law & Society Review, 15*, 631.
- Fincham, F. D., & Emery, R. E. (1988). Limited mental capacities and perceived control in attribution of responsibility. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 27*, 193.
- Fishbein, M., & Ajzen, I. (1975). Belief, attitude, intention, and behavior: An introduction to theory and research. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

- Folger, R., & Baron, R. A. (1996). Violence and hostility at work: A model of reactions to perceived injustice. In G. R. VandenBos and E. Q. Bulatao (Eds.), *Violence on the job: Identifying risks and developing solutions*. (p. 51). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Folger, R., & Skarlicki, D. P. (1998). A popcorn metaphor for employee aggression. A popcorn metaphor for employee aggression. In R. W. Griffin and K. A. O'Leary (Eds.), *Dysfunctional behavior in organizations: Violent and deviant behavior*, 22. (p. 43). Stamford, CT: JAI Press, Inc.
- Geertz, C. (1975). *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gelfand, M. J., Nishii, L. H., Holcombe, K. M., Dyer, N., Ohbuchi, K. I., & Fukuno, M. (2001). Cultural influences on cognitive representations of conflict: Interpretations of conflict episodes in the United States and Japan. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 86, 1059.
- Glomb, T. M., Steel, P. D. G., & Arvey, R. D., (in press). Office sneers, snipes, & Wounds: Antecedents, consequences, and implications of workplace violence and aggression. In R. G. Lord, R. Klimoski, & R. Kanfer (Eds.) *Emotions at Work*, SIOP Frontiers Series Volume.
- Greenberg, J. (1990). "Employee theft as a reaction to underpayment inequity: The hidden cost of pay cuts": Correction. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 75, 667.
- Greenberg, J., & Alge, B. J. (1998). Aggressive reactions to workplace injustice. In R.W. Griffin, A. O'Leary-Kelly & J. Collins (Eds.), *Dysfunctional behavior in organizations: Violent and deviant behavior*. (p. 119). Stamford, CT, US: JAI Press, Inc.

- Hallowell, A. (1955). *Culture and experience*. Baltimore, MD: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Hamilton, V. L. (1979). Who is responsible? Toward a social psychology of responsibility attribution*. *Social Psychology, 41*, 316.
- Hamilton, V. L., & Sanders, J. (1992). *Everyday justice: Responsibility and the individual in Japan and the United States*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Harder, D. W., & Zalma, A. (1990). Two promising shame and guilt scales: A construct validity comparison. *Journal of Personality Assessment, 55*, 729.
- Heider, F. (1958). *The psychology of interpersonal relations*. Oxford, England: John Wiley.
- Higgins, E. T. (1987). Self-discrepancy: A theory relating self and affect. *Psychological Review, 94*, 319.
- Higgins, E. T. (1996). Knowledge activation: Accessibility, applicability, and salience. In A.W. Kruglanski, T. E. Higgins (Ed.), *Social psychology: Handbook of basic principles*. (p. 133). New York, NY, US: Guilford Press.
- Hofstede, Geert. (1980). *Culture's consequences: International differences in work-related values*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- House, R. J., Hanges, P. J., Javidan, M., Dorfman, P. W., & Gupta, V. (2004). *Leadership, culture and organizations: The GLOBE study of 62 societies*. London, UK: Sage.

- Hong, Y., Morris, M. W., Chiu, C., Benet-Martinez, V. (2000). Multiple minds: a dynamic constructivist approach to culture and cognition. *American Psychologist*, 55, 709.
- Hong, Y., Ip, G., Chiu, C., Morris, M. W., Menon, T. (2001). Cultural identity and dynamic construction of the self: collective duties and individual rights in Chinese and American cultures. *Social Cognition*, 19, 251.
- Jones, E. E., & Davis, K. E. (1965). From acts to dispositions: The attribution process in person perception. In L. Berkowitz (ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 2, Orlando, FL: Academic Press.
- Lazarus, R. S. (1991). Progress on a cognitive-motivational-relational theory of emotion. *American Psychologist*, 46, 819.
- Leung, K. (1987). Some determinants of reactions to procedural models for conflict resolution: A cross-national study. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 53, 898.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, 98, 224.
- Markus, H. R., Kitayama, S. & Heiman, R. (1996). Culture and “basic” psychological principles. In E. T. Higgins & A. W. Kruglanski (Eds.), *Social psychology: Handbook of basic principles*. (pp. 857-913). New York: Guilford.
- Markus, H., & Wurf, E. (1987). The dynamic self-concept: A social psychological perspective. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 38, 299.

- Martinko, M. J., & Zellars, K. L. (1996). Toward a theory of workplace violence: A social learning and attributional perspective. *Academy of Management Proceedings*, p. 419.
- Mesquita, B., & Frijda, N. H. (1992). Cultural variations in emotions: A review. *Psychological Bulletin*, *112*, 179.
- Morris, M. W., & Peng, K. (1994). Culture and cause: American and Chinese attributions for social and physical Events. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *67*, 949.
- Nasser, F., & Wisenbaker, J. (2003). A Monte Carlo study investigating the impact of item parceling on measures of fit in confirmatory factor analysis. *Education and Psychological Measurement*, *63*, 729.
- Nisbett, R. E., Peng, K., Choi, I., & Norenzayan, A. (2001). Culture and systems of thought: Holistic versus analytic cognition. *Psychological Review*, *108*, 291.
- Ohbuchi, K. I., & Takahashi, Y. (1994). Cultural styles of conflict management in Japanese and Americans: Passivity, covertness, and effectiveness of strategies. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *24*, 1345.
- Raver, J. L. (2003). Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Maryland: Maryland.
- Roberts, C. F., & Golding, S. L. (1991). The social construction of criminal responsibility and insanity. *Law & Human Behavior*, *15*(4), 349.
- Robinson, S. L., & Bennett, R. J. (1995). A typology of deviant workplace behaviors: A multidimensional scaling study. *Academy of Management Journal*, *38*, 555.

- Robinson, S. L., & O'Leary-Kelly, A. M. (1998). Monkey see, monkey do: The influence of work groups on the antisocial behavior of employees. *Academy of Management Journal, 41*, 658.
- Schlenker, B. R., Britt, T. W., Pennington, J., Murphy, R., & Doherty, K. (1994). The triangle model of responsibility. *Psychological Review, 101*, 632.
- Sobel, M. E. (1982). Asymptotic intervals for indeirect effects in structural equations models. In S. Leinhardt (Ed.), *Sociological Methodology*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Spector, P. E., & Fox, S. (In press). A model of countrproductive work behavior (CWB). In S. Fox & P. E. Spector (Eds.). *Counterproductive Workplace Behavior: An Integration of Both Actor and Recipient Perspectives on Causes and Consequences*. Washington, DC: APA Books.
- Shaver, K. G. (1985). The attribution of blame: Causality, responsibility, and blameworthiness. New York: Springer.
- Singelis, T. M. (1994). The measurement of independent and interdependent self-construals. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin, 20*, 580.
- Terris, W., & Jones, J. (1982). Psychological factors related to employees' theft in the convenience store industry. *Psychological Reports, 51*, 1219.
- Triandis, H. C. (1989). The self and social behavior in differing cultural contexts. *Psychological Review, 96*, 506.
- Triandis, H. C. (1994). *Culture and social behavior*. New York, NY: Mcgraw-Hill Book Company.

- Vecchio, R. P. (1995). It's not easy being green: Jealousy and envy in the workplace. In G. R. Ferris (Ed.), *Research in Personnel and Human Resource Management*, 13. (p. 201). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Vidmar, N. (2001). Retribution and revenge. In J. H. Sanders and Hamilton (Ed.), *Handbook of justice research in law*. (p. 31). Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Wade, S. H. (1989). The development of a scale to measure forgiveness. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Fuller Theological Seminary: California.
- Walster, E. (1966). Assignment of responsibility for an accident. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 3, 72.
- Weiner, B. (1995). Judgments of responsibility: A foundation for a theory of social conduct. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Ying-yi, H., Ip, G., Chi-yue, C., Morris, M. W., & Menon, T. (2001). Cultural identity and dynamic construction of the self: Collective duties and individual rights. *Social Cognition*, 19, 251.