ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: SELF-AWARENESS AND ETHICAL BEHAVIOR IN AND DIGNITY CULTURES

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To date, research on how to curb unethical behavior has been done in primarily Western contexts, and we have very little knowledge of whether such effects are generalizable. In this paper, two studies investigated whether different aspects of self-awareness reduce unethical behavior in different cultures. Study 1 showed that increasing private self-awareness did not stop Chinese participants from behaving dishonestly. Further, the results also suggested that while increasing public self-awareness inhibits dishonest behavior among Chinese, it does not help to reduce cheating among American participants. Study 2 attempted to demonstrate the causal link between face vs. dignity cultures and different self-awareness processes, but the study results did not provide evidence for such relations. Theoretical and practical implications of the studies, as well as future directions, are discussed.

SELF-AWARENESS AND ETHICAL BEHAVIOR IN FACE AND DIGNITY CULTURES: IMPLICATIONS FOR REDUCING DISHONESTY ACROSS CULTURES

by

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Chapter 1: Introduction

What's so great about the truth? Try lying for a change, it's the currency of the world.

——*Dan Woolf, Closer*

Has lying become the currency of the world? We are exposed to hundreds of mass media messages every day, and it is almost impossible not to encounter reports of unethical behavior. For instance, this past year, nine doctors in New York were indicted in connection with the "sneaker scheme", which according to the Brooklyn district attorney's office generated almost $7 million and took advantage of thousands of homeless people. These doctors recruited homeless people and sent them to perform hours of unnecessary medical tests, gave them fake diagnoses, and sent them off with free sneakers in return. But unethical behavior, of course, is also regularly found beyond Western borders. In China, the newly lucrative fine art market has been flooded with forgeries. For example, many have raised doubts about the authenticity of an ink painting by Qi Baishi, one of China's 20th-century masters, and the winning bidder of the painting has now refused to pay the $65.4 million auction price (Barboza, Bowley & Cox, 2013). Regardless of where it occurs, dishonest deeds can be destructive to societies on many levels. Government corruption and organizational dishonesty grab headlines on news websites that share space with deceptive advertisements; official malfeasance erodes public trust in the government; corporate chicanery shatters confidence in the economy; and false advertising of drugs and supplements jeopardizes public health. Not surprisingly, given its prevalence, there have been many attempts to understand precisely

what causes unethical behavior and how to reduce it (Friesen & Gangadharan, 2013; Mazar, Amir, & Ariely 2008; Mead, Baumeister, Gino, Schweitzer, & Ariely, 2009). Yet all of this research has been done in Western contexts. While unethical behavior may be universal and is indeed a global problem, the mechanisms and techniques used to reduce unethical behavior in different cultures likely vary. As such, those that effectively reduce this kind of behavior in one culture may not be as effective in another.

Being honest is a virtue and highly valued in almost every culture (Toffoli & Laroche, 2002). People across the globe intrinsically want to maintain a positive self-view as an honest person (Adler, 1930; Allport, 1955; Rogers, 1959). Thus, when a person is tempted to cheat (a quintessential form of unethical behavior), he/she experiences tension because the goal of maintaining an honest self-concept is incongruent with his/her temptation to cheat. They are motivated to curb their cheating behavior when self-awareness activates the focal goal of positive self-concept maintenance, which simultaneously generates dissonance between the focal goal and the prospective cheating behavior (Shah, Friedman, & Kruglanski, 2002; Duval & Wicklund, 1972). Yet the nature of the self-awareness that is activated is fundamentally different across cultures, and accordingly, the mechanisms for reducing unethical behavior are influenced by the conceptions of the self that are dominant in the surrounding culture. Drawing on extant social-psychological theory and anthropological research, this research seeks to advance our current knowledge as it relates to unethical behavior in different cultures by examining how different aspects of self-awareness influence unethical behavior across cultures.

Unethical Behavior: A Motivational Perspective

Psychologists have taken a unique approach in focusing on the motivational perspective of unethical behavior. When cheating, people are often torn between two conflicting motives: to achieve certain goals from cheating and to maintain a positive self-concept from acting honestly (Harris, Mussen, & Rutherford 1976). For example, if a student chooses to cheat on an exam, he/she may get a good grade (i.e., he/she achieves the goal of getting good grades) but his/her self-concept as an honest person may suffer. In contrast, if the student decides not to cheat, his/her self-concept as an honest person is still maintained but his/her grade may suffer. In this regard, people can only pick one goal to fulfill: They can either choose to maintain a positive self-concept or cheat in order to achieve certain goals. However, research shows that when people are caught between the horns of such a dilemma, they will be somewhat dishonest and therefore able to achieve certain goals, but they will stop short of engaging in full-blown dishonesty in an effort to maintain a positive self-view. For example, in research conducted by Mazar and colleagues (2008), participants were asked to solve simple matrix tasks and to report the total number of correctly solved matrices after which they were paid based on their performance of the tasks. In the experimental condition, the participants were given the opportunity to cheat, with little possibility that they would be caught. The results showed that the participants who cheated did not update their self-concept in terms of being more dishonest, even though they were aware of having over-claimed the number of matrices they had solved. Remarkably, even when there was little possibility of being caught, many people cheated just "a little bit" (on average 20% of the possible magnitude), presumably to maintain an honest view of the self while attaining some financial gain in

the process. By doing so, they were able to financially benefit from their dishonesty without paying the cost of "recognizing" themselves as being dishonest, and therefore without altering their self-concept.

Studies have shown that increasing one's self-awareness is indeed associated with dishonesty inhibition (Diener & Wallbom, 1976; Gino & Mogilner, 2014). In a study by Diener and Wallbom (1976), self-awareness was induced by the presence of mirrors or listening to one's own tape-recorded voice, and it was shown to substantially reduce the likelihood of cheating on tests. Likewise, in Beaman, Klentz, Diener, and Svanum's (1979) study, Halloween trick-or-treaters were instructed to take only one piece of candy, and they took significantly fewer pieces when they were randomly assigned to a condition where a mirror was placed behind the candy bowl compared to a no-mirror condition. Gino and Mogilner (2014) also used mirrors as a technique to increase self-awareness and they found that participants exhibited less cheating if they completed their tasks in front of a mirror than if they did not. Furthermore, they showed that implicitly activating the construct of time had the same effect as the presence of a mirror. For example, in one study, they surreptitiously exposed participants to time-related words and asked them to construct a sentence out of the word set. Time priming correspondingly reduced cheating by making people reflect on who they were; in other words, when people were primed to think about time, it effectively encouraged self-reflection, thereby decreasing individuals' tendencies to behave immorally and allowing them to avoid tarnishing their self-concept for being honest. The evidence of these studies is consistent with goal theory: Eliciting self-awareness presumably increases the importance or value of a focal goal (e.g., maintain a positive self-concept), which produces goal shielding via

inhibition of the alternate goal (e.g., attain financial gains from cheating) (Shah, Friedman & Kruglanski, 2002). Put simply, self-awareness strengthens one's goal of upholding positive self-concept, and when one's perspective of cheating behaviors is inconsistent with a positive view of self, one is motivated to modify his/her behaviors (Kruglanski & Shteynberg, 2012).

Raising self-awareness is often used as an effective tactic to curb cheating behavior, but notably, the type of self-awareness that has been induced in most of these studies always deals with aspects of an internal, private self. While the self is likely universally implicated in cheating, the nature of the self that matters may differ across cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). The Western notion of self-awareness (i.e., being conscious of one's inner thoughts and feelings) is not an adequate description of self-awareness in all cultures. In Eastern cultures, self-awareness means being conscious and sensitive towards how others view the self (Fenigstein, Scheier & Buss, 1975; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). This has implications for the types of factors that reduce unethical behavior, as discussed below.

Culture and Self-awareness

To understand the distinctive ways in which the self is defined across cultures, it is essential to understand the cultural logic and context of dignity and face cultures. Western cultures follow the logic of dignity, which emphasizes an inherent self-worth that is created from within (Triandis, 1989). According to Ayers (1984), dignity "might be likened to an internal skeleton, to a hard structure at the center of the self." (p. 19). In other words, individuals are theoretically born with equal worth and rights that cannot be

taken away by others (Leung, & Cohen, 2011; Kamir, 2006). In dignity cultures, internal evaluations of one's own self-worth loom large, while external evaluations of the self matter much less. Values such as autonomy and standing up for one's beliefs play a crucial role in self-worth. Individuals want to preserve this autonomy and often refuse to let others define their self-worth; sometimes they even define themselves in a certain way in spite of others' perceptions (Kim, Cohen, & Au, 2010). In all, people in dignity cultures behave according to their own internal standards, regardless of whether or not their behaviors are approved by others.

On the other hand, in East Asian cultures, self-worth is defined by how one is perceived by other people. A person's face, or public reputation, is the primary contributor to one's self-worth (Kim, et al., 2010; Leung & Cohen, 2011). Ho (1976) defines face as "the respectability and/or deference, which a person can claim for self from others by virtue of his or her relative position." (p. 883). In face cultures, individuals pay less attention to internal evaluations of the self and instead place large credence on external evaluations. Face is granted by others and one cannot determine how much face he/she can have; rather, face must be earned from others (Ho, 1976; Kim et al., 2010; Kim & Cohen, 2010). Individuals can "give face" to another and gain "face" from others, but the focal goal is not to lose face (Hamamura, Meijer, Heine, Kamaya, & Hori, 2009). In this respect, people are under strong pressure to meet the expectations of others to maintain their face. As Yang (1981) indicates, people in Eastern cultures tend to "act in accordance with external expectations or social norms, rather than with internal wishes or personal integrity, so that [they are] able to protect [their] social self and function as an integral part of the social network" (p. 161). Therefore, it is crucial for

individuals in face cultures to maintain or enhance their face because it helps them navigate their social world.

However, regardless of whether one is socialized in a dignity or a face culture, honesty is a key aspect of self-worth, and it is instilled in early childhood. In dignity cultures, such as the U.S., parents tell the story of Pinocchio to educate their children to be honest. The story teaches children that you will be exposed for dishonesty and punished for it (i.e., growing a long nose), whereas honesty will grant you great rewards (i.e., becoming a real human being). In face cultures such as China, parents tell their children a story called "King You of Zhou". In this story, set in 770 BC, King You tries to impress his queen Baosi by fooling the nobles into thinking there was the risk of enemies attacking. The nobles come to the castle only to find themselves being laughed at by Baosi, with no enemies in sight. When enemies do eventually arrive, however, no one comes to the castle, and the king is killed by attackers. The tale teaches children that dishonesty can lead to a loss of trust and destroy your relationship with others.

While both stories serve the same purpose — to educate children about the merits of honesty—they approach this goal from different angles. Most pertinent to this research, dignity cultures tend to give priority to knowing the self from the inside, whereas face cultures tend to give priority to knowing oneself from the perspective of others (Kim et al., 2010). In particular, the Pinocchio story is widely circulated in the U.S. because it is consistent with child-rearing patterns that emphasize independence, self- actualization and finding yourself. In this respect, being honest is a way to become a true self (Triandis, 1989). Such practices increase the complexity of private self-awareness (i.e., concern with attending to one's inner thoughts and feelings, such as "I'm

an honest person"). By contrast, in Eastern countries such as China, child-rearing emphasizes the importance of fitting in with others. In this respect, being honest gains trust and respect from others (Triandis, 1989). Such practices increase the complexity of public self-awareness (i.e., concern with a view of the self that is from others' perspectives, such as "other people think I'm honest"). To be sure, this does not imply that people from dignity cultures do not have public self-awareness or that people from face cultures do not have private self-awareness. Rather, I argue that culture affects whether individuals place more or less emphasis on public or private self-awareness: Whereas public self-awareness is more salient in face cultures, private-awareness is more salient in dignity cultures (Oishi, Lun, & Sherman, 2007).

The central purpose of this research is to expand upon previous research on unethical behavior and investigate how different aspects of self-awareness reduce unethical behavior in different cultures. Figure 1 provides a visual illustration of the theory being presented, and in particular, how cultural models of self-worth elicit different self-awareness and dissonance processes that motivate unethical behavior.

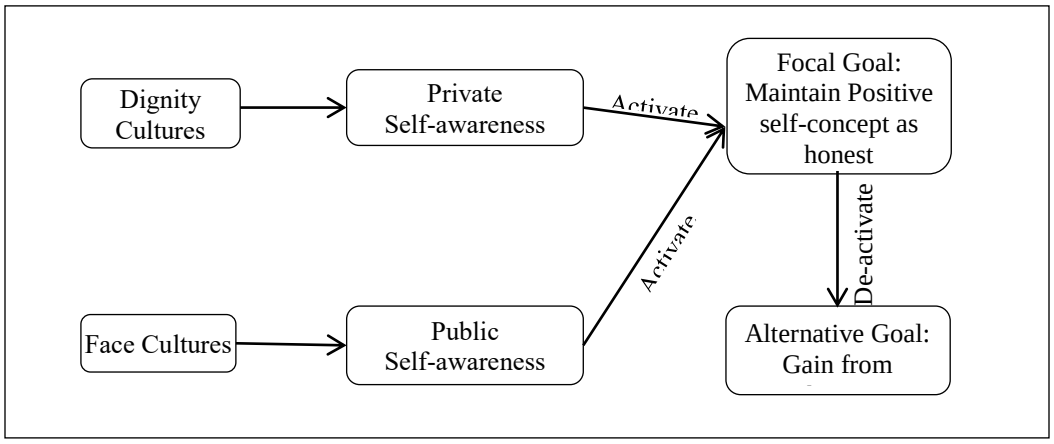


Figure 1. A process model of dishonesty inhibitions varies across cultures.

In summary, the study suggests two hypotheses: 1. eliciting private self-awareness inhibits unethical behavior in dignity cultures more effectively, and 2. eliciting public self-awareness inhibits unethical behavior in face cultures more effectively. Two studies were conducted to test these hypotheses. In study 1, participants were recruited in the U.S. and China. for a laboratory experiment in which private and public awareness were manipulated, and individuals were given an opportunity to cheat. In study 2, drawing on a bi-cultural priming paradigm (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martinez, 2000), Chinese Americans were recruited for an online experimental study to provide a conceptual replication and to further probe the causal mechanisms underlying the effects. Both studies manipulated two types of self-awareness. While using a mirror as manipulation for self-awareness is common in psychological research on ethical behavior (Diener & Wallbom, 1976; Gino & Mogilner, 2014), it is shown to elicit only private self-awareness (Imada & Kitayama, 2010). To elicit public self-awareness, the study used a "social eye" as a manipulation technique. "Social eye" is an impression of others witnessing the perceiver. This impression can occur if other people are actually watching the perceiver, but it can also be induced more subtly by means of certain priming procedures. Priming social eyes is expected to raise public self-awareness, and both studies tested how self-awareness (private vs. public) influence unethical behavior in dignity and face cultures.

Chapter 2: Study 1

Participants

Eighty-nine students (52 females and 35 males) at a university on the east coast of the United States and eighty-seven students (61 females and 28 males) at a university in the northwestern region of China were recruited in exchange for $5 (for American participants) or 30RMB (for Chinese participants) for showing up and will have the opportunity to earn an additional $19 or 95RMB based on their performance in the study. Compensation rates reflect the standards at the two universities.

Procedure

Upon arriving in the lab, participants were told that they would be taking part in a "culture and cognition task" that investigates how one's cultural background shapes cognition. When participants entered the lab, they were sent to separate rooms and stayed in these rooms with the door closed for the entire 30-minute study. They were only allowed to open the door when they completed all of the study tasks. All study materials were presented in front of the participants once they were seated in the room. The materials were developed by a team of two Chinese–English bilinguals. They were translated and back-translated between the two languages.

Manipulations. Participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions: mirror condition, social eye condition, or control condition. In the mirror condition, when participants were seated, the mirror hung right in front of them at eye level. The mirror had a tag on it reading "save for Experiment 17," ostensibly another study being conducted in the department. In the social eye condition, participants were seated facing an alleged conference poster that was hung on the wall. The poster consisted of schematic

faces such that from their point of view, the faces appeared to be "watching them" (Kitayama, Snibbe, Markus, & Suzuki, 2004, Study 4; see Appendix A). In the control condition, participants were seated facing a blank wall.

Cheating opportunity. Participants were presented with an instruction booklet, a 5-minute countdown timer, and the paper-and-pencil task. This task was presented as the "number searching puzzle", which contained two sheets of paper: a test sheet and an answer sheet. The test sheet consisted of a number matrix that contains 180 numbers (see Appendix B). The answer sheet was used to report the total number of correctly searched numbers (see Appendix C). Participants had five minutes to find 20 5-digit numbers hidden in the matrix that were listed on the answer sheet. At the end of the task, participants indicated the number of 5-digit numbers that they found on the answer sheet. Participants were instructed not to leave any marks on the laminated test sheet, as it would provide them with an opportunity to cheat. American participants will earn $1 and Chinese participants will earn 5RMB for each correct find.

This task was selected because it is a search task, and although it can take a while to identify the 5-digit number, upon finding it, respondents can unambiguously evaluate whether they had solved the puzzle correctly. Moreover, prior to study 1, this task was used on the basis of a pretest that showed that participants did not view the task as one that reflected their math ability or intelligence. In the pilot study, participants were instructed to circle the numbers they had found in the matrix and give their worksheets to the experimenter, who was to score their task and pay them accordingly, thereby providing them with no opportunity to cheat. The pilot results show that there is little difference between Chinese participants' ability (M=5.67, SD= 2.56) and American

participants' ability (M =5.63, SD=2.85) in solving the matrices (t (58) =0.48, p=0.96). Performance in the pilot study also provided a baseline assessment of the number of matrices participants can complete in 5 minutes (M=5.65, SD=2.686).

Surveys. After the first task, participants completed a survey with a dignity and face culture scale (Gelfand, xxxx). The former consists of 6 items (e.g., "people should be true to themselves regardless of what others think"); the latter also consists of 6 items (e.g., "People should control their behavior in front of others"). Participants rated each item on a scale from 1 to 7 based on the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the statements. Afterwards, the participants completed demographic questions and a 2-item manipulation check for the self-awareness manipulations on a scale from 1 ("not at all") to 7 ("extremely"). The items included, "I felt I was being watched when I was solving the number searching puzzle" and "I felt self-conscious when I was solving the number searching puzzle."

Results and discussion

The dependent variable provides a count of the number of reported solved puzzles. A variable resulting from such a counting process has a Poisson distribution, but noticeably, the data do not have zero values. Thus, the data was analyzed by means of two way ZeroTruncated Poisson regression using a 2 (countries: Chinese vs. Americans) x 3 (conditions: control, mirror, social eye) design.

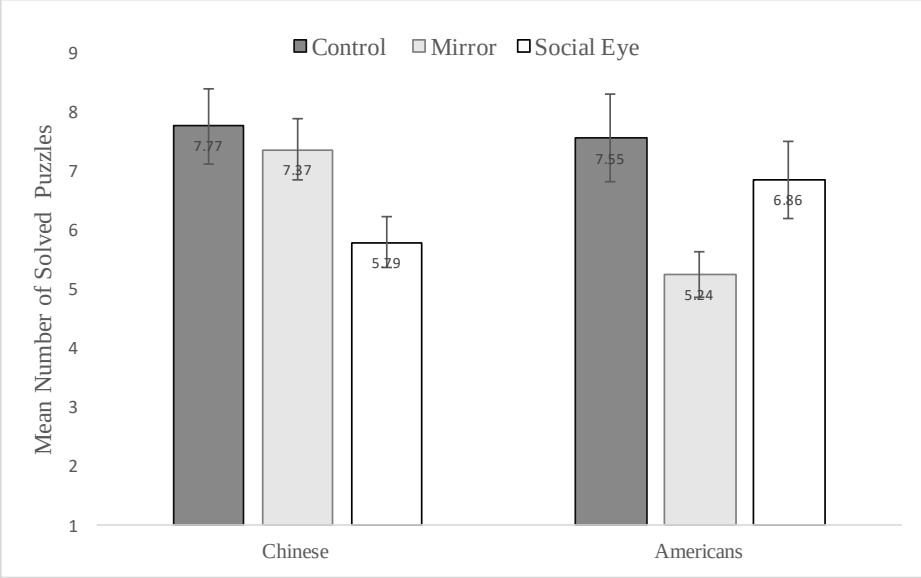
Results from the ZeroTruncated Poisson regression revealed a significant interaction between countries and mirror condition, z (170) = -2.23, p=0.025. Pertinent means and error bars (i.e., based on standard errors of the means) are shown in Figure 2,

which conformed to the predicted pattern. My first prediction stated that the mirror, which elicits private self-awareness, would inhibit unethical behavior among Americans, but would not curb unethical behavior among Chinese. The pattern was consistent with this prediction.

My second prediction was that the social eye, which elicits public self-awareness, would stop Chinese participants from cheating, but would not prevent cheating among Americans. The country difference in the social eye condition was in the expected direction, though it did not reach statistical significance, $z\ (170) = -1.14$, $p = 0.16$. Additional analyses showed that Chinese participants reported the number of searched puzzles were significantly lower in the social eye condition compared to the control condition, $z\ (86) = -2.91$ $p<0.01$. There was no significant difference in the reported scores between American participants in the social eye condition and control condition, $z\ (84) = -0.980$, $p=0.33$.

Furthermore, survey results showed that Chinese participants scored lower on the dignity culture scale (mean=3.63, sd=0.83) compared to American participants (mean=5.4, sd=1.06), $t=-12.3$, $p<0.001$; Chinese participants scored higher on the face culture scale (mean=5.26 sd=0.77) relative to American participants (mean= 4.78, sd= 1.07), $t=3.4$ 343, $p<0.001$. These results suggest there is a fundamental cultural difference between Chinese and Americans with respect to self-worth.

Figure 2. Number of puzzles reported solved.



Chapter 3: Study 2

Study 1 has presented some evidence that increasing private self-awareness curbs dishonest behavior among Americans, whereas it does not stop Chinese participants from cheating. On the contrary, while increasing public self-awareness inhibits dishonest behavior among Chinese, it does not help to reduce cheating among American participants. In order to further demonstrate the causal link between cultures (face vs. dignity) and different self-awareness processes, I adapted a bicultural priming paradigm in which bicultural participants (i.e., people who have both face and dignity culture identities and internalize both cultures) were presented with a set of culturally specific stimuli that activate either a face or dignity cultural identity with their associated self-awareness processes (Hong et al., 2000; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). According to the dynamic constructivist theory of culture, bicultural individuals are able to switch between cultural lenses (Chiu & Hong, 2007; Hong et al., 2000). For example, when Hong and colleagues (2000) exposed Chinese-American bicultural individuals to Chinese primes (e.g., pictures of a Chinese dragon or Chinese calligraphy), they found that participants made more external attributions, a typical Eastern attributional style. However, when they were exposed to American primes (e.g., pictures of the American flag or the White House), they made more internal attributions, a typical Western attributional style. Put simply, priming Chinese culture among bicultural individuals can make them act like Chinese and priming American culture among bicultural individuals can make them act like Americans. The bicultural priming paradigm has been successfully extended to Dutch-Greek bicultural individuals as well as Russian-Latvian bicultural individuals (Verkuyten

& Pouliasi, 2002; Grossmann, Ellsworth & Hong, 2012). To my knowledge, this study marks the first time this paradigm has been applied to understand unethical behavior.

The main objective of Study 2 was to test the hypothesis that biculturals who are exposed to cultural icons of dignity (vs. face) cultures increase their private (vs. public) self-awareness, which serves as an unethical behavior inhibition when given a mirror or social eyes, respectively. While exposing Chinese-American bicultural individuals to American icons should activate a cluster of American cultural constructs and logics including those of dignity cultures, exposing the same individuals to Chinese icons should activate a cluster of Chinese cultural constructs and logics including those of face cultures. After dignity cultures are activated through cultural priming, biculturals who face a mirror, which elevates private self-awareness, should be less likely to cheat than when they are presented with "social eyes." On the other hand, after face cultures are activated through cultural priming, biculturals who are exposed to "social eyes", which elevates public self-awareness, should be less likely to cheat than when facing a mirror.

Participants

Two hundred and five second-generation Chinese-American immigrants (107 females and 99 males, mean age = 30) were recruited through a research cloudsourcing platform and completed this online study for pay. Participants were selected for the study if they fulfilled all the following criteria: 1) Parents are first generation Chinese immigrants, 2) Speak fluent Chinese, and 3) Self-identify as Chinese Americans. On a scale of 1 (not at all) to 7 (to a great extent), participants rated their bicultural identification (M = 5.26, SD = 1.33). Proficiency in English and Chinese language,

assessed on a scale of 1 (no practical proficiency) to 6 (native or bilingual proficiency) was 5.62 (SD = .68) and 4.52 (SD = 1.32), respectively.

Procedure

Participants received a link with instructions to complete the study in one sitting and in a private and quiet location.

Manipulations. Participants were randomly assigned to see eight icons related to American culture (n = 104) or Chinese culture (n = 101). Examples of cultural icons in the mainstream American and Chinese cultural traditions are shown in Appendix D (as adapted by Hong et al., 2000). Drawing on other research that has effectively used this paradigm, I used several kinds of icons, including symbols (e.g., the American eagle vs. a Chinese dragon), famous people (e.g., Lady Gaga vs. a Chinese opera singer), landmarks (e.g., the Statue of Liberty vs. the Great Wall), etc. After they saw the cultural icons, participants wrote ten statements describing the American culture or Chinese culture evoked by the cultural icons.

Participants were then randomly assigned to the mirror condition, social eye condition, or control condition in a marketing campaign evaluation task. In the mirror condition, participants were exposed to a mirror company poster on the screen for 30 seconds (see Appendix E). The poster showed an image of a mirror and its key features, which emphasized that the mirror provides consumers with a clear and true self-reflection. In the social eye condition, participants were exposed to a surveillance company poster (see Appendix F). The poster showed an image of a pair of "watching eyes" and the company's key features, which highlighted that it monitors individuals

using a non-visible camera position. In the control condition, participants were exposed to a water company poster (see Appendix G). The poster showed an image of a water bottle and its key features. Participants were asked to recall the key features of the campaign poster and describe how it made them feel.

Cheating opportunity. Next, all participants performed a coin tossing task that has been shown to reliably measure dishonest behavior in an unobtrusive way (Fischbacher, & FöllmiHeusi, 2013; Cohn, Fehr & Maréchal, 2014). Participants were told to flip a coin 20 times and that they had the opportunity to earn 50¢ depending on whether they reported "heads" or "tails." They could use their own coin or they could use the online coin website, which allowed them to flip a virtual coin. Participants knew in advance whether heads or tails would yield the monetary payoff for each coin toss. Given that the maximum payoff is approximately $10, participants faced a considerable incentive to cheat by misreporting the outcomes of their coin tosses. The advertising poster (i.e., mirror, surveillance, or water bottle company) that the participants were previously assigned to was also presented on the screen during the course of the coin tossing task.

Surveys. After the coin tossing task, participants completed the Situational Self-Awareness Scale (Govern & Marsch, 2001), which measures public, private self-awareness, and awareness of one's surroundings. Crucially, the three-item public self-awareness component is uniquely sensitive to cues of social surveillance (sample item: "Right now I am concerned about what other people think of me"), while the three-item private self-awareness component is sensitive to small mirrors that induce personal thoughts and feelings (sample item: "Right now, I am conscious of my inner-feelings.")

Participants also completed the same dignity and face culture scales (Gelfand, xxxx), demographic questions, and a 2-item manipulation check used in study 1.

Results and discussion

The dependent variable provides a count of the number of reported successful coin flips. A variable resulting from such a counting process has a Poisson distribution, but the data do not have zero values, so it was analyzed by means of two way Zero-Truncated Poisson regression using a 2 (countries: Chinese vs. Americans) x 3 (conditions: control, mirror, social eye) design.

Results from the ZeroTruncated Poisson regression revealed no significant interaction between countries and the mirror condition, $z(199) = 0.414$, $p=0.679$, or between countries and the social eye condition, $z(199) = 0.637$, $p=0.524$. The insignificant interaction results indicated that there are no significant conditional differences. More specifically, the mirror (vs. social eye) condition did not affect biculturals' cheating behavior when primed with American culture (vs. primed with Chinese culture).

Additional analyses showed that, on average, participants reported successful coin flips in 58.0% of the cases, which were significantly above 50% with a 95% binomial confidence interval of (55%, 61%). With a fair coin, one would expect the confidence interval to include 50% in a normal situation. The result suggested that in general, participants did not behave honestly. Further, by the analyzing 6 conditions separately, the results showed that, in most conditions, participants reported successful coin flips were significantly above chance, suggesting they did not behave honestly. One exception,

however, in social eye condition, Chinese culture primed participants, on average, reported 54.8% successful coin flips, which is not significantly above chance with a 95% confidence interval of (49%, 60%), suggesting that they behave most honestly.

Manipulation checks. A *t*-test was conducted to investigate whether the American (vs. Chinese) cultural prime manipulation successfully activated the logics of dignity cultures (vs. face cultures). The test results show that there was no significant difference in the dignity culture scale scores for the Chinese cultural prime (mean=5.4, SD= 0.95) and American cultural prime (mean=5.31, SD=0.95) conditions, t=0.672, p=0.503, suggesting the that cultural prime manipulation did effectively active the logics of dignity cultures.

ANOVA was carried out examine whether the mirror (vs. social eye) manipulation successfully increased participants' private (vs. public) self-awareness. The results indicated that there was no significant difference in the public self-awareness scale scores for mirror prime, eye Prime, and control conditions. F (2, 200) = 0.49, p=0.61. There was no significant difference in the private self-awareness scale scores for the mirror prime, eye prime, and control conditions. F (2, 201) = 1.31, p=0.27. This unsuccessful attempt could be because that the cultural prime did not activate the face (vs. dignity) cultural logics among participants. Another problematic issue in this manipulation is that the marketing campaign evaluation task may not have been effective enough to elicit self-awareness in an online study.

There may be two major reasons that the expected effects were not found in this study. First, there are numerous subtle factors that can affect people's cheating behavior (Zhong, Bohns & Gino, 2010; Gino & Mogilner, 2014; Mead et al, 2009). It is easier to

detect and eliminate these factors in a controlled lab environment. However, for an online study, it is difficult to detect other factors that may influence cheating behavior. Indeed, participants could have completed the online experiment under a wide range of circumstances, and it is impossible to eliminate such undetectable factors. Further, when completed the study online, participants may feel that their identities were concealed which would encourage moral transgressions. The manipulations may not be stronger enough to stop online participants from cheating. Second, the premise of the study is that by activating dignity (vs. face) cultures, bicultural individuals would have access to their private (vs. public) self-awareness when exposed to the mirror condition (vs. the social eye condition). In this study, the manipulation check revealed that the attempt to activate face (vs. dignity) cultures among participants by using a cultural prime methodology was unsuccessful. This could due to the fact that even though I required that participants complete the online study in a quiet environment, there is no guarantee that participants fulfilled this requirement.

Chapter 4: General Discussion

In all cultures, the value of honesty is inculcated from an early age. We all want to believe that we are honest and ethical individuals. Nevertheless, unethical behaviors can be found across the globe. Universally eliciting self-awareness (i.e., reminding people of their honest selves) may inhibit dishonest behavior, but the specific types of self-awareness that are critical for reducing unethical behavior likely vary across cultures. In this paper, I proposed and tested whether different aspects of self-awareness reduce unethical behavior in different cultures. In particular, I focus on how dignity cultures and face cultures differ with respect to the self. In dignity cultures, people emphasize private evaluations of the self, while paying much less attention to public evaluations (e.g., I view myself as an honest person). On the other hand, face cultures place less credence on private evaluations of the self and instead pay more attention to public evaluations (e.g., others think I'm honest). As a result, in order to curb dishonesty, eliciting private self-awareness may prove more effective in dignity cultures, and eliciting public self-awareness may prove more effective in face cultures.

In study 1, I found that giving people an opportunity to cheat without getting caught led them to behave dishonestly. The study showed that participants' performance in the cheating condition (mean = 7.66, SD =3.71) was significantly better than in the baseline study where participants were given no opportunity to cheat (mean = 5.65, SD=2.67), z =3.38, p=0.01. However, the results also suggested that the magnitude of dishonesty was well below the maximum possible level. On average, participants cheated only 10.5% of the possible magnitude. This finding confirms other recent work showing that people limit the magnitude of their cheating even when given the opportunity to

cheat with little risk of getting caught (Fischbacher & Föllmi-Heusi, 2013; Mazar et al., 2008; Shalvi, Dana, Handgraaf, & De Dreu, 2011), and it is consistent with the idea that many people cheat just "a little bit" to maintain an honest view of the self while attaining some financial gain in the process. However, this study also examined how beyond positive self-concept maintenance, different aspects of self-awareness influence unethical behavior across cultures. I demonstrated that the Western notion of self-awareness (i.e., being conscious of one's inner thoughts and feelings) is not an adequate description of self-awareness in all cultures. Past studies have used raising self-awareness as an effective tactic to curb cheating behavior. Notably, the tactic has been used in Western contexts and the type of self-awareness that has been induced in most of these studies always deals with aspects of an internal, private self. Study 1 showed that increasing private self-awareness did not stop Chinese participants from behaving dishonestly. Further, the results also suggested that while increasing public self-awareness inhibits dishonest behavior among Chinese, it does not help to reduce cheating among American participants.

In study 2, I attempted to demonstrate the causal link between face vs. dignity cultures and different self-awareness processes, but the study results did not provide evidence for these relations. The results suggested that online participants did not act honestly across most conditions. On average, participants reported successful coin flips in 58.0% of the cases, which were significantly different from 50% (95% confidence interval: 55%, 61%). There was only one exception: in the social eye condition, Chinese culture primed participants on average reported 54.8% successful coin flips, which was not significantly above chance (95% confidence interval: 49%, 60%).

It is worth noting some of the limitations of this study, which could be addressed by future work. The first limitation is that the results did not support the causal mechanisms underlying the effects. Study 1 provided some evidence that Chinese participants cheat less when their public self-awareness is activated, whereas American participants cheat less when their private self-awareness is activated. However, the experiment was unable to demonstrate that dignity (vs. face) cultures consequentially reduce cheating behavior among Americans (vs. Chinese) by making public (vs. private) self-awareness salient. Indeed, self-awareness processes are difficult to capture because they are automatic and largely unconscious. One promising way to address the unconscious nature of self-awareness would be to use implicit measures such as the IAT test to measure different types of self-awareness. The IAT (Greenwald et al., 1998) is a successful and reliable paradigm to measure strengths of automatic associations between concepts. More specifically, the IAT instruct the participants give one response to two sets of items that represent a possibly associated concept-attribute pair and a different response to a second pair of item sets that is selected to complement the first two. Association between the concept and attribute that share a response is inferred to be stronger the faster the subject performs the task. To apply to implicit self-awareness, the IAT needs one target category (e.g., ‘‘public”), one contrast category (e.g., ‘‘private”), one target self-concept attribute (e.g., me), and one contrast self-concept attribute (e.g., others), each represented by a series of stimuli. The idea of the test is that the verbal stimuli should be classified more quickly when the target and attribute category pairings (e.g., self/public) match the individual’s automatic associations with the target categories versus when the target and attribute category pairings are mismatched. For example, if a

subject who implicitly associated him/herself more strongly with public self-awareness than private self-awareness is expected to respond faster when the target concept "self" and the attribute dimension "public" are assigned to the same response key as compared with the pairing "self" and "private." Another way to address the automatic self-awareness would be to explore the brain pathways that are automatically engaged when making people's self-awareness salient in varying cultural contexts. Future research could also investigate the neurobiological underpinnings of culture, self-awareness, and unethical behaviors. More specifically, using neuroimaging technology, researchers could capture different patterns of neural activation in the *self-related network* (i.e., the medial prefrontal cortex) and the *theory of mind network* (e.g., Temporoparietal junction and Superior Temporal Sulcus), which may provide some insight into self-awareness processes and ethical decision making across cultures.

Another limitation is that I created situations in which participants have one opportunity to behave unethically. In reality, people may repeatedly make ethical or unethical decisions. Previous research on moral licensing effects shows that when individuals decide whether to engage in unethical behavior, they consider their previous ethical and unethical actions (Nisan,1991). Future research could investigate how culture interact with moral licensing effects by conducting experiments that provide consecutive cheating opportunities in different cultural contexts. More specifically, in face cultures where self-worth is defined by one's reputation and public image, cheating will elicit shame; in dignity cultures where self-worth is defined by one's internal justice, cheating will elicit guilt reactions (Niedenthal, Tangney & Gavanski, 1994). If American participants decide to behave unethically in the first cheating task, it is likely that the

feelings of guilt will emerge. These feelings, in turn, could prevent them from cheating in the second/third cheating tasks if the experimenter successfully elevates them; if Chinese participants decide to cheat in the first task, it is likely that feelings of shame will emerge, which could limit their cheating in the second/third tasks if the experiment successfully elevate them.

From a theoretical perspective, the current study contributes to multiple fields, most notably cross-cultural psychology and behavioral ethics. To date, there has been little research on behavioral ethics and culture. Cross-cultural psychological research tends to ignore ethics and ethics research tends to ignore culture. To my knowledge, this is one of few works to integrate research from both disciplines. This research contributes to the behavioral ethics literature by suggesting that dishonesty should be studied not only in the Western cultural contexts, but also in Eastern and other cultural contexts where cultural constructs and logics influence unethical behavior differently. As our results show, tactics that have been effectively implemented in previous studies in Western cultural contexts to curb cheating behavior may not be effective when switching to Eastern cultural contexts. From a practical perspective, the current study may inspire other interventions that can successfully reduce unethical behavior in different cultural contexts, given the pervasiveness of dishonesty today. Furthermore, with the advent of globalization, it is critical to understand how unethical behavior varies across cultures in order to effectively develop different strategies to monitor and curb it in an expanding multicultural marketplace.

The present research suggests that distinct aspects of self-awareness affect people making ethical decisions differently in Face versus Dignity cultures. This opens up a

number of interesting directions. Future research would benefit from investigating moderators of the relationship between cultures and unethical behavior. For example, Chinese students may cheat more in a group task to help members of the group, and this effect would be more pronounced when their public self-awareness is evoked. Indeed, increasing public self-awareness (i.e., social eye) may elicit group member's external expectation and act in accordance with the group goal, which in turns, increase cheating. It would be also interesting to explore how public self-awareness would affect people in dignity cultures. While public-awareness is less salient than private-awareness in dignity cultures in general, there are some contexts where external evaluations are rather salient, and in these contexts, dignity cultural individuals may behave more honestly to fit others' expectations. In fact, a dramatic rise in the use of social networking sites over the past several years may facilitate individuals in dignity cultures with gaining more access to their public self. For instance, Facebook, as the most popular social network in the United States, has 214 million users who spent an average of 39 minutes on the site every day. Spending time browsing and posting on Facebook became a way to exhibit one's self to others and gain the interest and attention of others, which in turns may increase one's public self-awareness. It would be interesting to investigate whether prime an individual in dignity culture with a Facebook post of oneself would increase one's public self-awareness, which in turns may reduce cheating and promote prosocial behaviors.

Future research could also examine how face and dignity cultures can affect ethical decision-making in consumer psychology. For instance, it would be interesting to explore consumers' purchasing decisions as relates to counterfeit luxury goods in face cultures (vs. dignity cultures). Would culture differences make counterfeit luxury

products more popular in East Asian countries? Consumers from face cultures can actively gain face, for example, by owning a luxury product which symbolizes a higher social status. Their perceptions of a luxury product may reflect an emphasis on its social values such as prestige and conspicuousness (Wiedmann, Hennigs & Siebels, 2009). Given that counterfeit goods are perceived as possessing the same high social value as the originals – at only a fraction of price – face culture consumers may be more likely to purchase the counterfeit goods. On the other hand, consumers in dignity cultures value their own inherent uniqueness over the judgment of others. Their perceptions of a luxury product may focus on its functional / individual values such as self-identify, uniqueness, and quality. They may be reluctant to purchase the low-quality, fault-ridden counterfeit, as they prize the craftsmanship and unique quality of the original luxury good. Future work should also explore possible ways to combat counterfeit consumption in different cultures. Consumers who buy the counterfeit would have to bear the risk of losing face if they are discovered as users of counterfeits. In face cultures, the fear of losing face is more salient than gaining face and losing face is a highly undesirable social outcome (Leung & Cohen, 2011). It would be interesting to investigate whether an increase in the saliency of losing face in public would decrease the purchase intentions of counterfeits in face culture.

In sum, previous research on ethical behaviors and ethical decision-making has focused almost exclusively on the Western population. This research broadens the scope of cross-cultural ethical research by demonstrating that people make ethical decisions differently in Face versus Dignity culture. It opens up a number of interesting new

directions in behavioral ethics as well practical implications for curbing unethical behavior across different cultures.

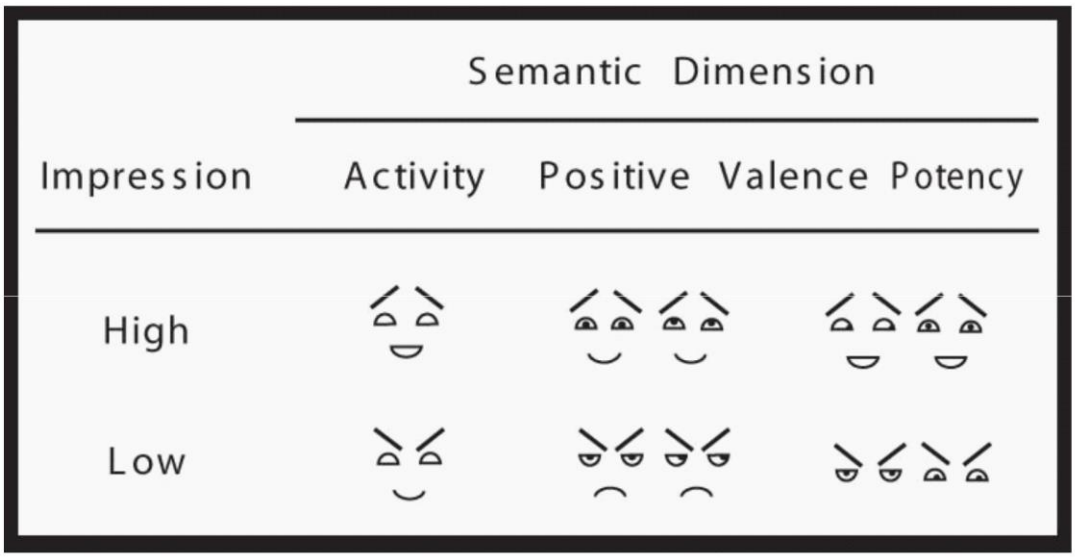
Appendices

Appendix A

Study I: “Social Eyes” Poster

The different features that resulted in significant main effects in Experiment 2.

Note: Each of the features in a composition gave effects in the same direction (high or low) on a semantic dimension as the other features in the same composition.



The face poster used in Kitayama et al. (2004, Study 4) Poster Manipulation, which was originally created by Lundqvist, Estevens, and Öhman (1999) to summarize their stimuli and results.

Appendix B

Please Do NOT Make Any Marks on this Page

7	2	3	6	1	8	1	8	9	4	9	1	0	4	3	7	2	6	5	4
6	0	2	7	4	6	9	0	5	6	2	6	7	8	6	2	4	1	4	5
9	1	2	8	9	0	3	4	5	3	8	1	9	6	2	3	7	3	0	6
6	2	5	0	6	5	7	9	4	8	4	9	2	7	2	4	3	7	4	8
5	7	8	7	0	3	6	0	7	9	2	3	8	9	5	6	0	2	9	6
7	5	4	5	3	4	5	8	4	3	6	2	5	3	8	4	1	9	6	4
8	6	0	7	9	5	1	9	3	8	0	3	8	1	7	2	5	8	3	5
4	7	8	1	8	0	4	0	3	0	6	0	1	2	6	3	9	2	8	9
3	5	3	9	3	1	8	9	6	4	6	2	7	4	7	8	2	7	1	7
6	0	9	7	1	9	7	0	2	9	8	6	3	9	3	5	8	5	8	5
5	1	2	8	7	0	2	4	8	3	6	4	1	6	9	3	4	6	7	6
2	5	9	3	6	5	3	9	1	3	1	2	9	7	1	5	2	7	0	1
1	0	5	8	6	3	0	1	4	9	0	3	5	9	2	9	7	2	9	6
5	8	1	2	9	4	9	2	0	4	3	7	2	6	5	4	6	0	2	7
4	6	9	0	5	6	2	6	7	8	6	2	4	1	4	5	9	1	3	8
1	0	3	4	1	3	8	1	9	6	2	3	7	3	8	6	1	2	5	0
8	5	7	9	4	8	4	9	2	7	2	4	3	7	4	8	5	7	8	7
0	3	6	7	1	9	2	3	8	9	5	6	0	2	9	6	0	5	4	5
3	4	5	8	4	3	6	0	5	3	8	4	7	9	6	4	8	6	0	7
9	5	4	1	3	8	0	2	8	1	7	2	5	8	5	9	4	3	7	1

Please Do NOT Make Any Marks on this Page

Appendix C

Participant ID:

Answer Sheet

61818	47307	53594	71970
25840	92389	61932	13729
85787	54138	92358	37265
78436	19380	27243	83176
47827	05863	30928	03622

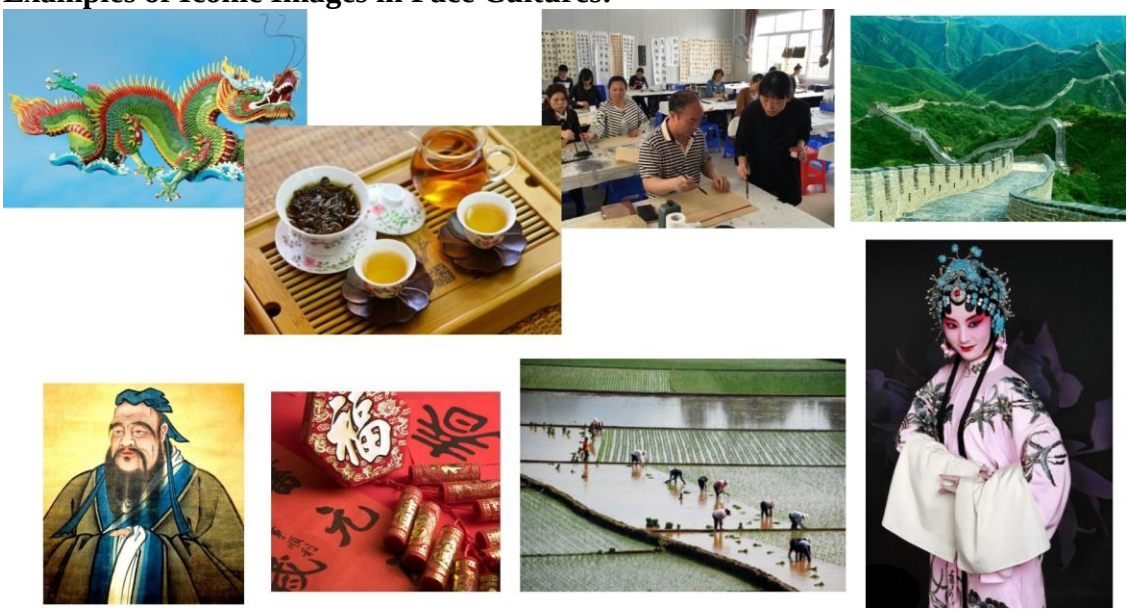
How many do you find? _____

Money Reward Index

1 **$0**	2 **$1**	3 **$2**	4 **$3**	5 **$4**	6 **$5**	7 **$6**	8 **$7**	9 **$8**	10 **$9**
11 **$10**	12 **$11**	13 **$12**	14 **$13**	15 **$14**	16 **$15**	17 **$16**	18 **$17**	19 **$18**	20 **$19**

Appendix D

Examples of Iconic Images in Face Cultures:



Examples of Iconic Images in Dignity Cultures:

This is adapted from Figure 1 in Hong, Morris, Chiu, and Benet-Martinez study in 2000.

Appendix E

INTRODUCING OUR "TRUE MIRROR"

TRUE MIRROR KEY FEATURES:

- True Mirror provides you with a CLEAR and TRUE self-refection.
- True Mirror uses world-class glazing techniques to present a non-distorted, seamless image of yourself.
- True Mirror can boost your self-awareness.

SELFREFLECT.LLC

4059 Cottage Street | Woodside, NY 11377 | (718)-864-0433

Appendix F

WE'VE GOT EYES ON YOUR PROPERTY, EVEN IN THE DARK!

OUR SURVEILLANCE KEY FEATURES:

- Cover ANY or EVERY area of your residential or commercial property.
- Get the advantage of an EYE in the sky - monitor individuals with a non-visible camera position.
- View your cameras from your office or from a remote location via a laptop or cell phone.

WEWATCH.LLC

4059 Cottage Street | Woodside, NY 11377 | (718)-864-0433

Appendix G

Take Water to Go.

Our Water Bottle Key Features:

- Available in a variety of colors.
- Marked with milliliters and ounces for easy measurement.
- Suitable for both warm and cold beverages.
- Wide mouth makes cleaning and adding ice cubes easy.

AQUAO2.LLC

4059 Cottage Street | Woodside, NY 11377 | (718)-864-0433

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