Consistency-based compliance across cultures

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Abstract:
A field study investigated cross-cultural differences in choice-congruent behavior and its impact on compliance. U.S. and Asian participants received a request to complete an online survey and a month later they were approached with a larger, related request. Compliance with the initial request had a stronger impact on subsequent compliance among the U.S. participants than among the Asian participants. Despite their lower rate of compliance with the initial request, the U.S. participants who chose to comply were more likely than their Asian counterparts to agree to the subsequent request. Further analyses revealed that this effect was driven by differences in the individualistic/collectivistic orientation of the participants from the two cultures. Within both cultures, the more individualistic participants showed stronger consistency with their earlier compliance than the more collectivistically oriented participants.
Keywords: Culture; Individualism/collectivism; Social influence; Compliance; Consistency; Choice-congruent behavior; Survey participation

Article:

Introduction

Communications, organizational behavior, marketing, politics, relationships, and teamwork are just some of the behavioral arenas where social influence is vital. With growing globalization, issues of social influence become of interest across national boundaries. Increasingly, companies are relying on expanding their markets internationally, managers are communicating with corporate partners around the world, and academic departments and research teams are becoming more diverse, with members from different cultures. Yet, despite its central place in the discipline of social psychology, social influence has received limited attention in cross-cultural investigations (e.g., Aaker, 2000, Barrett et al., 2004, Cialdini et al., 1999 and Han and Shavitt, 1994). This seems unfortunate given the growing interest in exploring cultural differences in other areas of social psychology. The present research is a step toward filling this gap through a cross-cultural exploration of the influence process as it occurs in natural settings. More specifically, we examined differences across cultures in the impact of one of the major sources of motivation for compliance: consistency with personal choices.

There is long-standing evidence in social psychology that people strive for consistency within their attitudes, beliefs, and behavior (Festinger, 1957 and Heider, 1958). In order to attain or preserve such consistency, individuals often comply with requests that are aligned with their beliefs, values, and existing commitments—especially when these commitments reflect personal choices. The tendency to feel committed to past personal choices and to behave consistently with these commitments has been shown to have a profound impact in various compliance settings (Cialdini, 2001). However, while this tendency has been recognized in many studies of social influence conducted with North Americans (Bem, 1967, Burger, 1999, Freedman and Fraser, 1966 and Kerr et al., 1997), there is a relative lack of research exploring this phenomenon in other cultures.

Culture and choice-congruent behavior

The cultural concept of individualism/collectivism (I/C) suggests fundamental differences between cultures in the ways members of those cultures think and behave. Individualistic cultures define the person as an autonomous entity with a distinctive set of attributes and qualities (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). In collectivistic cultures, on the other hand, the self is defined by existing social relationships and obligations (Markus and Kitayama, 1991 and Triandis et al., 1988). For example, while Americans use dispositional traits to describe themselves (e.g., "I am sincere"), Asians are more likely to describe their specific social role in a particular context (e.g., "I am a Keiyo student," Cousins, 1989, Rhee et al., 1996 and Trafimow et al., 1991). Consistent with these different views of the self across cultures, situational attributions are more likely in collectivistic cultures than in individualistic cultures (Grandall and Martinez, 1996, Kashima et al., 1992, Miller, 1984, Morris and Peng, 1994 and Norenzayan et al., 2002). Furthermore, while in individualistic cultures the self is perceived as relatively stable, in collectivistic cultures the self is viewed as more malleable (Campbell et al., 1996). For instance, members of North American cultures are more likely than members of Asian cultures to view themselves consistently across situations (Suh, 2002), display consistent beliefs about themselves (Choi & Choi, 2002), have a consistent self-concept (Campbell et al., 1996), and express consistent value judgments (Choi & Choi, 2002).

Research by Heine and Lehman (1997) provides further evidence that in collectivistic cultures people are less likely to behave consistently with their personal choices. When given a choice between equally attractive alternatives, Canadians tended to devalue the alternative they did not choose and to perceive higher value of the one they did choose. This result is consistent with the findings from a number of studies of dissonance reduction conducted with North Americans. Japanese participants in the Heine and Lehman (1997) study, however, were less likely to either increase the desirability of the chosen alternative or decrease the desirability of the alternative they did not choose. Research by Iyengar and Lepper (1999) also reveals that personal choices have stronger impact on subsequent behavior in individualistic than in collectivistic cultures. In this research, Anglo-American children showed stronger intrinsic motivation when they personally chose an activity in which to engage. In contrast, the Asian-American children demonstrated stronger intrinsic motivation when the choice was made by their mother or by their peers.

The above findings converge in suggesting that members of individualistic cultures should be driven to behave consistently with their choices. On the other hand, members of collectivistic cultures, who place less emphasis on their personal choices, should strive to behave consistently with them to a lesser extent. However, while these tendencies have been examined in domains such as intrinsic motivation, further research is needed to examine their implications for compliance behavior.

Choice-congruent behavior and compliance across cultures
The findings of stronger consistency with past choices in individualistic cultures than in collectivistic cultures suggest that the stronger the cultural or personal orientation toward individualism, the stronger should be the effect of past personal commitments on future compliance. That is, once they have chosen to comply with a request, individualists should be more likely than collectivists to comply with subsequent, similar requests. A study by Cialdini et al. (1999), conducted in the United States and Poland, provides some support for this proposition. The researchers used a scenario describing a hypothetical situation in which a Coca-Cola Company representative asked for participation in a consumer preference survey. After reading the scenario, participants estimated the likelihood that they would comply with the request given that they had always, half of the time, or never complied with similar requests in the past. The results revealed that when estimating their future compliance, the U.S. participants were more likely than the Polish participants to take into account their own past behavior. Cialdini et al. (1999) also expected that the differential impact of the commitment/consistency principle would be driven by the participants' personal orientation toward individualism/collectivism. This prediction, however, was confirmed for the U.S. sample but not for the Polish participants who were equally likely to take into account their past behavior regardless of their orientation toward individualism/collectivism. The authors reasoned that because of the powerfully directive influence of one's group in the collectivistic culture of Poland, even the more individualistic members of this culture may not have perceived their past

compliance as reflecting their personal choice. Consequently, they did not assign much diagnostic weight to their past history of compliance.

Further research is needed in order to assess whether the cross-cultural differences in the effect of the commitment/consistency principle can be fully attributed to differences in the personal individualistic/collectivistic orientation of the members of these cultures. Such research would benefit from examination of actual compliance rather than asking participants to make assumptions about the fictitious conditions under which the initial compliance had occurred. Finally, additional evidence about the underlying role of individualism/collectivism as a cultural dimension should be obtained by examining these tendencies in other cultures that differ in their orientation toward individualism/collectivism.

The present research
The goal of the present research was to examine the possibility that the orientation toward individualism versus collectivism should lead to greater tendency to comply with requests congruent with past choices. Rather than presenting participants with hypothetical scenarios, we sought to examine compliance behavior as it naturally occurred in field settings. Furthermore, it was our goal to find converging evidence for the stronger inclination of individualists toward consistency-based compliance by examining the impact of individualism/collectivism both as a cultural and as a personal dimension. Finally, we aimed to examine simultaneously: (1) compliance with an initial request, (2) willingness to comply with future, related requests, and (3) actual compliance with a larger subsequent request.

To achieve these goals, we chose a context in which compliance was completely voluntary and social pressure was minimized. We approached U.S. and Asian students in a southwestern university with an e-mail request to participate in an online survey. A month later we sent a second e-mail asking them to participate in a subsequent, related online survey. Participation in both surveys was completely voluntary and was not part of any course requirement. We expected that participants who agreed with the first request would be more likely to agree with the second, related request than those who did not comply with the first request. More importantly, however, we expected this tendency to be stronger among the U.S. participants than among the Asian participants. That is, because of their stronger drive toward consistency with past, personal choices, the U.S. participants should be influenced to a greater extent by their past history of compliance than the Asian participants. Consequently, once they had complied with the first request, the U.S. participants would be more likely to comply with future, similar requests than would the Asian participants. We further expected that the participants' personal orientation toward I/C would determine their compliance with a future related request and account for the predicted differences between the two cultures.

Method
Participants and procedure
Participants in the study included 1287 Asian international students and a 5% random sample of U.S. students ($N = 2253$) at a large southwestern university.[1] Among the Asian participants, 41% were enrolled in a Bachelor's degree program, 28% in a Master's program, 24% in a doctoral program, and 8% were students in another professional degree program or a non-degree program. Among the U.S. participants, 74% were enrolled in a Bachelor's degree program, 11% in a master's program, 6% in a doctoral program, and 9% were students in another professional degree program or a non-degree program. Participants' e-mail addresses were obtained from the university data warehouse containing a record of the e-mail accounts of all students who were currently enrolled. This provided the advantage of including students from every department and major in the university, because all students received e-mail accounts at the time of their enrollment and had internet access through on-campus computing centers, libraries, dial-in options, and computers in residence halls.

The first request asked for participation in an online survey, called "School and Social Relationships."[2] The e-mail provided a link to the survey website and emphasized that participation in the survey was completely voluntary. The survey contained a variety of questions assessing educational goals, future career plans, family ties, and demographic information. Among these items were embedded questions measuring

individualistic/collectivistic orientation via the Cultural Orientation Scale (COS, <u>Bierbrauer, Meyer, & Wolfradt, 1994</u>). At the end of the survey participants indicated their willingness to participate in future similar surveys. The survey took approximately 20 min to complete. One month after receiving the first request, all participants received a second e-mail asking them to participate in another online survey related to the first project. Participants were further told that the second study would take approximately 40 min to complete. All of the information was provided in English, thus avoiding differences due to translation of the materials (<u>Triandis, Kashima, Shimada, & Villareal, 1986</u>).

Independent variables
Culture
Culture, identified by the country of citizenship, was varied by administering the survey to native U.S. students and Asian international students (508 from China, 273 from South Korea, 185 from Japan, 184 from Taiwan, and 137 from Vietnam).

Personal I/C orientation
Participants' personal I/C orientation was measured with the COS (<u>Bierbrauer et al., 1994</u>), which was used by <u>Cialdini et al. (1999)</u> to examine the role of personal I/C orientation on compliant behavior. The scale consists of 13 pairs of items. The first item in each pair measures perceptions of the frequency of specific behaviors in the participant's native country, such as consulting one's family before making an important decision. Responses were made on a 7-point scale ranging from 0 (not at all) to 6 (always). The second item in each pair assessed the individual's evaluation of this behavior using a 7-point scale ranging from 0 (very bad) to 6 (very good). <u>Bierbrauer et al. (1994)</u> reported a Cronbach's α reliability of the COS of $\alpha = .86$. The reliability for our sample was $\alpha = .75$.

Dependent variables
Initial compliance
Compliance with the initial request was assessed by examining the response rate to the first survey. Participation was tracked for one week after sending the request.

Willingness to comply with a subsequent request
To assess the extent to which participants would be consistent in their compliance, we asked them to indicate their willingness to participate in other, similar surveys that the university may conduct in the future. Responses were provided on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very much).

Actual compliance with a subsequent larger request
Behavioral compliance was assessed by examining the response rate to the second, lengthier survey.

Results
Compliance with the initial request
One hundred and thirty-one (10.2%) Asian students and 185 (8.0%) U.S. students responded to the first survey. Among the Asian respondents, 49% were male, 28% were female, and 23% did not indicate their gender. Thirty-six percent of the Asian respondents were enrolled in a Bachelor's degree program, 27% were enrolled in a master's program, 28% were enrolled in a doctoral program, and 9% were students in another professional degree or a non-degree program. Sixty-one percent of the Asian respondents were in the sciences, 10% were in the social sciences, 6% in professional programs, and 23% in other programs. Among the U.S. respondents, 45% were male, 34% were female, and 21% did not indicate their gender. Seventy-two percent of the U.S. respondents were enrolled in a Bachelor's degree program, 13% were enrolled in a master's program, 8% were enrolled in a doctoral program, and 7% were students in another professional degree or a non-degree program. Thirty percent of the U.S. respondents were in the sciences, 22% were in the social sciences, 12% in professional programs, and 36% in other programs.

Logistic regression analysis predicting participation in the survey from culture revealed that the U.S. participants complied with the initial request at a significantly lower rate than the Asian participants ($B = .119$, $SE = .060$, $p < .047$). Examination of the COS scores of the participants who completed the first survey revealed a significant difference between the average individualism/collectivism scores of the U.S. and Asian respondents, $B = .212$, $SE = .026$, $p < .01$. The Asian participants ($M = 4.83$, $SD = .411$) had a significantly more collectivistic orientation than the U.S. participants ($M = 4.40$, $SD = .364$).

Compliance with the subsequent request
Consistent with our hypotheses, the U.S. respondents to the initial survey indicated a stronger willingness to take part in other, similar surveys in the future than did the Asian respondents, $M_{U.S.} = 3.72$, $SD_{U.S.} = .891$; $M_{Asia} = 3.07$, $SD_{Asia} = .967$, $F(1, 243) = 29.63$, $p < .001$. This stronger willingness further resulted in stronger actual compliance with the second, larger request. Of the U.S. respondents to the first survey, 21.6% completed the second survey, which was more than two times higher than the 9.9% compliance rate of the comparable Asian participants. Logistic regression proved the difference in the compliance rate between the two cultures significant, $B = -.459$, $SE = .171$, $p < .01$.

Further analysis revealed that, while in the U.S. sample 69.0% of those who complied with the second request had previously complied with the initial request, among the Asian participants, only 44.8% of the responses to the second request came from participants who complied with the first request. To examine the impact of previous history of compliance on subsequent compliance in the two cultures, a logistic regression was conducted predicting compliance with the second request from past history of compliance (non-compliance versus compliance with the first request) and culture (U.S. versus Asia). The results revealed greater compliance with the second request among participants who complied with the first request, than among those who did not, $B = 4.143$, $SE = .461$, $p < .01$. This effect, however, was modified by a significant interaction between culture and past history of compliance, $B = -.694$, $SE = .243$, $p < .01$, indicating that the effect of past compliance was stronger among the U.S. participants than it was among the Asian participants. These results provided assurance that the observed differences in the subsequent compliance of the U.S. and Asian participants were due to the differential impact of their initial compliance rather than the request itself.

The role of the orientation toward individualism/collectivism
To assess whether the observed effects were driven by differences in individualism/collectivism, we included personal I/C orientation (as measured by the COS score) in the analyses along with culture. In support of our hypothesis, we found a significant effect of personal I/C orientation on stated willingness to comply with a subsequent request, $B = .400$, $SE = .155$, $p = .010$. The individualistic compliers with the first survey request were more willing to comply with a second such request. Furthermore, once personal I/C was included in the analyses, the effect of U.S. vs. Asian culture on willingness to comply with subsequent requests was no longer significant, $B = -.751$, $SE = .720$, $p = .298$, neither was the interaction between the two variables, $B = .069$, $SE = .155$, $p = .659$. The mediating role of the orientation toward individualism/collectivism was further tested using the Sobel method (Baron and Kenny, 1986 and Sobel, 1982), which proved the mediated effect significant (estimate of the mediated effect = .085, $SE = .035$, $p < .05$). Confirming our hypothesis, the effect of culture was mediated by personal I/C orientation.

Similar analyses were conducted in regard to the mediating role of individualism/collectivism on the actual compliance with the second request. The analyses revealed that overall, compliance with the second request was greater among the participants with stronger orientation toward individualism, $B = -.977$, $SE = .423$, $p < .05$. Moreover, after including I/C in the analyses, the effect of culture was no longer significant, $B = -.313$, $SE = .201$, $p = .119$. The interaction between culture and I/C was not significant either, $B = -.188$, $SE = .495$, $p = .703$. We further examined the significance of the mediated effect of I/C on actual compliance with the second request. Although certain differences exist between linear and logistic regression in estimating mediation (MacKinnon & Dwyer, 1993), recent work suggests that the Sobel test can be appropriately applied for estimating the significance of the mediated effect in logistic regression (MacKinnon, Yoon, & Lockwood, 2003). This test proved the mediated effect of I/C significant (estimate of the mediated effect = .207, $SE = .093$,

$p < .05$), providing further assurance that the observed cultural differences in the subsequent compliance between the U.S. and Asian participants were due to the differences in the I/C orientation of the individuals from those two cultures.

Additional analyses

Since there were significant differences in the major, pursued degree, and gender of the U.S. and Asian respondents to the first request, we conducted additional analyses to test whether these variables could account for the observed differences in compliance. The analyses revealed that participants' major did not have a significant effect on subsequent compliance, $B = .130$, $SE = .120$, $p = .28$, or reported willingness to take part in similar surveys in the future, $F < 1$. Similarly, pursued degree did not have a significant effect on subsequent compliance, $B = -.216$, $SE = .190$, $p = .26$. Furthermore, although pursued degree had a significant effect on the reported willingness to comply with similar requests in the future, $F (3, 236) = 7.451$, $p < .01$, the effect of culture on subsequent compliance remained significant even after controlling for pursued degree, $F (1, 236) = 11.529$, $p < .01$. The analyses in regard to gender also revealed a marginally significant effect of gender on subsequent compliance, $B = .514$, $SE = .326$, $p = .12$ and willingness to comply with similar requests, $F (3, 241) = 2.683$, $p = .10$. However, again, the effect of culture on both subsequent compliance, $B = -.436$, $SE = .179$, $p < .05$, and willingness to comply with similar requests in the future, $F (3, 239) = 28.053$, $p < .01$, remained significant even after controlling for the effects of gender. According to these analyses, the observed effects of culture could not be attributed to demographic differences between the two cultural samples. We further examined data concerning how much time participants reported it took them to complete the first survey. This analysis allowed us to examine whether the differential compliance with the second request between the two cultures was caused by differences in the ease with which participants completed the first request. The results revealed that the Asian students reported longer times than the U.S. students, $M_{U.S.} = 15.74$ min, $SD_{U.S.} = 6.67$; $M_{Asia} = 19.06$ min, $SD_{Asia} = 7.48$, $F (1, 220) = 12.124$, $p < .01$. However, this variable did not have a significant effect on their willingness to participate in similar future surveys, $F < 1$, or actual compliance with the subsequent larger request, $B = -.024$, $SE = .025$, $p = .325$. These results provided assurance that the greater consistency in the compliance of the U.S. participants could not be attributed to their fluency in completing the first request.

Discussion

Understanding behavior across cultures has become an important area in the study of social psychology. Yet, little is known about the process of social influence in cultures outside North America. Our field examination of the compliant behavior of individuals from the United States and Asia revealed important ways in which differences in individualism/collectivism can have impact on compliance. Although in both cultures participants were more likely to comply with a request if they had chosen to comply with a similar request one month earlier, this tendency was more pronounced among the U.S. participants than among the Asian participants. Despite their lower rate of compliance with the initial request, once committed, the U.S. respondents were more likely than the Asian respondents to agree to a larger, related request. These results converged across the self-report measure of the willingness to comply with future, similar requests and actual, subsequent compliance with a related, larger request one month later. Evidence for the underlying role of the dimension of individualism/collectivism emerged clearly from our measures of the I/C orientation of the respondents. Among both the initially compliant U.S. and Asian participants, those with a stronger personal orientation toward individualism were more likely to agree to a subsequent request than those with a stronger orientation toward collectivism. Further analyses demonstrated that the orientation toward individualism/collectivism of the participants from the two cultures mediated the effects of culture on subsequent compliance. This finding is particularly noteworthy given that past research has failed to demonstrate fully the mediating role of the personal orientation toward individualism/collectivism on consistency-based compliance across cultures (Cialdini et al., 1999). That is, differences in consistency-based compliance among individuals who differed in their personal orientation toward individualism/collectivism have been demonstrated in the U.S, but not in the more collectivistic culture of Poland. One explanation for this discrepancy is that participants in the Cialdini et al. (1999) study had to make an assumption about the conditions under which the initial compliance occurred, which may have resulted in differences across cultures in the extent to which the initial choice was perceived as

unconstrained. The present research overcomes this limitation by examining (1) actual behavior rather than responses to a hypothetical situation and (2) participants who were currently living in the same culture (the U.S.) when the initial compliance occurred. Because both the U.S. and the Asian participants chose to comply with the initial request under the same circumstances, the need for making assumptions about the conditions under which the initial compliance had occurred was substantially reduced. Consequently, among both the U.S. and Asian participants, those with stronger personal orientation toward individualism showed greater compliance with a related, similar request. Along with clarifying previous findings, this result points to the importance of examining actual behavior rather than responses to hypothetical scenarios, especially when studying individuals from different cultures.

Conducting this research with U.S. and Asian students currently living in the United States also provided the advantage of communicating in English to the participants from both of the cultures and thus avoiding differences in the translation of the materials. However, it is likely that due to acculturation and self-selection, the Asian students in our sample had more individualistic values than their peers living in their native countries. Communicating to these students in English as opposed to their native languages might have enhanced this tendency. As a result, the difference between the Asian and the U.S. sample on the measure of individualism/collectivism, although statistically significant, was not of a large magnitude. It is likely that the effects reported in this study would be stronger when comparing individuals currently living in collectivistic versus individualistic cultures.

The findings of this study have important implications for understanding social behavior across cultures. As it has been suggested previously (Markus and Kitayama, 1991 and Triandis et al., 1988), the concept of individualism/collectivism has a profound impact on a variety of domains of human behavior. The present study provides evidence for the impact of individualism/collectivism on the human tendency to act in accord with previous choices. Although this tendency has been well documented with North American samples (Burger, 1999, Festinger, 1957, Freedman and Fraser, 1966 and Heider, 1958), little research has investigated this phenomenon in other cultures (Cialdini et al., 1999). Examining the dimension of individualism/collectivism, both as a personal and cultural variable, the present research demonstrated a stronger tendency among individualists than collectivists to act consistently with their choices.

By investigating these cross-cultural differences specifically in the context of compliance with a request, the present findings advance our knowledge in a domain largely understudied in cross-cultural research. While a large body of research conducted within the United States has demonstrated the effectiveness of consistency-based techniques for gaining compliance in face-to-face (Freedman & Fraser, 1966), telephone (Guadagno, Asher, Demaine, & Cialdini, 2001), or online communications (Markey, Wells, & Markey, 2002), the present study suggests that such techniques are less likely to be effective in more collectivistically oriented cultures or among individuals with stronger orientations toward collectivism.

Along with their theoretical implications regarding the impact of culture on the tendency toward consistency with personal choices, the results of this field study have important practical implications. Government institutions, health organizations, and practitioners in various settings depend on their success in gaining compliance. The efforts of such organizations are increasingly oriented toward populations with stronger orientations toward collectivism living in the United States (e.g., for census participation) and other countries (e.g., for family planning services). According to the findings from the present research, despite their common use and effectiveness in the dominant North American culture, strategies for increasing compliance by using personally chosen commitments to smaller, related requests might be less successful in other, more collectivistic cultures and subcultures. To increase compliance in these populations, influence agents should consider strategies better aligned with the view of the self in such cultures. For example, as Cialdini et al. (1999) have suggested, collectivistically oriented individuals might be more sensitive to information about compliance histories of other in-group members (the social proof principle, Cialdini, 2001) rather than their own compliance history (the commitment/consistency principle). Consequently, in collectivistic cultures, one would

be more successful in gaining compliance by presenting information that similar others have complied in the past (Aaker and Maheswaran, 1997 and Cialdini et al., 1999).

Further steps could be undertaken in theorizing about the impact of own past behavior on individualists and collectivists. Traditionally, research conducted with North American samples has shown that in order for past behavior to direct subsequent action, the earlier behavior should be perceived as freely chosen and a reflection of personal preferences (Bem, 1967 and Freedman and Fraser, 1966). The focus on the individualized self, however, seems to be less prominent in collectivistic cultures. As opposed to placing emphasis on their personal preferences and choices, collectivists tend to place a greater value on their social obligations and roles (Barrett et al., 2004 and Oyserman et al., 1998). Thus, it might be possible that in collectivistic cultures, past behavior would constitute a sufficient commitment under a different set of circumstances. While individualists tend to value their freedoms and are consistent with behavior reflecting personal choice, collectivistically oriented people, as demonstrated by Iyengar and Lepper (1999), feel more committed to choices made by the group or important others. In a related vein, recent research by Hoshino-Browne, Zanna, Spencer, and Zanna (2004) reports that while North American participants are likely to experience cognitive dissonance when making a choice for themselves, Asian students demonstrated such a tendency when making a choice for a friend. Further research is needed to investigate the circumstances under which consistency tendencies manifest themselves across cultures. The existing evidence, however, suggests the possibility that under certain circumstances, past behavior could trigger consistent actions among collectivists as well. Consequently, when compared on a general tendency toward consistency—such as scores on the Preference for Consistency Scale (Cialdini, Trost, & Newsom, 1995)—collectivists may not appear different than individualists. Research examining conditions under which individualists and collectivists strive for consistency with their past commitments would enrich our understanding of human behavior across cultures.

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