Values, schemas, and norms in the culture–behavior nexus: A situated dynamics framework

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Abstract
International business (IB) research has predominantly relied on value constructs to account for the influence of societal culture, notably Hofstede's cultural dimensions. While parsimonious, the value approach's assumptions about the consensus of values within nations, and the generality and stability of cultural patterns of behavior are increasingly challenged. We review two promising alternatives – the constructivist approach centering on schemas and the intersubjectivist approach centering on norms – and the evidence that demonstrates their usefulness in accounting for international differences in the behavior of managers, employees, and consumers. We propose a situated dynamics framework, specifying the role of values, schemas, and norms in accounting for cultural differences, and delineating conditions under which each causal mechanism is operative. Values play a more important role in accounting for cultural differences in weak situations where fewer constraints are perceived; schemas play a more important role when situational cues increase their accessibility and relevance; and norms play a more important role when social evaluation is salient. Directions for future research based on this integrative framework and its implications for the measurement of culture and application in IB are discussed.
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INTRODUCTION

A longstanding conceptualization of international differences in the workplace and consumer behavior centers on values: A society socializes its members into distinctive value priorities, and individuals are driven by their internalized cultural value orientations to behave in the ways that are characteristic of the society. The most influential value framework in international business (IB) research is that of Hofstede (1980), which scores countries on several value dimensions. Hofstede's (1980) dimensions are parsimonious and broadly encompassing; they have proved useful for organizing research on cultural differences in a wide range of business behaviors (Taras, Kirkman, & Steel, 2010), including modes of foreign investment (Kogut & Singh, 1988), consumer behaviors such as online shopping (Lim, Leung, Sia, & Lee, 2004), and sourcing services from different countries (Peeters, Dehon, & Garcia-Prieto, 2014). At the same time, many researchers have identified empirical patterns that do not fit the assumptions of

the value approach, and have called for studying alternative mechanisms of cultural influence (e.g., Kirkman, Lowe, & Gibson, 2006).

In this article we review the limitations of the value account, that people in different nations pursue different ends, and then introduce two alternative approaches: The constructivist account that culture influences behavior through the schemas or cognitive lenses people use to make sense of ambiguous information, and the intersubjectivist approach that culture influences behavior through the social norms that direct typical or appropriate behavior in a given situation. While these different approaches have been developed in separate research traditions, recent findings increasingly point to connections and parallels in the functioning of values, schemas, and norms that give rise to cultural differences. Drawing on these different streams of research, we propose a situated dynamics framework to integrate these three explanatory mechanisms and identify the conditions under which each mechanism explains cultural patterns in behavior.

Our article makes three major contributions to theory and methodology concerning the culture–behavior nexus. First, while there is clear evidence that the value approach fails to account for a wide range of cultural influences, a systematic attempt to address its limitations is still lacking. In the past two decades, research on schemas and norms has substantiated their validity as alternative explanatory mechanisms. For instance, schema research elucidates how and when bicultural individuals effortlessly mesh with a cultural setting as opposed to acting in contrast to its expectations. Norm research elucidates how newcomers to a culture, such as expatriates and visitors, can act in a culturally appropriate manner without undergoing socialization into its values. As we shall see, these and many other phenomena important to IB can be better understood by moving beyond the traditional focus on values. Cultural phenomena inadequately explained by values can be addressed by a broadened view that considers the influence of schemas and norms.

Second, IB and other behavioral fields need a comprehensive framework mapping the influence of culture on behavior. We integrate theories about values, schemas, and norms to develop a situated dynamics framework that provides a fuller theory of culture and behavior. This framework posits the conditions under which each of these three key mechanisms operates by identifying the situational factors that catalyze or inhibit the relevant psychological processes.

Third, we provide suggestions on how culture should be measured from a situated perspective and how this situated framework can be applied in the IB context. Measurement of culture should not be narrowly confined to values and needs to expand to cover schemas and norms, and we provide illustrations to show how it can be done. To illustrate the utility of this framework, we discuss the new insights it offers to IB research. We show how the situated framework provides a new perspective on international mergers, and suggest interesting research topics that go beyond value differences for a recent phenomenon, "reverse foreign direct investment" from emerging economies into the West.

VALUES

From survey ratings of work-related values by IBM employees in a large number of countries, Hofstede (1980) distilled four dimensions of culture based on country means, such as Individualism–Collectivism and Power Distance. Insights about a fifth dimension, Confucian Dynamism or short-term/long-term orientation, came from an independent investigation of Chinese values around the world (Chinese Culture Connection, 1987). Conceptual and methodological refinements of value dimensions came in the work of Schwartz (1994) and in the GLOBE project (House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004). These value frameworks provided a great research advance over accounts of culture that merely described differences in behaviors (e.g., Hall, 1959), in that they provided theoretical accounts of cultural differences in organizational behaviors, such as cultural differences in reactions to leaders (Kirkman, Chen, Farh, Chen, & Lowe, 2009). The value approach is based on a trait perspective on behavior, in which the observable phenotype is a syndrome of organizational behaviors and the underlying genotype is a set of value priorities (e.g., Triandis, 1995). Despite the vast influence of the value approach, however, research increasingly reveals patterns that are inconsistent with some of its major assumptions.

The first issue concerns *consensus*. Hofstede (1980) defined culture as "collective programming … that distinguishes one group or category of people from others" (25). Value theorists using country-level scores to predict the behavior of individuals from the same country assume that the average values are broadly representative, an assumption that Tung and Verbeke (2010) have critiqued. Value heterogeneity within a culture would be expected from ethnic and regional subcultures (Baskerville, 2003) as well as from social roles, personality, and other

individual differences (McSweeney, 2002). An extensive review reveals that individualistic and collectivistic values vary greatly within countries and much less across countries than traditionally portrayed (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). In a recent analysis of three multicountry value data sets, Fischer and Schwartz (2011) found much greater variation within than between countries, contradicting the assertion of Hofstede (1980) that values are like shared mental software that distinguishes one people from other cultural groups.

A second issue is the *generality* of cultural patterns across situations. Hofstede (1980) proposed that value orientation would give rise to "a broad tendency to prefer certain states of affairs over others" (19). Some broad patterns of this sort have been identified: In high power-distance societies with more hierarchical values, many kinds of judgments and decisions show deference to authority (Kirkman et al., 2009). While awareness of these broad tendencies is useful, Osland and Bird (2000) argued that these depictions are but "sophisticated stereotypes" that fail to capture situational nuances. Some cultural tendencies vary dramatically from one situation to the next – Japanese consumers are traditionalists about kitchen appliances but technophiles about their toilets. No general value, like traditionalism, could account for this duality in Japanese preferences; the forces underlying these tendencies must be context-specific.

A third issue is the *stability* of cultural patterns, at the micro-level in the behavior of individuals across similar occasions and at the macro-level in a society's behavioral patterns across the long duration. The value approach predicts stability. If individuals' values are molded by early cultural socialization, then individual differences in proclivity toward culturally typical decisions and behaviors should be fairly fixed over time. Yet research reveals that the degree to which individuals exemplify cultural patterns varies dramatically as a function of changing conditions such as mood (Ashton-James, Maddux, Galinsky, & Chartrand, 2009), cognitive load (Knowles, Morris, Chiu, & Hong, 2001), and whether reasons must be given for one's choice (Briley, Morris, & Simonson, 2000). Whether or not individuals exhibit culturally typical decisions and actions also depends on their recent experiences (Savani, Morris, Naidu, Kumar, & Berlia, 2011).

The assumption of the value approach that cultural characteristics are stable and almost immutable is exemplified by the notion that expatriates and immigrants necessarily go through extended "culture shock" from the mismatch between self and environment, and even "reverse culture shock" upon returning home (Sussman, 2000). Although many immigrants and expatriates struggle with cultural adjustment, learning a new culture may not be inherently stressful. A large-scale study of immigrant adolescents in many societies by Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder (2006) found that immigrants were no worse than their non-immigrant peers in psychological well-being and school adjustment. Not only do immigrants pick up new cultures quickly, many become bicultural – meaning that they identify with and operate proficiently in both their heritage culture and the host culture. Research reveals that biculturals switch between cultural frames through automatic subconsicous processes in response to situational cues of cultural expectations (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martínez, 2000). As globalization processes give more people exposure to multiple cultural traditions, conceptions of unitary/static cultural predispositions become less relevant to IB research, and theories about how plural, dynamic cultural proficiencies that surface situationally become more important.

The value approach also predicts stability in country-level behavioral patterns over the long duration. Hofstede (1993: 92) asserted that "National cultures change only very slowly if at all." Schwartz (2006) suggested that country-level value orientations may persist across centuries, as each generation passes on its values in the way they socialize the next generation. Yet some cultural patterns of behavior change dramatically. Even measures of values show greater individualism in China today than a generation ago (e.g., Ralston, Egri, Stewart, Terpstra, & Kaicheng, 1999). Gould and Grein (2009) noted that cultures are not closed systems – transformations can arise through intercultural interactions as many networks transcend national boundaries. Morris, Chiu, and Liu (2014) proposed polyculturalist research programs, premised on a network conception of culture. Boyd and Richerson (2005) modeled cultural evolution as a process in which new practices spread through a population as a function of social norm-related processes such as imitation of the average peer or emulation of the successful. The ways in which cultures change as a function of internal and external shock, and new thoughts and practices diffuse through societies cannot be well-understood in terms of trait like value orientations, but they can be explained in terms of social norms.

To conclude, the value approach to culture, spearheaded by Hofstede (1980), has led to significant

progress in IB research, but many international differences in behavior do not map onto patterns of values (Fischer & Smith, 2003; Kirkman et al., 2006; Lamoreaux & Morling, 2012; Taras et al., 2010). In a prominent recent example, the GLOBE study found, contrary to expectations, negative associations between cultural values and cultural practices (for attempts to resolve this puzzle, see Taras, Steel, & Kirkman, 2010). There have been repeated calls to develop alternative conceptual frameworks of culture (e.g., Fang, 2010; Leung, Bhagat, Buchan, Erez, & Gibson, 2005). Kirkman et al. (2006: 313) summed it up by concluding that "perhaps the time is right for a move beyond Culture's Consequences" and that the field needs to "look beyond this paradigm to break new ground."

Two alternative approaches have emerged in cultural psychology over the last two decades. They posit different psychological mechanisms of cultural influence, namely, schema activation and norm salience, and can account for cultural differences that cannot be handled by the value approach. We review these two streams of research below to set the stage for developing a novel, situated approach to culture.

SCHEMAS

Constructivist accounts trace cultural differences to the cognitive lenses or templates that guide our interpretations, expectancies, and responses. People with the same value priorities may exhibit different judgments and behaviors as a function of the schemas conferred by their cultures. Constructivists emphasize that people impose culturally conferred cognitive structures to make sense of stimuli and problems; without schemas they could not make sense of experience or organize complex sequences of actions. We look at the world through cultural lenses; we act coherently and coordinate with others by following cultural scripts.

While the constructivist approach to culture dates to the 1920s Russian school of Vygotsky (1962/ 1986) and Luria (1976), it gained new life in the 1990s as experimental social psychologists began investigating cultural differences in social cognition biases. Markus and Kitayama (1991) analyzed East-West differences in self-construals, arguing that East Asians show less of a self-enhancing bias, which results from the independent self-concept fostered by Western cultures. East Asians are also less prone to the "fundamental attribution error" of reading behavior as reflective of a person's characteristics while overlooking situational constraints. In a comparative study of social judgment, Morris and Peng (1994) found that, compared with Americans, Chinese attributed individual behaviors less to the internal properties of the actors and more to the factors in the social environment (relationships, groups, and norms). Subsequent research found that when explaining the outcomes of a group or an organization, Chinese emphasized the collective actor's internal properties rather than its environment. Thus both cultures show a tendency to make internal, dispositional attributions, but differ in the unit they construe as the agent or actor (Menon, Morris, Chiu, & Hong, 1999). Westerners habitually construe individuals as actors and rarely groups, whereas East Asians are relatively more likely to construe groups as actors.

The constructivist (schema) approach differs from the trait (value) approach greatly with regard to predictions about the generality and stability of cultural patterns of behavior because schemas exert an influence on behavior only at moments when they are *activated*, or put into use as a filter for one's information processing. A person's legacy of cultural schemas is often compared by constructivists with a toolbox containing an assortment of implements: Some are on top of the stack from recent use while others are rusting at the bottom of the box; some fit the current problem and others do not; some are tools that one feels comfortable using and others are not (Swidler, 1986). The activation of a schema depends on three factors: accessibility, applicability, and judged appropriateness (Higgins, 1996).

Accessibility is the key to several constructivist hypotheses about the situation-dependence of cultural behaviors. Constructs that have been activated recently remain highly accessible and thereby more likely to be used (Bruner, 1956; Higgins, Bargh, & Lombardi, 1985). Cultural schemas can be activated by situational cues in two ways, direct semantic priming and indirect associative priming. Schemas for individualism/collectivism, independence/interdependence, and individuation/ contextualization can be primed directly through prior tasks that engage them. Trafimow, Triandis, and Goto (1991) asked participants to read a story about an individualistic or collectivistic warrior and this manipulation affected their subsequent self-descriptions; the individualistic story elicited more references to personal dispositions, and the collectivistic story more references to relationships and group memberships. Oishi, Wyer, and Colcombe

(2000) presented individualism- or collectivism-relevant words subliminally and found an expected shift in attributions for negative outcomes consistent with the priming manipulation.

Cultural schemas can be primed indirectly by images, sounds, or even smells and tastes reminiscent of a culture, even though these stimuli have no semantic connection to the schemas. Cultural icons – images that symbolize central characteristics of a culture – elicit culturally typically thoughts and behaviors. Hong et al. (2000) found that exposing bicultural Hong Kong students to images of Western vs Chinese landmarks (The White House vs The Forbidden City) induced, respectively, more dispositional and more contextual attributions. Exposure to a Chinese face or iconic images such as a Chinese vase increased the accessibility of Chinese language structures as opposed to English language structures (Zhang, Morris, Cheng, & Yap, 2013). In another study, bicultural students from Hong Kong were presented with either Chinese (e.g., kung fu), American (e.g., football), or culturally neutral pictures, and then confronted with a prisoners' dilemma game involving either ingroup or outgroup counterparts (Wong & Hong, 2005). Participants cooperated more with an ingroup member after being primed with Chinese images. The prime triggered the relational schemas from their Chinese heritage and they played the game in a more Chinese way.

Another set of constructivist hypotheses focuses on *applicability*. An activated schema may show little effect on a behavior if it has no relevance for the behavior. For instance, the individual agency schema that is more accessible to Americans fits events with an individual actor, but not events with a group actor. In a similar vein, the group agency schema that is more accessible to East Asians are applicable to events with a group actor, but not to events involving individuals. Activated schemas influence behaviors to the extent that they are relevant to them (Menon et al., 1999).

Appropriateness is a final gate on schema activation. For example, many people have a strong desire not to make judgments based on gender and ethnic stereotypes, so even if those stereotypes are triggered in their minds, they vigilantly resist using them, sometimes overcompensating in the opposite direction as a result. Motivations to conform culturally or not may similarly moderate whether cultural schemas direct thoughts and behaviors. A great deal of recent research concerns an epistemic motive, need for cognitive closure (NFCC, Kruglanski, Webster, & Klem, 1993), which refers to the desire for quick, clear, firm answers rather than complex, ambiguous, or provisional solutions. Chiu, Morris, Hong, and Menon (2000) studied situationally induced NFCC through varying the degree of time pressure in a task, finding that time pressure accentuated dispositional inference solely in the group-actor condition for Chinese perceivers and solely in the individual-actor condition for American perceivers. These results suggest that the motive for cognitive closure created by time pressure accentuates the influence of the chronically accessible agency schema of a given culture, that is, the group agency schema for Chinese and the individual agency schema for Americans.

The influence of motivations on people's use of schemas is further illustrated by the individual differences in the ways biculturals respond to priming. Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, and Morris (2002) introduced the dimension of bicultural identity integration, which distinguishes biculturals who experience their dual identities as compatible vs conflicting. While compatible biculturals react in a way consistent with a primed culture, conflicted biculturals are more likely to respond to cultural cues in a contrasting manner, inhibiting responses characteristic of the primed culture and enacting patterns of the culture that was *not* primed. Conflicted biculturals frame-switch contrastively even when cultures are primed subliminally, indicating processes that are reflexive and automatic (Mok & Morris, 2013). Recent evidence suggests that conflicted biculturals feel a need to defend the non-primed cultural identity (Mok & Morris, 2009, 2013).

Research on determinants of schema accessibility, applicability, and appropriateness has produced insights for two important questions: "How does culture matter?" and "When does culture matter?" (Gibson, Maznevski, & Kirkman, 2009).

Evaluation of the Constructivist Approach

An overall evaluation of the constructivist (schema) vs the trait (value) approach must begin with the acknowledgment that constructivist accounts are far less parsimonious; they posit many variables that interact to determine cultural patterns of behavior. However, the constructivist approach can explain why many cultural patterns are situation-specific rather than context-general, and offer an account for the instability and malleability of cultural patterns. It provides a more nuanced picture of how a person's temporary motivations or life experiences, such as working in a multicultural context and living abroad, change their likelihood of expressing

behavioral patterns characteristic of their heritage culture.

The constructivist approach also provides a better account of multiple cultural legacies that affect the same individual. Trait accounts portray biculturals as hybrids whose values are midway between the means of the two respective cultures, or compartmentalizers who endorse one set of cultural values for work and another for home (e.g., Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997). In contrast, constructivist research elucidates the flexibility of biculturals to switch between different cultural frames for the same problem (Hong et al., 2000). The constructivist approach helps us understand the mutability, malleability, and multiplicity of cultural influence on individual behavior.

A critic might fairly ask whether constructivist accounts predict more instability than truly exists, as some broad differences between societies can be traced back centuries if not millennia. If cultural patterns of individual behavior are not temporally stable, how can we account for the macro-level societal stability? Part of the answer is that enduring societal structures and institutions evoke the behavioral pattern typical of a culture. Kitayama and colleagues (e.g., Kitayama, Markus, Matsumoto, & Norasakkunkit, 1997; Kitayama, Mesquita, & Karasawa, 2006; Morling, Kitayama, & Miyamoto, 2002) sampled the interpersonal situations that American and Japanese students frequently experience and then presented these situations to new participants in both countries to gauge how these situations affected them. Results showed an effect of situation-culture: For both groups American-sourced situations were more likely to evoke feelings of self-enhancement and efficacy, whereas Japanese-sourced situations were more likely to evoke feelings of self-criticism and relatedness to others. US and Japanese sociocultural settings appear to afford different modes of experiencing the self. Furthermore, results also showed an effect of participant-culture, as Americans were generally more likely to exhibit self-enhancement, and Japanese, self-criticism. Each group has a default interpretation, reflecting chronically accessible schemas that they fall back on in ambiguous situations. One mechanism for sustaining these default schemas appears to be reinforcement, that is, the situationscape in different societies rewards different cognitive habits (e.g., Savani et al., 2011).

NORMS
The value and schema approaches may be labeled "subjective culture" approaches in that they locate the proximal mechanisms for cultural differences in the individual's subjective beliefs. Another approach, sometimes termed the "intersubjective" approach, locates the source of cultural influence in the surrounding group and the individual's perceptions of it. Social psychologists have long found that people assimilate their thoughts to the group norm, because peers' responses are an influential source of information (Sherif, 1936) and because they seek to avoid negative judgments by others (Asch, 1956). In the theory of reasoned action, perceived normative beliefs are key to predicting a wide range of behaviors (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). Cialdini, Kallgren, and Reno (1991) distinguished between descriptive norms, what ingroup members commonly do in a situation, and injunctive norms, what they approve of. People adhere to descriptive norms because they provide easy default solutions and because they enable coordinating with other group members. Injunctive norms are moralized, imbued with oughtness, so people adhere to injunctive norms out of moral emotions such as shame at wrongdoing. Moral emotions also drive us to punish others whom we observe violating injunctive norms, even if the punishment costs us personally.

Not just differences in business etiquette (bowing, kissing, or shaking hands) but also differences in judgment and decision making can arise from norm-following. Norenzayan and colleagues (Buchtel & Norenzayan, 2008; Norenzayan, Smith, Kim, & Nisbett, 2002) found that Westerners' reliance on formal logic and East Asians' reliance on intuitive association in tasks such as syllogism problems do not reflect different capacities, but different notions of what is regarded as reasonable or wise, that is, injunctive norms. Yamagishi, Hashimoto, and Schug (2008) reexamined cultural differences in the decision to select the unique option from a choice set, which Kim and Markus (1999) presented as an expression of individualistic values or an independent self-concept. Yamagishi et al. found that both Japanese and Americans took the unique option if they were last to choose (and thus did not deprive others), but that both groups declined the unique option when it was salient that they might deprive others, and it was only in the ambiguous condition where the two cultures differed in the expected manner. Yamagishi et al. further showed that Japanese participants favored uniqueness more in private than when they were observed, and declined uniqueness after experiencing being monitored by other people, supporting the account that

the cultural difference arises from more salient norms against self-oriented behavior in Japan. Japanese and Americans hold similar values in this context, but behave differently in response to different norm enforcement incentives.

While some research on culture and norms shows that individuals are affected by objective norms, the average beliefs or behaviors in their group (e.g., Becker et al., 2014), most research examines how individuals are affected by subjective norms, what they perceive to be typical in their group. These perceptions may not be veridical because they are based on others' observable public behaviors, which imperfectly reflect private beliefs. This can lead to the whole group misperceiving itself, a case of "pluralistic ignorance" that works to perpetuate cultural patterns of behavior. Hirai (2000) found that while Japanese participants on average endorsed individualist values, they perceived that "typical Japanese people" hold collectivist values, and this perceived norm guides their public behavior, thereby perpetuating the perceived collectivist norm.

The GLOBE project (House et al., 2004) measured both values about workplace practices ("should be" measures) and perceptions of typical practices ("as is" measures), finding unexpectedly that these measures of cultural values and perceived descriptive norms exhibit low and sometimes negative correlations. Similarly, Fischer et al. (2009) measured individualism–collectivism as perceptions of typical ingroup behaviors. Four dimensions were identified, and only one dimension, independent vs interdependent conceptualization of the self, showed a high correlation with the individualism–collectivism dimension of Hofstede (1980), and the institutional collectivism dimension of GLOBE. This descriptive norm approach captures some ways that societies differ on the dimension of individualism–collectivism not captured by previous approaches based on personal values. Researchers looking at values find a similar pattern of results: Fischer (2006) measured personal endorsement and perceived ingroup endorsement across a wide set of values and found only modest relationships between these two types of value endorsements.

Increasingly, research finds that cultural differences in judgment patterns are carried more by perceived descriptive norms than by personal beliefs or values. A familiar cultural difference is that East Asian societies place less blame on individuals and emphasize duty rather than rights. Shteynberg, Gelfand, and Kim (2009) found that the greater Korean than American tendency to understand an outcome contextually rather than blaming a focal individual was driven not by cultural differences in personal collectivistic values, but by cultural differences in a perceived descriptive norm of collectivism. Likewise, cultural differences in the perception of harm resulting from rights or duty violations were more consistent with a descriptive norm than a cultural value account. Zou, Tam, Morris, Lee, Lau, and Chiu (2009) found that perceived descriptive norms mediated several cultural differences in social cognitive biases. For example, differences between Americans and Polish in responsiveness to requests were not driven by personal collectivism, but by a perceived cultural norm of collectivism. Differences between Americans and Hong Kong Chinese in dispositional attribution were found not to be driven by personal beliefs, but by perceived beliefs of typical cultural members. Overall, these studies indicate that country differences in cognitive biases are not so much expressions of divergent inner values and beliefs across cultures as they are accommodations to different perceived cultural norms.

Chiu, Gelfand, Yamagishi, Shteynberg, and Wan (2010) delineated several mechanisms through which perceived descriptive norms influence behaviors. In addition to serving epistemic and coordination functions with others, norms also provide a basis for self-identity and positive self-regard. Wan, Chiu, Tam, Lee, Lau, and Peng (2007) assessed the norms that existed within a community or society through calculating the "intersubjective consensus" based on individual perceptions of these norms. The beliefs/values that most members assume most other members share, which because of pluralistic ignorance do not amount to the same as the average of personal beliefs and values. They found that identification with a culture was best predicted from the match of personal values to the intersubjective consensus in the culture, not the match of personal values to the average personal values. A similar set of findings is reported by Wan, Chiu, Peng, and Tam (2007).

Evaluation of the Intersubjective Approach
Compared with the other two approaches, norm-based accounts do not assume a consensus of personal beliefs or values in a culture; they assume more sharedness in perceptions of the group's norms – assumptions about what a typical group member believes, does, and expects. Perceived cultural norms vary across countries and can account for cultural differences in a range of social cognitions and behaviors.

Like schema-based accounts, norm-based accounts serve well to explain situation-specific cultural differences because norms are representations of typical responses to specific situations.

Norm accounts may serve better than schema accounts to explain the stability and persistence of cultural patterns of social behavior. Individuals within a nation may vary greatly in their values but agree largely in their perception of societal norms, and by dint of this shared perception they would exhibit similar patterns of conduct, at least when in public (e.g., Yamagishi et al., 2008), thereby perpetuating the culture's behavioral patterns. Likewise, the stability of beliefs may come from the role of intersubjective perceptions in communication. When rumors are spread or organizational stories repeated, the content evolves slightly with each retelling. However, the change is not random variation; the content grows closer to the conventions and stereotypes in the culture (Kashima, 2000, 2014). Communicators emphasize the ideas that they perceive their audience to share, and through this process stories grow more culturally conventional.

Norm accounts also elucidate how newcomers to a culture learn to coordinate their behavior with others, without necessarily being socialized into new values. More accurate perceptions of a host culture's normative value priorities correlate with having better interpersonal interactions with locals (Li & Hong, 2001). Biculturals can be thought of as having well-calibrated assumptions about the norms for a situation in each of the cultures they know. Compared with monocultural Euro Americans, bicultural Chinese are more accurate in estimating the extent to which Chinese and Americans differ in their decision making, specifically in the weighting of gains vs losses (Leung, Lee, & Chiu, 2013). As a result, bicultural Chinese are more able to tailor persuasive messages toward targets from each culture that resonate with their biases. The advantages that biculturals bring to IB can be understood in terms of knowledge of multiple norms and resulting flexibility and competence in tailoring their strategies for intercultural interaction.

Another kind of social belief, more general than behavioral norms, are social axioms, principles that underlie people's understanding of their social world and life goals, such as the belief that effort produces rewards (Leung & Bond, 2004, 2009). Social axioms are not self-descriptive and show low correlations with values and personality traits (e.g., Chen, Fok, Bond, & Matsumoto, 2006; Leung,

Au, Huang, Kurman, Niit, & Niit, 2007). Kurman and Ronen-Eilon (2004) asked two immigrant groups in Israel to report their personal axioms as well as their perception of those of the average Israeli. Immigrant adaptation was better predicted by accurate perception of the average Israeli than by similarity of self to the average Israeli. As with the aforementioned findings, these results highlight that adaptation in a cultural group depends on intersubjective beliefs, beliefs about what the members of the group endorse.

COMPARISON OF THE THREE APPROACHES

We have reviewed accounts of cultural differences in terms of values, schemas, and norms, and shown that each account has some strengths relative to the other two. Accounts of cultural differences based on values are parsimonious but limited in explaining situational variation, mutability over time, and multiplicity of cultural legacies. Constructivist research on schema activation introduced methods such as priming that can explain situational variation in behavior and biculturalism, but this approach has difficulty in fully accounting for why cultural patterns persist. Intersubjective accounts focusing on perceived norms and beliefs are newest and least well-developed, but this research program has been successful in identifying individual-level mediators of country differences in patterns of judgments, decisions, and behaviors. Norm-based accounts also offer clues about how to reconcile individual malleability with societal persistence, micro-level fluctuation with macro-level stability. For a summary of the differences among these three approaches, see Table 1.

TOWARD AN INTEGRATED FRAMEWORK

The three psychological mechanisms – values, schemas, and norms – are usually pitted against each other as rival accounts of how culture influences individual behavior. However, they may be complementary; different explanatory mechanisms often have incremental utility in accounting for cultural differences (e.g., Bond, Leung, Au, Tong, & Chemonges-Nielson, 2004). As we have seen that value-based accounts, which have dominated IB research on culture, are incomplete, a framework integrating schemas and norms provides a more comprehensive account of international differences. We develop the situated dynamics framework below, in which each of the mechanisms – values, schemas, and norms – depends on situational factors in different ways. The different roles of the situation in

Table 1 Values, schemas, and norms as mediators of cultural influence

	Values	Schemas	Norms
Nature	Individual differences	Knowledge structures	Social perceptions
Locus	Self	Mind × environment interaction	Social perceiver × context interaction
Theorized mechanism of cultural influence	Preferences drive behavior	Accessible schemas guide construal	Descriptive norms – informational influence Injunctive norms – normative influence
Consensus	Shared within a culture	Shared within a given context	Vary as a function of social groups
Generality/situationality	Suppression of preference in "strong" as opposed to "weak" situations	Activated by situational cues, such as priming	Salience affected by social context, such as implicit or explicit sanctioning
Cultural stability	Micro and macro stability	Micro instability; Macro stability as a result of chronically accessible schemas	Micro instability; Macro stability as a result of perceived sharedness that sustains conventionalization and sacralization of norms
Cultural multiplicity	Biculturals have middling or compartmentalized values	Biculturals have two networks of schemas	Biculturals have two norm representations

moderating cultural patterns are the main thrust of this integrative approach.

The Role of the Situation
The trait approach to personality assumes that people should exhibit the same behavioral patterns across situations. Contrary to this prediction, Mischel (1968) showed that cross-situational consistency is low across a wide variety of studies. This predicament also confronts the trait approach to culture (Mendoza-Denton & Mischel, 2007), which assumes that cultural differences in behaviors should correspond to cultural differences in values, an assertion contradicted by considerable empirical findings (e.g., Kirkman et al., 2006). Just as with personality traits, the role of cultural values in directing behaviors varies across situations (e.g., Bond, 2013; Chiu, Ng, & Au, 2013).

To address the fleeting relationship between personality traits and behaviors, Mischel (1973) proposed a cognitive social learning perspective of personality, later developed into the cognitive affective personality system (Mischel & Shoda, 1995). The key proposition is that people do not exist in a social vacuum and are always in some sort of situation, which Mischel (1973: 276) conceptualized as a major determinant of behavior: "psychological 'situations' and 'treatments' are powerful to the degree that they lead all persons to construe the particular events the same way, induce uniform expectancies regarding the most appropriate response pattern, provide adequate incentives for the performance of that response pattern, and instill the skills necessary for its satisfactory construction and

execution." Mischel and Shoda (1995, 2010) further developed this view of the "situated person" by theorizing about why some features of situations affect most people in the same way whereas other features of situations reliably affect some individuals and not others. The variation is due to individual differences in construal of situations, which give rise to different expectations, goals, and affects, and hence different behaviors. This argument is crystallized in the construct of situational strength in the organizational context, with situations perceived to be "strong" overriding the influence of individual differences (Meyer, Dalal, & Hermida, 2010). For example, an assembly line involves strong norms and as a result workers behave more or less alike regardless of their personalities and cultural values.

Whereas the construct of situational strength lumps together several ways that situations constrain behavior, distinguishing these different ways is useful for integrating values, schemas, and norms in accounting for cultural differences. The situated dynamics framework that we propose resembles a moderated mediation model, with the three psychological mechanisms mediating the influence of culture on individual behavior, and different types of situational characteristics moderating the salience of each mechanism. We draw on theorizing about the situated person (e.g., Mischel & Shoda, 1995, 2010) to identify the situaitonal characteristics that moderate the importance of values. We adapt the situated inference model of Loersch and Payne (2011) to shed light on the situational moderators for schemas. We ground the intersubjective
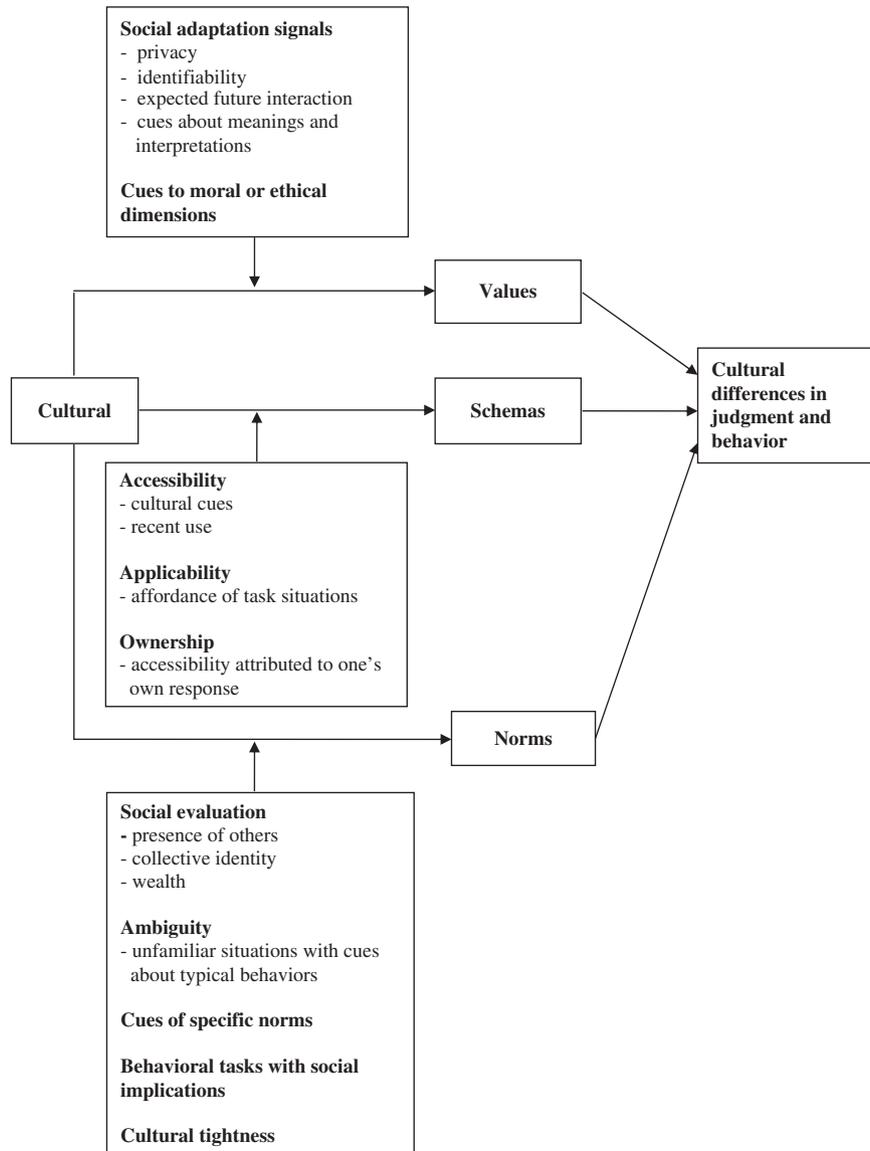
Figure 1 The situated dynamics framework.

approach in the focus theory of normative conduct, which identifies situational cues for the operation of norms (e.g., Cialdini et al., 1991; Goldstein & Cialdini, 2010). For a schematic representation of our situated dynamic approach to understanding cultural influence on behavior, see Figure 1.

When Values Prevail

Absence of social adaptation signals
A particularly salient dimension of the situation is the behavior of the other people present. The press of other people can overwhelm the force of internal

cultural values in directing behavior. Milgram (1963) asked whether Americans who hold fairly egalitarian cultural values would comply with an authority's request that they harm another person. Despite their values, Americans followed the instructions of authorities for fear of their negative social evaluation. Switching away from the actions corresponding to one's cultural values can be adaptive. For instance, in dispute resolution decisions, Americans generally favor adjudication procedures, and Chinese generally prefer procedures that involve compromises, such as mediation. These differences in behavior correspond to differences in prioritization of the

value of competition. However, in strong situations, this cultural difference in behavior vanishes. Both cultural groups prefer adjudication when facing a counterpart low in agreeableness and high in emotional stability (Morris, Leung, & Iyengar, 2004). The situation of a stubborn, volatile counterpart signals that mediation would not be a wise choice and hence overrides the influence of cultural values on the decision.

An implication of this argument is that values would shape behavior more in situations lacking strong signals of social adaptation. This holds in private as opposed to public situations (Kim, Chiu, Peng, Cai, & Tov, 2010), such as making anonymous suggestions to management or posting anonymous comments on a website. It also holds in public situations where there is low identifiability such as a collective work task where it is hard to identify the action of an individual (e.g., Brickner, Harkins, & Ostrom, 1986). Lower expected future interaction with the other people present reduces their influence; signals of their preferences would be regarded less if one does not expect to see them again, meaning that one's personal inclinations will direct behavior (e.g., Heide & Miner, 1992). Another class of situations lacking strong social adaptation signals are those in which one cannot read the signals. A German executive just arrived in Vietnam to be the general manager of a factory is likely to experience a lack of clear signals of her subordinates' preferences to which she is accustomed. People tend to construe these unfamiliar situations in abstract terms and rely on values to guide their behaviors (e.g., Torelli & Kaikati, 2009; Vallacher & Wegner, 1989). Value differences tend to drive cultural differences in behaviors in these situations.

Variation in adherence to cultural values cannot be solely accounted for by the influence of social adaptation signals. For instance, Americans who hold individualistic values dislike team-based incentives at work but tend to favor team sports. Is this because the work context involves weaker social adaptation signals than sports? That seems unlikely, as co-workers and managers are important role models and sources of social evaluation. The alignment of workplace preference and cultural values also reflects institutions that shape work behavior (e.g., Ashforth & Anand, 2003). Individualistic work behavior is reinforced by procedures of performance evaluation and criteria for promotions. An account of values moderated by situational strength only provides a partial answer to understanding situational variability in cultural patterns of behavior.

Ethical dimensions

Some choice situations are imbued with moral connotations or implications, and they evoke deliberation based on one's values. Personal values play a strong causal role in driving this type of behavior despite that the situation may activate schemas and norms that deviate from these values. Fischer (2006) examined how personal values and perceived ingroup values (norms) predict an array of self-reported behaviors across different cultures. Social conformity tasks such as resolving a conflict were predicted by norms more than personal values, whereas ethical tasks such as objecting to prejudice were predicted by personal values more than by perceived group norms. Conformity tasks afford questions about the appropriate behavior, which invoke knowledge of norms, whereas ethical tasks invoke representations of one's value commitments. Similarly, Fischer et al. (2009) found that perceived individualism–collectivism of one's culture predicted tradition, conformity, and socially oriented behaviors, even after controlling for personal individualism–collectivism, but did not predict self-direction and stimulation-oriented behaviors.

Schemas and Situated Inferences

The activation of schemas as an explanatory mechanism for cultural differences depends on situational factors in different ways. The situated inference model of priming (Loersch & Payne, 2011) distinguishes several distinct situational factors that activate knowledge structures to influence behavior. Situations prior to a task may make certain schemas accessible. According to this model, cues in prior situations do not directly determine people's decisions; they merely elevate the accessibility of all mental structures associated with the cues.

Another important influence comes from the task situation. Different tasks evoke or afford different kinds of mental questions, which then select for the corresponding types of schemas. The task of interpreting an ambiguous stimulus evokes construal questions (what kind of person, object, or event is this?) and the corresponding types of schemas (stereotypes, object concepts, and event scripts). Tasks that demand action evoke conduct questions (What will I do?) and schemas that guide behavior. Tasks that call for self-expression evoke identity questions (What do I want or care about?) and evoke self-related schemas. This role of the task situation elaborates the construct of applicability in past schema research. To illustrate this process in the IB context, consider a Westerner assigned to work in Japan.

Regarding the construal question, she may need to find out whether Japanese customers like their products, and schemas about customer preferences and Japanese consumer culture are relevant in this task situation. Regarding how to behave, she may need to find out how to deal with a customer complaint. Schemas about complaint handling and interaction with Japanese are relevant. Finally, the self-identity question is illustrated by a situation in which she is accused of wrongdoing. Schemas about the importance of clearing one's name and protecting self-interest would affect her reactions.

The most novel aspect of the situated inference model concerns the perceived "ownership" over the accessibility of a schema. When a person metacognitively construes the accessibility of an idea as coming from her intrinsic response to a task or problem, she feels ownership of the accessibility. When a person interprets the accessibility of an idea as spillover from a prior experience or cue, she would not feel ownership. The role of ownership explains why subtle cues often influence behavior more than blatant cues – blatant cues produce accessibility but the person does not feel ownership of that accessibility. People try not to be influenced by accessibility that they do not "own" and in the process often overcompensate, producing a contrastive response to blatant cues. For example, Shih, Ambady, Richeson, Fujita, and Gray (2002) found that subtle primes of Asian identity led Asian Americans to perform better on a mathematics quiz, whereas blatant primes led them to do worse. Ownership may also explain the responses of bicultural individuals who experience identity conflict. Because these conflicted biculturals tend to feel disidentified with one or both of their cultures, they are less likely to feel ownership of accessible cultural schemas following exposure to cultural primes (Zou, Morris, & Benet-Martínez, 2008).

Norms under Focus of Attention

The focus theory of normative conduct posits that descriptive norms provide information on what behavior is typical, and injunctive norms provide information on what behavior is socially approved. Descriptive norms are based on the observed behaviors of others and social learning (Kashima, Pearson, & Pearson, 2013), whereas injunctive norms are based on social reactions to one's behaviors (e.g., Schultz, Nolan, Cialdini, Goldstein, & Griskevicius, 2007). Explicit, evaluative feedback conveys the extent to which a behavior is approved, such as the feedback managers provide to their subordinates in performance appraisal. Implicit feedback, such as a disapproving stare or a shake of the head, can be potent cues of social approval. An important proposition is that social norms guide behaviors only when they are in focus or salient (Cialdini et al., 1991).

Generally speaking, norms become salient when there are cues about social identity and group membership, such as in a situation where one may be judged by others (Cialdini et al., 1991). Recent work has shown that situational cues signaling a collective identity can accentuate the salience of both injunctive and descriptive norms (White & Simpson, 2013). The awareness that one is part of a group brings norms in focus. The contrary also holds: When individuals are in a situation where they are less dependent on others, the influence of norms declines. An example is wealth, which signals a sense of self-sufficiency and autonomy. People primed with money felt that social influence attempts threatened their autonomy (Liu, Smeesters, & Vohs, 2012; Vohs, Mead, & Goode, 2008), which suggests that wealthy people have a stronger sense of autonomy and self-sufficiency, and are less influenced by norms. This argument extends to the macro level, as Inglehart and Welzel (2005) concluded from extensive survey data that the influence of norms is in decline in post-industrialized, affluent societies.

Different types of situations make different kinds of norms salient. Injunctive norms become particularly salient in situations with cues about social evaluation. The mere presence of peers during a task activates injunctive norms against depriving others in the minds of Japanese students making choices (Yamagishi et al., 2008). Other situations have clearer evaluative implications, such as making a presentation to one's work team. Still others are explicitly evaluative, such as a job interview. These types of situations are strong situations that evoke compliance with social norms. In general, the higher the social evaluative pressure, the more salient are norms, and the more they influence individual behavior.

Injunctive norms may be absent in some situations and people turn to descriptive norms for guidance. Following what most people do is a safe bet for an acceptable response when there are no cues about proper and appropriate actions. In unfamiliar situations where there is little information and knowledge about proper behaviors, but the behaviors of others people are observable, descriptive norms function as heuristics to guide judgments and actions (Asch, 1956; Sherif, 1936). A Chinese manager who just arrives at France is likely to follow the styles of her French colleagues in interacting with her French superior to avoid social disapproval.

Specific situational cues can make certain norms salient, and the activation can occur through automatic associations (Aarts & Dijksterhuis, 2003). For instance, the library context cues people to be quiet because of the learned association of libraries with the quietness norm. Kwan, Chiu, and Leung (2014) found that priming American participants with President Bush increased their perception of Americans' preference for iconic American brands, a specific descriptive norm. Savani, Morris, and Naidu (2012) found that priming Indian participants with their boss induced them to choose more practical workshops and to feel guilt and shame if they did not, indicating the activation of an injunctive norm.

The salience of social norms varies across countries. Gelfand et al. (2011) measured the tightness of norms across cultures by asking respondents to report their perception of the typical behaviors of the members of their societies. In tight societies, there is strict compliance with norms and deviations from norms are sanctioned, whereas in loose societies, norms are weak and violation of norms is tolerated. In tight cultures such as Pakistan and Malaysia, people report that many situations have clear norms and norm violation is sanctioned, whereas in loose cultures such as the Netherlands and Brazil people are less likely to report this type of situation (Gelfand et al., 2011). People in tight cultures are chronically aware that their actions are being evaluated, so they are prevention-oriented, cautious, and dutiful; they exhibit more impulse control and more self-monitoring. People in loose cultures do not engage in such self-regulation, so norms in general exert less influence on behavior.

Different situational variables influence the importance of each of the three mechanisms that transmit the influence of culture. Table 2 provides a summary of the moderator variables that influence the importance of values, schemas, and norms in a given situation.

Activation of Values, Schemas, and Norms, and their Interplay

The insights about distinctive cues for different kinds of schemas and norms help resolve many promising but unintegrated ideas about how situational cues activate behaviors inconsistent with personal values and beliefs. We previously reviewed the major situational factors that shape the salience of each explanatory mechanism of cultural influence, and the next step is to explore how these situated processes are differentially activated to inform future research.

Our analysis is guided by the premise of the situated inference model that different task situations evoke different mental questions (Loersch & Payne, 2011). This model posits that a task situation affords three types of questions in the mind of a social actor: Motivation, construal, and behavior. Task accomplishment is a key concern in the organizational context, and this tripartite typology of task situations is highly relevant in this context. We hypothesize that different types of tasks cue different constructs because of the mental questions they evoke. Tasks that involve ethical and identity issues, such as whether one should knowingly sell defected products to customers, are motivational in nature and likely to evoke values, which align judgments and actions with self-view. Construal tasks that require the interpretation of meanings and implications, such as determining what product features will appeal to a certain type of customers, likely invoke schemas, which guide sense-making and inferential activities. Behavioral tasks that involve the choice of an appropriate social behavior, such as whether one should interact with customers in a formal or casual manner, likely evoke norms for guidance. This analysis based on the afforded questions of task situations provides a parsimonious scheme to predict the type of construct that is activated in a situation and the theoretical basis to develop a general model of situated processes in future work.

A different direction for theoretical development is to address the interplay of the three types of constructs. Values as guiding principles of life may activate schemas and norms. It is well-known that motives and goals, which are under the influence of values, may activate schemas (e.g., Cohen, 1979). In the organizational context, Harris (1994) proposed that an organizational culture, with values as a key component, may activate schemas because of the associations between the organizational culture and certain schemas developed through experiences, social learning, and interaction among organizational members. These arguments suggest that cultural values should activate schemas that are learned to be associated with them. Cultural values may also activate norms through a similar process. Kwan et al. (2014) argued that values perceived as widely shared may activate certain normative expectations. Their empirical results suggest that values perceived as widely shared by Americans may activate a norm of preferring iconic American brands.

Table 2 Effects of the situation on the importance of values, schemas, and norms

Values as mediators of the influence of culture

Conditions under which values drive thoughts and behaviors
    Cues from social adaptation signaling
        Privacy is high, for example, anonymous suggestions
        Individual identifiability is low, for example, the presence of a large group of people
        Low expected future interaction, for example, negotiation with a one-off customer
        Lack of cues about meanings and interpretations, for example, in a new culture
    Cues to moral or ethical dimensions, for example, corporate social responsibility decisions

Schemas as mediators of the influence of culture

Conditions under which schemas shape thoughts and behaviors
    Accessibility
        Cultural cues, such as iconic images, heritage languages or ethnic foods, send excitation through the network of associated schemas (associative priming), for example, an American flag may elevate the accessibility of a competitive schema
        Recent use (direct semantic priming), for example, the recent experience of a competitive negotiation makes a competitive schema more accessible

    Applicability
        Fit to a stimulus or problem – classes of task situations elicit types of schemas that fit a problem, for example, the task of figuring out what kind of interaction is going on in a cocktail party makes schemas about social events applicable

    Ownership
        Felt ownership of the accessibility of a schema – the absence of cues that a schema's accessibility arose from sources other than the current task, for example, an executive might distrust the idea of a baseball-themed advertisement if it occurred to him during the World Series, when all the headlines were about baseball

Norms as mediators of the influence of culture

Conditions under which norms direct thoughts and behaviors
    Social evaluation
        Presence of others, for example, presentation to customers
        Salient collective identity, for example, high interdependence of group members
        Wealth reduces the influence of social evaluation
    Ambiguity – the absence of personal preference and knowledge about how to behave, for example, an unfamiliar situation
    Presence of cues about specific norms – association of situational cues and specific norms based on social learning, for example, a formal setting cues polite behaviors
    Behavioral tasks with social implications, for example, drafting a public announcement
    Cultural tightness – shared expectation of compliance with norms within a society, for example, Japan

Schemas and norms may also activate each other, a possibility suggested by the cognitive–affective personality system (Mischel & Shoda, 1995). In this system, cognitive–affective units are activated by the psychological meanings attached to the situation. Activated units, such as expectations and beliefs, and encodings (categories and constructs), may activate other units. Following this proposition, one type of activated construct, such as a lay theory of the self as agentic, may activate a different type of construct, such as a social norm because of their learned association. Consider a European having a business lunch with a Chinese colleague in a Japanese restaurant. The ambience of the Japanese restaurant may activate a schema of relationship building for the European, which in turn may activate a social norm of helpfulness. Another possibility is that a schema may lead to a specific interpretation of the situation and activate a norm associated with this interpretation. Viewing an intercultural negotiation as an opportunity for relationship building may activate a compromise norm.

By the same logic, social norms brought in focus by situational cues may activate schemas. To illustrate this process, consider the large compensation gap between expatriate and local employees in multinational operations in China, with expatriates earning much more than their local counterparts.

This compensation gap is regarded as unfair by locals; however, the feeling of unfairness depends on whether there is an organizational norm endorsing the gap. Leung, Lu, and Lin (2014a) found that a pro-disparity norm, that is, acceptance of the compensation gap by local employees, was related to a weaker relationship between the compensation gap and perceived distributive injustice. One account of this finding is that the pro-disparity norm activates a perspective on the compensation gap that recognizes expatriates as from a different labor market and legitimizes their higher salaries.

Our knowledge about how values, schemas, and norms relate to each other is minimal and it is too early to offer precise theoretical statements about their interplay. This is a priority research area as such knowledge is key to developing a full account of their joint effects on behavior.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE SITUATED DYNAMICS FRAMEWORK

The Conceptualization of Culture

We identify three major implications of the situated dynamics framework for the conceptualization of culture: Context, sharedness, and variation. Many definitions portray culture with context-free characteristics, such as the well-known definition of subjective culture by Triandis (1972: 4): "a cultural group's characteristic way of perceiving the man made part of its environment. The perception of rules and the group's norms, roles, and values are aspects of the subjective culture." The trait approach to culture does recognize the role of situational variables, but they are conceptualized as external to and distinct from the construct of culture (Kirkman et al., 2006). In contrast, the situated framework views the situation as an integral part of culture because situations are nested within culture, and the influence of culture cannot be fully understood without considering the situation. On a general level, Gelfand et al. (2011) showed that perceived situational constraint is a useful construct for differentiating cultures, and that situational constraints vary across situations within a culture, but some cultures have more constraining situations than others.

Another common theme in the definition of culture is the foundational role of sharedness (Schwartz, 2014). In the trait approach, members of a culture are assumed to converge on a trait that characterizes the culture. Recently, sharedness as a foundation of culture is cast in doubt by the observation of more

intracultural than intercultural variation in value endorsement (Fischer & Schwartz, 2011). What this finding implies is still under debate, but sharedness is not a defining element of culture in the situated framework. Numerous situations, varying in situational strength, exist in any culture, and subgroups may be formed based on the types of situations in which people typically function. Assembly line workers are in stronger situations than farmers because of the presence of strict rules and close supervision in factories. In a similar vein, collectivism is not at a similar level throughout Japan, but varies across prefectures (Yamawaki, 2012). Variation in the typical situations of different groups within a culture reduces sharedness, and the situated framework provides a mechanism to account for such variation. Sharedness may depend on the heterogeneity of situations within a culture. In a country like China, where there are significant regional differences in wealth and industries, sharedness should be lower than in countries with high situational homogeneity, such as Denmark, where most people have similar incomes and work in the service sector.

The final implication is concerned with the static view of culture, perhaps best illustrated by Hofstede's (1993) assertion that cultural change is very slow. In contrast, the situated framework posits that some aspects of culture, namely, schemas and norms, are in flux with the situation, and coherence and consistency in cultural differences across domains are not assumed. Situations in which cultural groups would act in ways that contradict predictions based on cultural values are commonplace (e.g., Yamagishi et al., 2008). Cultural paradoxes, such as individualistic practices in Japan and collectivistic behaviors by Americans, are not enigmatic from the situated perspective.

Cultural theories must explain both cultural stability and cultural change. Trait-based research has focused on stable differences, while constructivists scrutinize changes across situations in which schemas influence behavior. The intersubjective approach may enable an integrated understanding of the stability assumed in trait accounts and the dynamism exhibited in the constructivists' experiments. Prevalent schemas and norms of a culture are formed based on a history of social perception and learning, and members of the same culture assume that these constructs are intersubjectively valid. Americans would assume that most fellow Americans subscribe to an agentic account of individual behavior and endorse individualistic norms,

whereas Chinese would assume that most Chinese regard collectivistic norms as legitimate. Because of such intersubjective perception, the central schemas and norms of a culture would generally change slowly, steadying their influence on behavior. This process explains why young people in industrialized, wealthy Asian societies, such as Singapore, exhibit collectivist behaviors. The dependence of schemas and norms on social perception and learning also explains how social change can occur, sometimes quite dramatically. When the prevalence of a new behavior reaches a tipping point at which many more people adopt the new behavior, drastic changes in schemas and norms and the behavior they promote would ensue. This type of cascade can explain rapid cultural changes despite centuries of cultural stability, such as the surge in divorce rate and materialism in China within a short period of time.

Implications for Measurement of Culture

The situated dynamics framework calls for a careful analysis of the situation. The notion of situational strength is well-known in management (Meyer et al., 2010), but a standardized scale has been developed only recently (Meyer et al., 2014). This scale measures individual perception of four hypothesized dimensions: Clarity and consistency of situational cues, and constraints on and consequences of decisions and behaviors. This scale is useful for identifying situations perceived to be low in situational strength, in which cultural values are likely to be expressed to influence behavior.

A fuller account of the situation requires the measurement of schema accessibility and norm salience. Cross-cultural research on schemas is primarily experimental in nature and probes their influence on judgment and behavior by systematical manipulations. This approach, while capable of providing causal evidence, is less applicable in the field context where most IB research is conducted. There are well-established methods to identify schemas that people use for judgment and decision making, which can be adopted in the IB context. In semi-structured elicitation procedures, respondents are asked to list the constructs that they frequently use for a well-defined judgment or decision-making task. Wojciszke, Bazinska, and Jaworski (1998) used this procedure to identify a set of personality traits of other people that respondents regarded as important and drew their attention. An application in the IB context is to use this method to identify the salient traits that

negotiators use to characterize the behaviors of their opponents in intercultural negotiation.

Measures of implicit theories, that is, a layperson's account of an event or phenomenon, can be used to measure accessible schemas. A comprehensive set of constructs for an implicit theory is identified, usually by a literature review and/or interviews of informants, and respondents are then asked to indicate the usefulness of these constructs in describing or explaining the event or phenomenon in question. Engle and Lord (1997) used this approach to measure implicit theories of leadership by identifying the traits and behaviors seen as prototypical of leaders. An application in the IB context is to use this method to identify implicit theories about effective leaders of multicultural teams. Different cultural groups may ascribe different traits and behaviors to effective leaders of multicultural teams.

Finally, accessible schemas can be identified by cognitive or cause maps, which seek to understand thought processes underlying judgment and decision making by means of a content analysis of narratives. Barr, Stimpert, and Huff (1992) used this approach to analyze letters to shareholders to understand the reasoning and decision-making processes of top management. An application in the IB context is that in an international joint venture, managers with different cultural backgrounds may have different understanding and explanations of why certain work problems occur. Cognitive maps can be examined to identify cultural differences in the schemas involved, and how these differences influence the way work problems are resolved. Different research questions call for different measurement methods, and some customization of the method chosen is usually needed for a specific application.

The measurement of norms is more developed, and standardized measures are available. Several studies have developed measures for a range of general descriptive norms across cultures, especially norms associated with individualism–collectivism (e.g., Fischer et al., 2009; Gelfand et al., 2011). A whole host of measures have been developed to measure salient norms for specific situations (e.g., Goldstein & Cialdini, 2010), and research has also targeted specific norms that are important in the IB context (e.g., Leung et al., 2014a). The major challenge is that researchers need to identify the salient norms in a situation of interest before an appropriate measure can be identified or developed. What is currently lacking is a taxonomy of major norms for IB research, a major objective for future research.

To sum up, theoretical analysis is needed to identify the types of schemas and norms that are activated by a given situation. The situated framework delineates the major types of situational factors that activate schemas and norms. The many studies on schemes and norms reviewed before provide illustrations of how such a theoretical analysis can be conducted.

CONCLUSION

Implications for IB Research

The trait view of culture as context-free, shared, and stable is dominant in IB research as evidenced by the popularity of value dimensions of culture. Cultural differences are seen as pervasive and enduring, and their negative effects, such as intercultural conflict, hard to overcome. The situated dynamics framework recognizes that the general pattern of behavior in a culture shows long-term stability, but cultural differences may fluctuate across situations because the activated schemas and salient norms may differ. This situated approach to culture provides new insights for many IB research topics, and we illustrate the utility of this new approach by contrasting it with the trait approach in two lines of IB research.

The notion of cultural distance has a long history in IB research, which is typically measured by the similarity between two cultures' value profiles (Kogut & Singh, 1988) based on the dimensions of Hofstede (2001) and GLOBE (House et al., 2004). The trait approach to culture suggests that collaboration among people and firms from cultures with a large cultural distance is difficult because pervasive, stable cultural differences hinder intercultural interaction (e.g., Manev & Stevenson, 2001). However, the general thesis of the trait approach that intercultural difficulty increases with cultural distance is challenged by substantial contradictory findings (e.g., Brouthers & Brouthers, 2001).

From the perspective of the situated framework, cultural values and hence cultural distance should matter more in weak situations and less in strong situations. The situated framework anticipates the inconsistent findings associated with cultural distance because in strong situations, situational cues, not cultural distance based on personal value endorsements, shape individual behavior through activated schemas and norms. For instance, Nouri, Erez, Rockstuhl, Ang, Leshem-Calif, and Rafaeli (2013) showed that cultural distance mattered less for team performance in the presence of a clear task structure, a feature of a strong situation.

To illustrate the new insights offered by the situated framework beyond those offered by the value approach, we consider the failure of the merger of Mercedes-Benz and Chrysler. Germany and the United States are similar on value profiles (e.g., Hofstede, 2001), and the trait approach cannot explain the failure of this merger. In contrast, the situated framework would turn to differences in schemas and norms between German and American executives for answers. A cause of the failure may be related to cultural differences in schemas. The merger was trumpeted as synergistic, but many German employees construed the working relationship as a one-way flow of expertise from the German side (Meiners, 2004). The view of many Germans that the American side brought little expertise to the merger may be one reason why DaimlerChrysler was not able to capture the mass auto market, an original goal of the merger (Badrtalei & Bates, 2007).

With regard to the influence of cultural differences in norms, American executives perceived the merger as between "equals," but German executives dominated the new company and many American executives left shortly after the merger (Badrtalei & Bates, 2007). A cause of the failure may be that American executives did not endorse the hierarchical norm held by German executives in managing the way the two cultural groups worked together.

From a situated dynamics perspective, the DaimlerChrysler case suggests that to understand the performance of international alliances and mergers, researchers need to examine the typical situations and identify the relevant schemas and norms that shape decision making and intercultural interaction. Researchers also need to consider the various types of moderator variables posited in the situated framework that may shape the salience of these schemas and norms.

The second example is concerned with the globalization of firms, a key IB research area in which the traditional focus is on the issues confronting Western multinationals in emerging markets. There is a recent trend of reverse foreign direct investment from emerging economies into the West, notably from China (e.g., Child & Rodrigues, 2005). A high-profile example is Lenovo, a Chinese multinational that acquired the PC division of IBM in 2005 and Motorola Mobility in 2014. IB theory and research do not have much to offer for understanding the cultural issues confronting multinationals from developing economies when they enter mature markets. In the case of Chinese executives sojourning in the West, the value approach suggests that

researchers need to examine the compatibility of the value profile of Chinese executives with the value profiles of their host cultures. The situated framework, however, would call attention to the salient schemas and norms that bear on their effectiveness in a host culture. One important schema is associated with the status of China as a developing economy with few leading firms, as Western employees may view their Chinese bosses as high in position power, but low in expert power. These Chinese expatriates may be disadvantaged by the negative halo around their third world status in the eyes of their Western subordinates, which may handicap their legitimacy as effective leaders (DeRue & Ashford, 2010). The situated framework points to the need to examine the extent to which this schema is used by Westerner employees and its consequences, and the moderator variables that affect the accessibility and utilization of this schema in different situations.

A relevant norm that impacts the effectiveness of Chinese executives in the West is concerned with what are regarded as effective managerial practices. Chinese executives may affirm their cultural heritage by engaging in managerial behaviors that are typical in China, or they may accommodate to their host cultures by adopting Western management practices (e.g., Bond & Yang, 1982). Their perception of the normative expectations of two referent groups are relevant, namely, Chinese and Westerners in the firm. They may perceive similar or different normative expectations from these two groups, and the situated framework would call attention to examining the impact of these two types of normative perceptions and how moderator variables may affect their relative salience.

In summary, the two examples illustrate how the situated framework may provide new research insights beyond those offered by the value approach. In accounting for cultural differences in behavior, researchers need to consider the influence of the situation, the relevance of schemas and norms, and the moderator variables that impact their relative influence.

Implications for Practice
The situated dynamics framework suggests that international managers have to consider the influence of cultural values and at the same time understand the influence of the situation in terms of schema accessibility and norm salience. We illustrate the practical utility of the situated framework by three major applied implications. First, managers

need to be sensitive about the situational variables that influence individual behavior in a multicultural context. If a situation is judged to be weak, cultural differences in values are important and should be the target of intervention effort for improving intercultural collaboration. An example is a multicultural R&D team, in which autonomy is encouraged to promote creativity (West, Hirst, Richter, & Shipton, 2004). Cultural values are likely to be expressed in this context, and team managers need to recognize and manage cultural differences in values to minimize unproductive intercultural conflict.

Second, international managers need to understand and address the influence of activated schemas and norms in strong situations. Consider the conclusion of Shenkar (2001) that the symmetrical effects of cultural distance have no clear support, and an example is that German firms operating in the United States are not in an equivalent situation as American firms operating in Germany. In fact, German executives sojourning in the United States face different challenges than those confronting American executives in Germany (Selmer, Chiu, & Shenkar, 2007). The activated schemas and norms are likely to be different for Germans in the United States and Americans in Germany. To help German and American expatriates adapt to their host cultures, it is important to identify what schemas and norms facilitate their performance in their specific context. Intervention efforts, such as promoting the adaptive schemas and norms by effective organizational and job design, can be implemented. It is also important to identify and strengthen the moderator variables that promote the accessibility of adaptive schemas and norms. For instance, schemas and norms that promote intercultural learning are useful for intercultural adaptation and can be promoted by creating a learning climate (Edmondson, 1999).

Third, selection and training of expatriates traditionally target personal characteristics predictive of expatriate success (Leung, Ang, & Tan, 2014b). The situated framework underscores schemas and norms activated in a host culture as important foci for the selection and training of expatriates. Expatriate managers need to acquire the adaptive schemas and norms, and one effective strategy is to learn how to create and maintain situations conducive to their activation. As discussed before, a large compensation gap between expatriates from high-income countries and local employees in developing economies is a source of dissatisfaction for locals. Expatriates should receive training about strategies and management

practices that promote a pro-disparity norm in their firms to minimize the strain of the pay gap on their working relationships with locals (Leung et al., 2014b).

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

While the situated dynamics framework provides a richer description of cultural dynamics than the trait approach to culture, some of the dynamics need further development. We discuss several limitations that require attention in future research. First, we focus on schemas and norms, but other constructs may be important. A leading possibility is cultural identity, which is usually not salient, but its effects on behavior can be substantial once activated (e.g., Verkuyten & Pouliasi, 2002). In a globalizing world, some individuals may identify with two or more cultures (Chao & Moon, 2005), and the influence of cultural identity is especially important and complex for this type of individuals. We need more research to understand how the activation of cultural identity may account for cultural differences, and how this construct can be integrated into the situated framework.

Second, we need to probe the interplay between values, schemas, and norms in influencing behavior. Values are more likely to be expressed in weak situations. Chronically accessible schemas and norms may also be influential in these situations, and more work is needed to examine their joint effects. We posit that schemas and norms rise in importance with situational strength, but we know little about how the change in situational strength affects the interplay of values, schemas, and norms, a priority area for future research.

Third, in addition to the objective situation, Bond (2013) proposed a distinction between the situation as consensually perceived by a group and the situation as individually perceived by a social actor. This distinction is important as different conceptualizations of the situation may show different effects (Smith, 2013). In addition, the objective situation and the consensually defined situation are group-level constructs, whereas the individually perceived situation is at the individual level, thus calling for multilevel theoretical development in future research (Fischer, 2013).

Fourth, the relative influence of schemas and norms in strong situations depends on situational factors, and we posit several types of such moderator variables. There is the need to develop a comprehensive account of the variables that moderate the influence of culture through values, schemas, and norms. Some moderators may show general moderating effects, and others may show situation-specific moderating effects. The identification of both types can provide important insight into how values, schemas, and norms interact and jointly influence judgment, decision, and behavior.

Finally, we conceptualize culture from a positivist perspective as possessing distinct characteristics that can be measured and even manipulated. We do recognize an interpretative approach that views culture as an integrative whole and cannot be described and measured in a reductionist manner (e.g., Gould & Grein, 2009; Shweder & Sullivan, 1993). Interpretative approaches to culture offer insight not captured by positivist approaches, and how to leverage such insight to enrich the situated framework has to be pursued in future research. Romani and colleagues (e.g., Primecz, Romani, & Sackmann, 2009; Romani, Primecz, & Topçu, 2011) have provided some directions for the integration of positivist and interpretative perspectives.

To conclude, we integrate the trait, constructivist, and intersubjective approaches to develop the situated dynamics framework to offer a rich perspective on culture. This framework can account for empirical findings and conceptual issues that cannot be addressed by the trait approach to culture, and suggests important, novel topics for IB research.

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