



Making a Good Impression at Work: National Differences in Employee Impression Management Behaviors in Japan, Korea, and the United States

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ABSTRACT

Impression management has important implications for success at work. This study explores differences in impression management in the East and West by examining the use of self-promotion, ingratiation, and exemplification directed towards three targets: supervisors, peers, and subordinates among 945 company employees from Japan, Korea, and the United States. Our results show that Korean employees used all three strategies most frequently, followed by United States, and then Japanese employees. Japanese and Korean employees used impression management strategies differentially across the three targets, and U.S. employees used impression management equally across targets. This elucidates how cultural trends in hierarchical relationships impact social behavior within the workplace. A follow-up mediation analysis found that relational or labor mobility fully mediated country differences in impression management, suggesting that culture is also reflected in larger social ecological trends in employee's ability and likelihood to change jobs, which also account for impression management strategy usage. Theoretical and practical implications for international business are discussed. This research may be useful in aligning strategies foreign employees might employ for using impression management when in Japan, Korea, and the United States.

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Most employees seek to make a good impression at work, whether through self-promotion, ingratiation, or going beyond the call of duty to appear dedicated (exemplification; Schlenker & Weigold, 1992; Tedeschi, 2013). Successful impression management in the workplace has been associated with the likelihood of being hired (Swider, Barrick, Harris, & Stoverink, 2011), positive performance appraisal (Bolino, Kacmar, Turnley, & Gilstrap, 2008), as well as higher ratings of organizational citizenship behavior (Bolino & Turnley, 1999; Bolino, Varela, Bande, & Turnley, 2006; Yun, Takeuchi, & Liu, 2007). All of these aspects, in turn, affect employee and organization wellbeing as well as profitability (e.g., Podsakoff, Whiting, Podsakoff, & Blume, 2009). Consequently, the scientific investigation of employee impression management behavior has steadily grown over the past several decades (Bolino, Kacmar, Turnley, & Gilstrap, 2008).

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Employee behaviors reflect their cultural values and working context. Culture can impact the importance of specific workplace relationships through dictating appropriate behavioral scripts (i.e., norms) in order to accomplish interpersonal goals (Gelfand, Bhawuk, Nishii, & Bechtold, 2005; Hofstede, 2001; Marchand, Haines, & Dextras-Gauthier, 2013; Schneider, Ehrhart, & Macey, 2013). Impression management is likely to vary based on the social identity and status of the target (Kim & Nam, 1998; Schermerhorn Jr & Bond, 1991), where identity is defined as who the person is in reference to one's work group, and status is defined as the degree of influence one has in that work group. Do East Asian employees, such as those from Japan and Korea, seek to make a good impression at work differently than employees from the United States? Prior research has focused on a number of intrapersonal and environmental moderators of impression management (for a review please see Bolino, Kacmar, Turnley, & Gilstrap, 2008), with geographic culture among these salient variables (Hofstede, 2001; House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, & Gupta, 2004). However, while researchers have long since recognized the potential of culture to impact impression management behavior in the workplace (Hofstede, 1980), only few targeted empirical investigations have yet been completed (e.g., Schermerhorn Jr. & Bond, 1991; Zaidman & Drory, 2001). Likewise, in a systematic review of the impression management literature, Bolino, Kacmar, Turnley, and Gilstrap (2008) noted that impression management strategies are likely to be adjusted to match the status of the target, but that few empirical investigations have specifically addressed this point. This study aims to fill this gap in the literature by investigating the role of culture in determining which impression management strategies are used with whom. Altogether, this study examines whether the emphasis of distance between individuals of differing social status may further influence impression management by national trends in the workplace, through establishing different interaction norms.

One of the most striking differences in workplace practices across these countries is labor (relational) mobility, the ease or frequency in which one changes their work group. Relational mobility may impact impression management by increasing or decreasing pressure to present oneself as attractive to a larger pool of individuals that could potentially become coworkers or supervisors in the future (e.g., Yuki & Schug, 2012; Yuki et al., 2007). Particularly among cultures where entering and exiting relationships is more difficult (Yuki & Schug, 2012; Yuki et al., 2007), impression management strategies would likely play a more important role in everyday interactions than in cultures where relational mobility is high.

Specifically, this study explores the effect of national culture and relational mobility on impression management. Specifically, in order to better understand the contributions of country, target, and relational mobility on impression management behavior, this study examines how employees from Japan, Korea, and the United States implemented three commonly studied impression management strategies towards their supervisors, peers, and subordinates. We also investigate how these differences were mediated by relational mobility. Through this investigation, we extend the generalizability of impression management theory and help nuance it to the important social and economic contexts of East Asia. Additionally, the current research provides recommendations for implementing successful impression management strategies among employees as well as ways to facilitate cross-cultural exchanges in both East Asian organizations and their Western affiliates.

Impression Management

Impression management theory is centered on the notion that people desire and attempt to control the information that they convey to others about themselves in order to accomplish either overt or implicit goals within social interactions (Schlenker & Weigold, 1992). The extant literature (Bolino & Turnley, 1999; Jones & Pittman 1982; Turnley & Bolino, 2001, (Bolino, Kacmar, Turnley, & Gilstrap, 2008) shows that the three most frequently examined types of impression management strategies include: (a) self-promotion, (b) ingratiation, and (c) exemplification. Self-promotion behavior involves playing up one's "abilities or accomplishments to be seen as competent" (Turnley & Bolino, 2001, p. 352). Ingratiation behaviors include offering help at work (e.g., favors), making positive comments to coworkers (e.g., flattery), and other relationship building techniques (Turnley & Bolino, 2001). This serves to offer something to another person with the hope of reciprocity (e.g., Gordon, 1996). Exemplification is going "above and beyond the call of duty to appear dedicated" (Turnley & Bolino, 2001, p. 352). In this third impression management style, employees work harder, go to work earlier, and leave the office later in front of others to increase awareness of their own dedication.

Factors Influencing Impression Management

Many factors influence the efficacy of using these strategies to accomplish one's goals. Although prior research suggests that a number of intrapersonal and environmental factors are likely to influence impression management (Bolino, Kacmar, Turnley, & Gilstrap, 2008; Bozeman & Kacmar, 1997; Gardner & Martinko, 1988), several important domains remain largely unexplored in the extant literature. First, among the influential factors that have been thus far overlooked is the importance of the target audience. Despite target audience being a key contributing factor to the situational dimensions that provide the context for impression management behaviors (Goffman, 1959; Schlenker & Weigold, 1992), very few studies have examined how impression management strategies change as the target audience changes (Bolino, Kacmar, Turnley, & Gilstrap, 2008). The majority of research is directed at either how employees manage their supervisor's impression of them, or how supervisors present themselves as competent leaders (e.g., Bolino, 2003; Gardner & Avolio, 1998; Schermerhorn Jr & Bond, 1991; Xin, 1997). This is understandable from a functional perspective because supervisors have traditionally evaluated their employees unilaterally. In comparison, employees' impressions in the eyes of peers and of subordinates have not been valued in the same manner. However, current management practices have widely adopted evaluations from all perspectives, such as the 360° performance appraisal, increasing the necessity of employees making good impressions to their peers and subordinates as well.

With few exceptions (Bolino & Turnley, 2003; Turnley & Bolino, 2001), what is missing from the literature is how equally-ranked coworkers (i.e., peers) manage their impression

¹Two additional strategies covered by Bolino and Turnley (1999; Jones & Pittman, 1982) include: intimidation and supplication. Intimidation is the use of behaviors, such as bullying and threatening, which encourage others to see the person as distant, powerful, and intimidating. Finally, supplication is where individuals will convey the image that they are needy or weak—purposefully broadcasting their limitations—oftentimes to avoid being assigned a difficult task (Bolino, 2003). These impression management strategies are not as commonly investigated in the extant literature (Bolino et al., 2008) and were not included in the current analysis.



towards one another (Bolino, Kacmar, Turnley, & Gilstrap, 2008). The degree to which the target of impression management behavior affects the utilization of different strategies is likely to be related to the overall environment's emphasis on hierarchical relationships. Strategies may change in settings where there is a palpable difference between workplace members ranked higher, the same, or lower than a given actor, whereas such differences may be deemed unnecessary in more egalitarian settings (Carl, Gupta, & Javidan, 2004; Hofstede, 2001; Schwartz, 1994). For instance, in a context where a supervisor has much more influence than peers or subordinates, one may make an especially concerted effort to manage their impression toward that supervisor relative to the other workplace members. In contrast, if the context is more egalitarian and the influence is shared across workplace members regardless of rank, impression management may be applied more equally to supervisors, peers, and subordinates.

Second, it is understudied how culture's influence of widely accepted national work practices impact impression management. Culture is a set of shared values, beliefs, practices that are influenced by the environment and transmitted to others (Markus & Hamedani, 2007). Culture is also another overarching environmental factor that could impact the type of impression management strategy used (Hofstede, 2001; Kim, Park, & Suzuki, 1990; Zaidman & Drory, 2001), as well as how that strategy is received (Manzur & Jogaratnam, 2008). Given the importance of culture and impression management in the workplace, the lack of specific examinations in East Asian countries seems problematic. Countries in East Asia represent a large and growing share in the world market in both production and consumption (Walmsley, Aguiar, & Ahmed, 2017). Furthermore, these important social and economic contexts also hold several unique and varying cultural systems of thoughts and values that contrast with their Western counterparts along a variety of dimensions (Hofstede, 2001; Triandis, 1995).

Hierarchical orientation or "power distance" refers to the extent to which countries can be differentiated based on the importance placed on fixed/ascribed hierarchical roles in structuring interactions and allocating resources in the work place, versus the importance of voluntary associations that are based on equal power between individuals (Hofstede, 2001; Kim, Park and Suzuki, 1990; Mulder, 1977; Schwartz, 1994; Triandis, 1995). In hierarchical cultures, people in high-power positions expect to be followed by those in subordinate positions. For example, those in more senior positions in Korean and Japanese organizations expect subordinates to obey unconditionally (Kashima & Callan, 1994; Kim & Kim, 1989). In return for this obedience, seniors are expected to take care of and protect the subordinates. By contrast, in egalitarian cultures, individuals are likely to engage in mutual influence processes and to change the nature of expectations through role episodes (Schwartz, 1994). The cultural dimension of hierarchy versus egalitarianism parallels the direction of connections that are found in impression management (unidirectional or bidirectional connections; e.g., House et al., 2004).

Countries outside of North America and Northern/Western Europe are considered to have comparatively more power distance, and therefore tend to emphasize social hierarchies (Hofstede, 2001; House et al., 2004). An emphasis on power distance in the workplace may sometimes be expressed in terms of centralized authority, clear hierarchical delimitation, as well as rank-based respect and deference. In contrast, among workplaces that do not emphasize power distance, bilateral communication, loosely structured activities and procedures, and flexible roles catered to performance optimization are more common (Brossard & Maurice, 1974; Carl, Gupta, & Javidan, 2004; Hofstede, 2001; K. I. Kim, Park and Suzuki,

Based on differences in hierarchical orientation, certain impression management strategies may be more likely to occur with certain members of certain workplaces more often than others. Within a hierarchical context, using the same type of impression management strategy with one's supervisor and subordinate (i.e., different target audiences) may be considered inappropriate. Whereas, in an egalitarian context where hierarchical influence is more bilateral, using the same strategies with both groups may be more acceptable.

Third, an additional cultural factor that varies between countries in East Asia and the West and seems specifically relevant to impression management is relational mobility (e.g., Schug, Yuki, Horikawa, & Takemura, 2009). Relational mobility is defined as a socio-ecological factor indicating "the amount of opportunities people have to select new relationship partners in a given society or social context" (Yuki et al., 2007, p. 3). Societies characterized by high relational mobility afford individuals many opportunities to find new acquaintances, form new relationships, and to exit groups and relationships when the benefit is low. In contrast, societies with low relational mobility emphasize relationships that are generally a product of the environment or brought together by situational factors rather than personal choice. In these low relationship mobility contexts, relationships tend to be permanent and relatively stable, partners being bound to each other through obligatory networks and socially-sanctioned institutions (Wiseman, 1986; Yamagishi, Jin, & Miller, 1998; Yuki & Schug, 2012).

Workplaces in Japan and other East Asian societies have often been characterized with features corresponding to low relational mobility, such as lifelong employment (Moriguchi & Ono, 2006; Ono, 2010). In contrast, Western countries such as the United States are known for employees moving from workplace to workplace at a higher frequency across their careers (Borghans & Golsteyn, 2012). When in a context where the prospects of seeking a new group affiliation is high, it is likely that individuals will seek to control the impressions they convey to others in order to make them look as much of an attractive group member as possible. Initial findings of behavior in high relationally mobile environments have shown that in these same settings, individuals tend to self-enhance (e.g., Heine & Lehman, 1997) and present themselves as unique (Takemura, 2014), in order to influence how potential group members view them.

This Study

This study uses items assessing self-promotion, ingratiation, and exemplification from Bolino and Turnley (1999) to examine the degree to which these impression management strategies are used among Japanese, Korean, and U.S. employees. One goal of this research is to explore how impression management is affected by the hierarchical rank of the target. Accordingly, participants answered each question for three different targets: supervisor, peer, or subordinate. Unique to this study, we also examine the degree to which the target of impression management could be a key predicting factor of impression management in countries where hierarchical relationships are stressed. In order to investigate this, we used a multi-level data structure approach as recommended in Bolino, Kacmar, Turnley, and Gilstrap (2008), who stated that these techniques would be especially useful to take into account situational characteristics.



In Japan and Korea where employees are known to stay longer with their employers and colleagues, the employees expect longer periods of evaluation and promotion. Thus, the relative longer time for them to create a desirable impression in front of others may make it less urgent to manage the impression intentionally. Thus, we expect them to use the impression management strategies less than the US employees.

Hypothesis 1: Employees from Japan, Korea, and the United States use impression management strategies to different levels. Specifically, Japanese and Korean employees use impression strategies less than the US employees.

As we discussed earlier, power structure plays a critical role in impression management. In Japan and Korea where power distance is higher, the impression created in the eyes of supervisors are much more important than the impression in the eyes of the subordinates. Thus, beyond simple country-level and target-level mean differences, this type of analysis allows us to test interaction effects that directly speak to our hypotheses:

Hypothesis 2: Employees from Japan and Korea adjust their use of impression management strategies when directed toward targets with higher (supervisor) or lower (subordinate) status than the employees in the United States. Specifically, an interaction effect of Japanese or Korean culture and target status will demonstrate greater differences in impression management strategies between different targets when compared to US employees.

The discussion above implicitly points out that relational mobility constitutes the mechanism through which the nationality's effect on impression management is functioning. This question culminates into our third hypothesis:

Hypothesis 3: Relational mobility in the country will partially mediate the effect that nationality has on employees' impression management strategies.

Methods

Sampling Frame and Participant Characteristics

We distributed online questionnaires to employees in Japan, South Korea, and the United States through research marketing companies. A number of critical reviews and empirical tests have evaluated the pros and cons of using marketing companies in collecting data, and the overall conclusion was that the approach was not only convenient but also reliable and valid (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011; Mason & Suri, 2012; Rand, 2012). In our study, we obtained help from Cross Marketing in Japan as well as GMI in Korea and the United States. All questions were administered in the native language of the respondents, with backtranslation procedures applied (Brislin, 1970; Greenfield, 1997).

With regard to the sample frame, we specified that respondents be (a) full-time employees (b) between ages 30 and 40 with (c) no international working or living experience, (d) working in companies of over 100 employees, (e) with headquarters located in that country, (f) with percentages of men and women in the sample frame the same at the same rate as their representation in full-time employment in each country. We focused on employees working

²In 2013, only 55% of Korean women in the work force had full-time employment compared to 86% of Korean men. Similarly, only 56% of American women in the work force had full-time employment compared to 73% of American men (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2015).



in organizations having at least 100 employees because organizations with fewer than 100 employees often have more ad hoc and less institutionalized practices. Likewise, we invited local employees with no overseas work experience, because expatriates or immigrants may not represent employees strongly influenced by home country practices. Finally, we invited only individuals between 30 and 40 years old in order to represent the average working age of corporate employees.

With these criteria specified, we successfully surveyed 300 Japanese (20.67% female), 325 Korean (11.07% female), and 320 American (42.19% female) employees, to achieve a total sample size of 945 (31.89% female) respondents, where the response rate for women was lower than that for men. The authors' institutional review board approved the research project as well as survey questions, and all participants read an informed consent prior to participating. Participation was voluntary and the participant could quit at any time without consequence. For a list of relevant demographics presented by country-group, please see Table 1.

Measures

Impression Management Behaviors

We measured the three most commonly investigated (Bolino, Kacmar, Turnley, & Gilstrap, 2008; Turnley & Bolino, 2001) types of impression management behaviors that participants specifically directed to their supervisors, peers, and subordinates. All items were derived from Bolino and Turnley's (1999) psychometric examination of impression management strategies. The original manuscript (Bolino & Turnley, 1999), found sufficient evidence for reliability and validity. Self-promotion was measured with three items on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = not verycharacteristic of me; 7 = very characteristic of me). An example item for self-promotion is "Make people aware of your accomplishments." Ingratiation was measured with three items

٦	Га	bl	e	1.	Percentages of	f Participan	it Demograph	ic Characteristics.

	Japanese employees ($n = 300$)	Korean employees ($n = 325$)	U.S. employees ($n = 320$)
Sex (% female)	20.67%	11.07%	42.19%
Age (%)			
30–34	26.67%	49.23%	45.63%
35–39	58.00%	45.85%	46.25%
40+	15.33%	4.92%	8.13%
Education (%)			
High School Diploma	22.33%	3.38%	5.62%
Some College	56.00%	0.09%	15.93%
Bachelor's Degree	18.33%	73.23%	44.69%
Post-Bachelor's Training	0.03%	4.61%	6.25%
Master's Degree	2.33%	14.77%	22.81%
Ph.D./M.D./J.D.	0.06%	3.08%	4.69%
Industry (%)			
Education	1.00%	8.31%	15.63%
Food Services	3.00%	0.62%	4.69%
Government	0.00%	14.15%	9.38%
Logistics	10.67%	3.08%	3.75%
Manufacturing	49.67%	40.00%	11.56%
Media	3.33%	3.08%	2.19%
Trading	1.00%	0.62%	0.63%
Travel	0.67%	0.94%	0.94%
Other	29.33%	20.62%	19.37%
Missing	1.33%	8.62%	31.88%





Table 2. Means	and Standard	Deviations of	Relevant	Variables

	Japanese emp	loyees ($n = 300$)	Korean emplo	yees (n = 325)	U.S. employees ($n = 320$)	
Characteristic	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Relational mobility	3.66	2.02	4.28	1.81	4.40	2.05
Self-promotion (averaged)	3.08	1.49	4.70	1.29	4.14	1.49
Supervisor	3.17	1.34	4.82	1.19	4.34	1.48
Peer	2.98	1.28	4.72	1.30	4.08	1.42
Subordinate	3.15	1.30	4.58	1.35	4.14	1.50
Ingratiation (averaged)	3.06	1.27	4.54	1.25	4.17	1.38
Supervisor	2.66	1.25	4.13	1.35	3.70	1.45
Peer	3.03	1.21	4.70	1.11	4.38	1.29
Subordinate	3.40	1.29	4.79	1.13	4.47	1.25
Exemplification (averaged)	3.08	1.35	4.67	1.33	4.22	1.52
Supervisor	3.10	1.33	4.83	1.22	4.32	1.53
Peer	3.03	1.34	4.65	1.35	4.15	1.51
Subordinate	3.14	1.39	4.58	1.39	4.19	1.53

on a 7-point Likert scale, and included the following example item: "Compliment your colleagues so they will see you as likeable." We measured exemplification with three items on a 7point Likert scale, and included the example item "Stay at work late so people will know you are hard working." For each of these items, participants responded three times, indicating the degree to which they display those behaviors once for each target (supervisor, peer, and subordinate). To specify the target, the words "Everyone demonstrates all kinds of different behaviors at work in front of TARGET. We want to know to what degree the each of the descriptions below matches your behavior toward your TARGET" were provided as a prompt before each block of questions. See Table 2 for means and standard deviations.

Relational Mobility

In order to directly assess relational mobility, we asked participants to estimate the probability that they will change their jobs in the next twelve months. The question reads, "How likely would you be to change jobs in the next 12 months, if a better external job were offered to you?" Participant responses were measured on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = not likely, 7 = not likely). very likely). The single item measure of turnover intention is not only concise and easy for the respondents to answer, it also has been used in previous studies (Pitts, Marvel, & Fernandez, 2011), and it is closely consistent with the other measures. However, an ANOVA revealed significant differences among country groups (F [2,942] = 12.66, p < .001), which may speak to its validity by replicating previously identified country-level group differences. The means and standard deviations for each group are reported in Table 2.

Analysis

Our data analysis contained three distinct stages. First, we examined the psychometric properties of the impression management scale in order to ensure measurement equivalence among the three groups (Little, 1997). Then, we used mixed-effects modeling to examine the influence of country and target on variation in impression management strategies. Finally, we incorporated structural equation modeling (SEM) in order to identify and compare the full or partial mediation of country-level group differences in impression management through differences in relational mobility.

Psychometric Evaluation of Measures

We subjected the impression management behaviors questions to a series of confirmatory factor analyses to test the goodness of fit for the three-factor structure among each country group. We used CFA with weighted least squares with means and variances adjustment (WLSMV) method of estimation (Jöreskog, 1990). Upon fitting our model, we also estimated item reliability via Cronbach's alpha. In order to garner statistical evidence for measurement equivalence, we subjected the impression management measure to a measurement invariance analysis (Little, 1997; Vandenberg & Lance, 2000). Specifically, we tested our model for configural, metric, and scalar invariance. Evidence for scalar invariance provides an empirical rationale that allows us to also determine mean-level group differences in the latent construct of interest (Little, 1997; Meredith, 1993; Vandenberg, 2002).

We fit the series of three models to the data using R module 'lavaan' (Rosseel, 2012). Due to the oversensitivity of the chi-square goodness-of-fit estimate in large samples (Browne, MacCallum, Kim, Andersen, & Glaser, 2002) we used a variety of fit estimators suggested by Hu and Bentler (1998), who propose that comparative fit index (CFI) and Tucker-Lewis fit index (TLI) values of above .95, and root mean square estimate approximation (RMSEA) and standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) values below .06 indicate good model fit. For change in fit indices, we used the CFI with a cutoff of .01 as recommended by Cheung and Rensvold (2002).

Mixed-Effects Modeling

In order to take into account random variance attributed to (a) individual differences in each impression management strategy within each of the country groups and (b) the differences in the target to whom the impression management is directed (supervisor, peer, subordinate), we used a linear mixed-effects modeling to explain variation in impression management rather than an ANOVA. For each of the three impression management strategies, the random intercept model contained a single random effects variables: participant ID, as well as two fixed effects: nationality of the participant (country; level 2) and target (target; level 1). Due to known gender effects in impression management (Bolino & Turnley, 1999; Bolino, Kacmar, Turnley, & Gilstrap, 2008), gender, along with age, education, and industry, were used as a level 2 covariate to control for any demographic differences. Since country and target are unranked categorical variables by nature, we used dummy coding to compare each Asian country-group (Korea, Japan) with participants from the United States. We used the package nlme (Pinheiro, Bates, DebRoy, Sarkar, & Core Team, 2015) in the statistical programming language R (R Core Team, 2014) to conduct the three analyses described above.

Structural Equation Modeling

In order to examine whether group differences in relational mobility fully or partially mediate group differences in impression management, we constructed and compared two structural equation models (SEM) that depict a full (Model F) and partial (Model P) mediation respectively. We constructed a latent measurement model that contained two orders of factors, similar to a multi-trait multi-method (MTMM) model (Alwin, 1974; Wothke, 1996). The first order of factors examined impression management strategy by having all nine manifest variables that corresponded to self-promotion, ingratiation, and exemplification load onto a single factor for each. The second order of factors examined target by having all nine



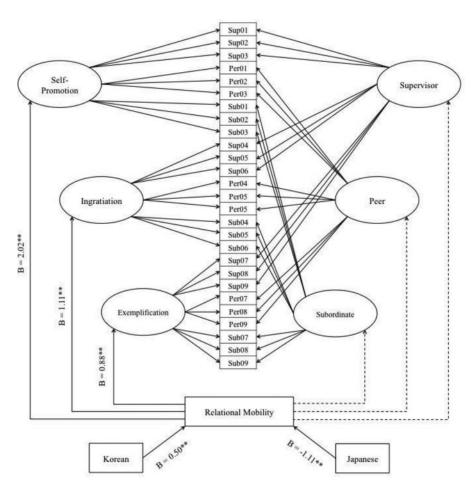


Figure 1. Path Model for Revised Full Mediation (Model R) of Country Group Differences in Impression Management through Relational Mobility. *Note:* $^* = p < .05$; $^{**} = p < .01$; Only paths indicating regressions and item loadings included. B = unstandardized regression coefficients.

manifest variables that corresponded to supervisor, peer, and subordinate load onto a single factor for each (see Figure 1 for details). The full and partial mediation models were compared using the same model fit criteria proposed by Hu and Bentler (1998) and the model change in fit criteria proposed by Cheung and Rensvold (2002) outlined previously.

Results

Impression Management Factor Structure and Reliability Coefficients

Before examining measurement invariance, a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was performed for each measure on each group to ensure the derived three-factor model fit the data. Among Japanese participants, the model demonstrated satisfactory fit (CFI: .99; TLI: .99; RMSEA: .06; SRMR: .06). Likewise, among Korean participants, the model demonstrated satisfactory fit (CFI: .99; TLI: .99; RMSEA: .04; SRMR: .06). Finally, among U.S. participants, the model demonstrated satisfactory fit (CFI: .98; TLI: .97; RMSEA: .07;



Table 3. Correlation Matrix of Impression Management Measure.

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	Self-Promotion (Supervisor)	.90									
2	Self-Promotion (Peer)	0.82**	.92								
3	Self-Promotion (Subordinate)	0.75**	0.84**	.91							
4	Ingratiation (Supervisor)	0.64**	0.64**	0.60**	.82						
5	Ingratiation (Peer)	0.66**	0.71**	0.62**	0.74**	.81					
6	Ingratiation (Subordinate)	0.58**	0.59**	0.60**	0.63**	0.86**	.77				
7	Exemplification (Supervisor)	0.86**	0.78**	0.73**	0.66**	0.67**	0.58**	.92			
8	Exemplification (Peer)	0.79**	0.90**	0.82**	0.64**	0.70**	0.60**	0.83**	.94		
9	Exemplification (Subordinate)	0.72**	0.81**	0.88**	0.57**	0.61**	0.59**	0.72**	0.82**	.94	
10	Relational Mobility	0.11**	0.09*	0.07*	0.04	0.11**	0.11*	0.10**	0.08**	0.06	_
11	Gender	0.01	-0.03	-0.01	-0.03	0.10**	0.07*	-0.02	-0.02	.013	0.05

Note: * = p < .05; ** = p < .01.

SRMR: .07). Given the high correlations among the three factors (see Table 3), we also examined a one-factor model with all items loading on a general "impression management" factor. In each of the three countries the one-factor model fit worse than the three-factor model on each of the model fit indices. In contrast, the three factor model showed statistically significant results, suggesting that despite the high correlations, each of the three factors appeared to show distinctive, separate effects. Due to the theoretical importance of separate impression management strategies as well as the empirical evidence for better model fit, we chose to retain the three-factor model for all subsequent analyses. When examining the alpha coefficient (α) for each of these groups, we found satisfactory item consistency (α range = .77 to .94; see Table 3) for each of the three impression management strategy subscales.

Measurement Invariance Among Three Impression Management Strategies

As can be seen in Table 4, the configural model fit the data relatively well, providing evidence for configural invariance. Compared to the configural model, the metric model's change in CFI was less than the predetermined cutoffs, and we attained evidence for metric invariance. Likewise, the scalar model showed little change compared to the metric model, providing evidence for scalar invariance. Given that the impression management measure attained all three levels of measurement invariance, we averaged each group of items by subscale and performed a group means comparison before proceeding to linear mixed-effects modeling. Table 4 reports the model fit indices.

Table 4. Model Fit and Model Comparison of Impression Management Measure among Japanese, Korean, and U.S. Employees.

	Model comparison	Model fit						
Model	ΔCFI	CFI	TLI	RMSEA	SRMR			
Configural Invariance	_	.990	.985	.060	.063			
Metric Invariance	.005	.985	.982	.066	.073			
Scalar Invariance	.003	.982	.981	.068	.078			

Note. CFI = Comparative Fit Index; TLI = Tucker-Lewis Fit Index; RMSEA = Root Mean Square Estimate Approximation; SRMR = Square Root Mean Residuals.





Culture, Target, and Impression Management Strategy

The results from the three linear mixed effects models are displayed in Table 5. In order to test Hypothesis 1, we examined direct effects within the model, after having statistically partialled out the variance from our demographic covariates.³ For self-promotion, we found statistically significant effects for both Japanese (B = -1.09, p < .001) and Korean (B = .60, p < .001) country groups. The direct effects indicated that Koreans tended to use more selfpromotion than U.S. participants and Japanese tended to use less. The means reported in Table 2 also demonstrate the same pattern. For ingratiation, we found similar direct effects from Japanese (B = -1.21, p < .001) and Korean (B = .37, p < .001) participants that represented the same pattern of findings. Referring to Table 2, we can also identify the pattern in a more straightforward way: the most ingratiation was used among Korean, followed by United States and then Japanese employees. Finally, we observed the same pattern for exemplification, Japanese participants scored lower than U.S. participants and Korean participants scored higher than U.S. participants. Putting together, the results offer partial support for Hypothesis 1 because we found that (1) consistent with the Hypothesis, Japanese employees used impression management less than the U.S. employees, but (2) inconsistent with the Hypothesis, Korean employees used impression management more than the U.S. employees.

Our results also revealed target-level simple main effects. A second statistically significant main effect revealed that self-promotion was used more often with supervisor targets, but not for subordinates. For ingratiation, the pattern was opposite: compared to ingratiation target at peers, employees tended to use less ingratiation toward supervisors and more toward subordinates. Finally, exemplification was used more often with supervisors but not subordinates.

Interaction effects qualified these main effects. In order to examine Hypothesis 2 regarding self-promotion, we examined the model for interactions and found that both country x target interaction effects were statistically significant. The means reported in Table 2 also offer instructive information. Although Korean participants generally endorsed more selfpromotion than either of the two groups, they used a relatively greater amount of self-promotion with supervisors (M = 4.82) as compared with peers (M = 4.72); at the same time, Korean employees use relatively less self-promotion with subordinates (M = 4.58) relative to peers (M = 4.72), amplifying the trend of the main effect. Likewise, compared to peers, Japanese employees were more likely to use self-promotion with subordinates (M = 3.15), reversing the trend seen in the other two country groups (B = .19, p < .05). In contrast to the differences found amongst Japanese and Korean participants, when we ran a separate ANOVA for our reference group to examine if there were any differences in the use of selfpromotion among different targets, U.S. employees did not show any statistically significant differences in patterns of using self-promotion among supervisors, peers, or subordinates (F [2,957] = 2.85, p = .94). Thus, Hypothesis 2 regarding self-promotion was partially

³Given that we had a substantial gender imbalance across our three country groups and that there are some concerns with using unbalanced categories as a statistical control, we also reran our linear mixed-effects models using a system of weights that balanced the influence of our three groups by their gender ratio. For this analysis, we also removed gender as a covariate from the model. The results were highly similar to the unweighted analysis that included gender as a covariate, with the same patterns of statistical significance and approximately the same magnitude of the coefficients. Due to the ease of explanation as well as the fact that statistically controlling for demographic variables is a more common practice in the behavioral sciences, we chose to present the results of the unweighted analysis.



Table 5. Fixed Effects for Linear Mixed-Effects Model Predicting Self-Promotion, Ingratiation, and Exemplification.

Variable	Estimate (B)	SE	df	<i>t</i> -Value	<i>p</i> -Valu
	Pred	dicting Self-Prom	otion		
Japan	-0.98	.13	940	-7.54	.00**
Korea	0.61	.11	940	5.33	.00**
Subordinate	-0.03	.05	1884	-0.48	.62
Supervisor	0.26	.05	1884	5.14	.00**
Japan * Subordinate	0.17	.07	1884	2.20	.02*
Korea * Subordinate	-0.15	.07	1884	-2.06	.03*
Japan [×] Supervisor	-0.07	.07	1884	-0.87	.38
Korea * Supervisor	0.17	.07	1884	2.28	.02*
Age	-0.02	.01	940	-1.47	.13
Gender (Female)	0.04	.10	940	0.34	.73
Education	0.05	.03	940	1.81	.07
Food Industry	0.19	.25	940	0.77	.44
Government	0.04	.18	940	0.20	.84
Logistics Industry	-0.39	.22	940	-1.85	.07
Manufacturing	0.20	.16	940	1.27	.20
Media Industry	-0.16	.25	940	-0.62	.53
Trading Industry	0.39	.40	940	0.97	.33
Travel Industry	0.97	.40	940	2.43	.02*
Other Industry	0.08	.16	940	0.49	.63
	Pr	edicting Ingratia	tion		
Japan	-1.12	.12	940	-9.26	.00**
Korea	0.34	.11	940	3.18	.00**
Subordinate	0.14	.06	1884	2.44	.01*
Supervisor	-0.68	.06	1884	-11.79	.00**
Japan [×] Subordinate	0.22	.08	1884	2.62	.00**
Korea [×] Subordinate	-0.07	.08	1884	-0.88	.38
Japan [×] Supervisor	-0.30	.08	1884	-3.69	.00**
Korea [×] Supervisor	0.11	.08	1884	1.31	.19
Age	-0.02	.01	940	-1.71	.09
Gender (Female)	0.16	.09	940	1.75	.08
Education	0.06	.02	940	2.56	.01*
Food Industry	-0.36	.22	940	-1.62	.11
Government	-0.07	.16	940	-0.45	.65
Logistics Industry	-0.44	.19	940	-2.30	.02*
Manufacturing	-0.02	.14	940	-0.11	.91
Media Industry	-0.05	.23	940	-0.24	.81
Other Industry	-0.05	.14	940	-0.32	.74
Trading Industry	0.31	.36	940	0.85	.39
Travel Industry	0.62	.36	940	1.73	.08
	Pred	dicting Exemplific	cation		
Japan	-0.95	.13	940	-7.09	.00**
Korea	0.47	.12	940	3.95	.00**
Subordinate	0.01	.06	1884	-0.32	.75
Supervisor	0.17	.06	1884	3.03	.03*
Japan * Subordinate	0.14	.08	1884	1.78	.07
Korea * Subordinate	-0.11	.08	1884	-1.36	.17
Japan * Supervisor	-0.10	.08	1884	-1.28	.20
Korea * Supervisor	0.01	.08	1884	0.14	.89
Age	-0.02	.73	940	-1.72	.09
Gender (Female)	0.01	.11	940	0.12	.90
Education	0.06	.03	940	2.08	.04*
Food Industry	-0.08	.26	940	-0.33	.74
Government	-0.03	.18	940	-0.16	.87
Logistics Industry	-0.43	.22	940	-1.93	.05

(Continued on next page)





Table 5. (Cont.).

Variable	Estimate (B)	SE	df	<i>t</i> -Value	<i>p</i> -Value				
Predicting Self-Promotion									
Manufacturing	0.08	.16	940	0.53	.60				
Media Industry	-0.13	.26	940	-0.52	.61				
Other Industry	0.01	.16	940	0.03	.98				
Trading Industry	0.54	.41	940	1.31	.19				
Travel Industry	1.06	.41	940	2.59	.01*				

Note: B = unstandardized regression estimate; SE = standard error; df = degrees of freedom; N = 945; *p < .05; *p < .01, p < .001.

supported in that (1) Korean employees demonstrated larger differences in front of targets of different status in using self-promotion than the U.S. employees, but (2) Japanese employees demonstrate an opposite trend from the Korean employees.

Likewise, when investigating Hypothesis 2 for ingratiation, two country x target interaction effects were statistically significant (see Table 5). Specifically, Japanese participants were less likely to use ingratiation towards a supervisor (M = 2.66) and relatively more likely to use ingratiation with subordinates (M = 3.40) as compared to peer (M = 3.03) targets. For the Korean participants, no significant country x target interaction effect qualified the main effects, demonstrating that ingratiation was endorsed approximately the same amount with subordinates (M = 4.79), peers (M = 4.70), and supervisors (M = 4.13). Unlike before, however, these differences were replicated amongst U.S. participants when we ran a separate ANOVA to examine if there were any differences in the use of ingratiation among different targets. U.S. employees did show statistically significant differences in patterns of using ingratiation among supervisors (M = 3.70), peers (M = 4.38), and subordinates (M = 4.47) (F[2,957] = 31.66, p < 0.001), by specifically using less ingratiation with supervisors.

Finally, for exemplification, no country x target interaction effect qualified our main effects, indicating that the use of exemplification with supervisors, peers, and subordinates was not statistically different among Japanese and Korean employees (see Table 5). We ran a follow-up ANOVA for our reference group to examine if there were any differences in the use of self-promotion among different targets. U.S. employees did not show any statistically significant differences in patterns of using self-promotion among supervisors, peers, or subordinates (F [2,957] = 1.10, p > .67).

Mediating Role of Relational Mobility

In order to examine Hypothesis 3 and speak to the mediating role of relational mobility, we tested and compared a full mediation model (Model F) and partial mediation model (Model P). Both models achieved satisfactory model fit. Model F had a CFI of .991, a TLI of .987, a RMSEA of .055, and a SRMR of .053. Likewise, Model P had a CFI of .999, a TLI of .999, a RMSEA of .011, and a SRMR of .031. The difference in change of CFI was less than .01, indicating that the two models had comparable fit. Because the Model F had more degrees of freedom than Model P, it was considered more parsimonious, and therefore was selected.

Model F contained some non-significant paths. These paths were the direct paths between relational mobility and each of the second order target factors, indicating that relational mobility mediated group differences in impression management strategies but not the



targets of these behaviors. When we removed these paths and constructed the revised model (Model R), the model maintained satisfactory fit (CFI: .981; TLI: .978; RMSEA: .073; SRMR: .069). Model R is depicted in Figure 1.

Discussion

The study was the first to examine East West country-level differences in three types of impression management among Japanese, Korean, and U.S. employees, with a specific emphasis on how culture and the target audience impact what behaviors are used. After confirming the factor structure and measurement equivalence of self-promotion, ingratiation, and exemplification items from Bolino and Turnley (1999), we aggregated the subscales and identified patterns with mixed-effects linear modeling. Consistent with Hypothesis 1, we did find robust mean group differences among countries, with Korean employees endorsing using all three impression management strategies the most followed by U.S. employees and then Japanese employees. Support for Hypothesis 2, however, was mixed. Significant interaction effects between country and target qualified the direct effects for two of the three impression management strategies: self-promotion and ingratiation. Korean employees were more likely to use self-promotion with supervisors and less likely to use it with subordinates relative to peers, and Japanese employees were more likely to use it with subordinates as compared to other targets. Japanese employees were also especially less likely to use ingratiation with supervisors compared to other groups, but were simultaneously more likely to use it with subordinates. When examining each of these impression management strategies across targets for U.S. employees alone, no differences among targets were found for two of three strategies. The differences in ingratiation, the lone exception, indicated that even in more egalitarian contexts, seeking favors and friendships with supervisors is less common. These results support the notion that in societies that stress more hierarchical relationships, impression management strategies vary more as a function of the status of the target in comparison to societies that are more egalitarian.

The specific effects potentially provide insight into appropriate behavior across the workplace hierarchy. Among Korean employees, self-promotion was more likely used with supervisors than subordinates to a larger degree than it was in the other two groups. This may reflect increased sensitivity towards hierarchical evaluation that is present in the Korean workplace (e.g., chaebol; Sanchez-Burks & Lee, 2007). Japanese employees endorsed using ingratiation more with subordinates and less with supervisors as compared to peers. This may have to do with culturally-scripted appropriate workplace behavior within a hierarchy, where reaching out on a friendship level is expected to be initiated from the top-down, and not bilaterally. While all groups showed this pattern in mean-level ingratiation, the significant interaction effect indicated that this was particularly salient in the Japanese sample. Finally, with exemplification whereas both Japanese and U.S. employees endorsed using exemplification approximately the same amount with peers and subordinates, Korean participants endorsed using exemplification less with subordinates as compared to peers and supervisors. It is possible that in Korea, exemplification is more of an expectation for new workplace members that gradually declines as a given individual increases their tenure and gains authority.

The main effects of the linear mixed-effects modeling also demonstrated a consistent country-level mean difference, with Korean employees endorsing using self-promotion, ingratiation, and exemplification more than the other groups, followed by U.S. employees,



and then Japanese employees. Therefore, it would be more accurate to say that, in terms of impression management, within group differences among East Asian countries with higher power distance outweigh between group differences with Western countries with lower levels of power distance. Although we expected both Japan and Korea to have lower relational mobility that is typically more descriptive of East Asia societies (Yuki & Schug, 2012; Yuki et al., 2007), the differences in relational mobility seem to mirror differences in impression management with Japanese employees scoring lower than both U.S. and Korean employees—with no difference between the latter two groups.

Furthermore, we found support for Hypothesis 3 that relational mobility fully mediated country-level differences in the degree to which all three impression management strategies were used, but not differences in to whom these strategies were directed. This finding is indicated that the degree to which employees from the three countries attempt to control the impression they make upon others varies as a function of the degree to which their social ecologies are relationally mobile—or in this case, how likely they are to change workgroups. Either consciously or unconsciously, employees in this situation may be working to increase their appeal and personal marketability in the event that a change in workgroup is necessitated or nonetheless initiated. This is consistent with both the theory and empirical findings related to relational mobility in the cross-cultural psychology literature (Yuki & Schug, 2012).

Schooler (2007) argues that culture is not just an intra-individual phenomenon or a "trait" that an individual holds, but rather something that is also embedded within the environment and social systems that one interacts with on a daily basis. Even though Japan and Korea have some similarities in culture, the economic, institutional, and organizational contexts have substantially different roots (e.g., Hamilton & Biggart, 1988). One possible factor that may impact relational mobility in Korea as compared to the other two countries is the difference in speed of economic expansion, where employees experience more rapid promotion in fast growing companies and more inter-corporation movement especially in fast growing economies or industries. Ostensibly, in growing industries with an insufficient supply of qualified applicants, employees advance their careers by moving from company to company as workplace organizations compete by offering better compensation packages, often resulting in faster promotion and higher labor mobility. It is also possible that high labor mobility reduces the degree to which hierarchical orientation is relevant in the workplace, given that everyone has the ability to remove themselves from their work environment and seek employment elsewhere. In contrast, in more mature or saturated markets with labor laws that promote lifetime employment, large companies tend to be more hierarchical and often only grow as fast as the market in which they situated, reducing the chances for promotion. In addition, regulatory restrictions placed on labor mobility can slow economic growth by making it more difficult for businesses to hire productive workers (Ashton, Green, Sung, & James, 2002).

In comparison, outside of a well-known history of limited labor mobility (Borghans & Golsteyn, 2012) through social institutions such as the lifetime employment system (Moriguchi & Ono, 2006; Ono, 2010), the Japanese economy has been stagnant for two decades (Yoshino & Sakakibara, 2002), making employees less likely to be promoted or mobile compared to Korean employees. It is possible that impression management can offer employees short-term advantages while its overall usefulness decreases in the long-term. However, this notion has not yet been empirically tested. These observations indicate that future studies may find the combination of cultural and institutional perspectives the most informative when attempting to explain who is most likely to use which impression management strategy with whom.

Application of Findings

We all seek to make a good impression at work, so following the advice, "When in Rome, do as the Romans do" may prove a beneficial strategy. Applying these findings in work place settings suggests that Americans working temporarily or long-term in Japan or Korea may also observe employees using less ingratiation with supervisors and more with subordinates. By identifying and incorporating adaptive strategies for one's immediate social ecology, international sojourners may have an advantage in terms of readily adapting to their workplace environment. The utility of these observations would likely increase when combined with qualitative information from the specific country of destination. For instance, interviews with senior Japanese managers suggested that complements might carry a nuance of evaluation. As such, complements (implying evaluation) are more appropriate to subordinates than to superiors, because it is inappropriate in a hierarchical society to judge one's superiors.

Furthermore, research on power shows that those with less power, such as subordinates, pay more attention to those with more power (Keltner, Gruenfeld, & Anderson, 2003). So, one way to use that power skillfully is to use it with modesty. Ingratiation with subordinates may be one way to show modesty. Cameron Anderson, Srivastava, Beer, Spataro, and Chatman (2006) found that modesty may be critical to maintaining power. Individuals who are modest about their own power actually rise in hierarchies and maintain the status and respect of their peers, while individuals with an inflated, grandiose sense of power quickly lose sociometric status.

Limitations and Future Direction

A limitation to this study was not having individual culture variables collected. Recent studies demonstrate the individual cultural values in impacting individual behaviors (e.g., Marchand et al., 2013; Schneider, Ehrhart, & Macey, 2013). By examining specific elements of the workplace context, future studies can further identify the nuances of the effects. Additionally, we did not administer the entire five-item subscales of Bolino and Turnley's (1999) impression management measure. However, the original authors also acknowledged the full impression management scale might not have complete construct coverage (Turnley & Bolino, 2001). Another limitation was the different sample characteristics from the three countries. The gender and the education distribution across the three groups varied: more female employees in the United States were surveyed compared to in Japan or Korea; the Japanese sample had a higher percent with only high school educated (22.33%). Future studies can examine impression management with more comparable samples.

Conclusions

All in all, this study was one of the first to identify country-level differences in the three most commonly studied impression management practices. Specifically, our findings revealed not only that country differences in the implementation of these strategies were present, but that they varied according to whom the strategy was targeted. Furthermore, we found that relational mobility fully mediated country-level differences in impression management,





suggesting that under certain socio-ecological conditions all employees will increase their attempts to manage other's opinion of them. Although these findings speak to the appropriateness and normativity of specific impression management behaviors in these settings, future investigations may do well to example both specific workplace-culture values as well as country-level or pan-cultural values that drive these differences. Through these efforts, a more nuanced predicative model could be used to support international interactions among employees in multinational corporations.

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