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The effect of media system diversity on intercultural communication competence under one-way media flow

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**The effect of media system diversity on intercultural
communication competence under one-way media flow**

by

Terigele

A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE

Major: Journalism and Mass Communication

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2015

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ABSTRACT

One-way media flow describes the process by which media products are exported from developed countries to developing countries but seldom the other way around. One possible outcome from this unbalanced trend is the difference in media diversity of countries on two ends -- exporting countries will result in a more homogenized media environment consisting of similar messages from the dominant culture while importing countries will result in a more heterogeneous media environment comprised of messages from various cultural backgrounds. Using cultivation theory and the transportation-imagery model as foundations, this study posits that individuals cultivated in importing countries will be able to become transported into a wider range of narratives, leading to differences in intercultural communication competence due to long-term media exposure. The U.S. was chosen to represent an exporting media environment while China was chosen to represent an importing media environment. Results confirm that Chinese audiences are exposed to a greater amount of foreign content than U.S. audiences, although that foreign content as a whole originates from fewer countries than what is consumed in the U.S. Yet, outside of the media environment, U.S. participants have higher intercultural sensitivity and significantly more interpersonal interaction with people from other cultures than the Chinese participants. No significant difference was found on transportation or identification when participants read narratives emphasizing characters from different cultures.

Key words: one-way media flow, media diversity, intercultural communication competence, cultivation theory, transportation-imagery model

INTRODUCTION

One-way media flow describes a process where media products are exported from developed countries to developing countries but seldom the other way around. The idea was introduced by Nordenstreng and Varis (1974) in a report supported by UNESCO. Since then, the impact of this trend has been discussed by many scholars from different perspectives. Some who are interested in political and cultural systems view one-way media flow as media imperialism (Wu, 2009). Others who are interested in the media system itself analyze what factors in the importing media system influence the one-way media flow (Kalyani & Anandam, 2000). Previous researchers such as these have tended to study the process from a macro or societal view with few focusing on micro aspects, such as individual perspectives or audience effects. After four decades of research into one-way media flow, it would be useful to examine how this long-term and global process shapes individual audiences from both the exporting and importing countries.

From the audiences' experience, one possible impact of one-way media flow is in the diversity of content an audience is likely to experience within their media system and any effects of those differences in diversity. Countries that mostly import media are often developing countries without stable or economically powerful native media systems. Audiences from an importing country may be exposed to media products from a greater range of origins, including local media and imported media from other exporting countries, that reflect different cultures and worldviews. These audiences may therefore be more comfortable consuming and interpreting media products from different cultures.

In contrast, countries that mostly export media are often developed countries with stable and economically strong native media systems, many of which profit greatly from exporting media to foreign markets. Audiences of these exporting countries may be exposed to a much more homogeneous system consisting primarily of their own content and reflecting their own culture.

Scholars often use cultural distance as a variable to measure how similar or different two cultures are (Oded, 2001). However, perceptions of cultural distance may be quite different than this societal measure. Under the influences of one-way media flow, audiences from two cultures might perceive cultural distance from each other differently because they have different subjective perceptions based on the media environment in which they live. For instance, audiences from an importing country may feel closer to the culture of an exporting country because they have routinely been exposed to media products from that culture while audiences from the exporting country may feel distant from the culture of the importing country since they rarely have had exposure to that culture through the media. In support of this possibility, some scholars now claim that cultural distance should be treated as a relative bilateral variable rather than absolute (Malcolm, Hanna, Jeremy & Peter, 2008). According to that argument, cultural distance is a matter of how people from different cultures perceive each other more than how cultures may or may not actually be different from each other.

This proposed difference due to long-term exposure within a media system can be explained through cultivation theory. Cultivation theory states that the structural and organizational factors of a media system tend to create and sustain media content that portrays certain views of the world. Long-term and frequent exposure to these media products tends to cultivate audiences to

believe the reality portrayed in the media (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986). Based on cultivation theory, we can claim that the audiences from importing countries have a greater chance of being cultivated toward a deeper understanding toward and a more vivid imagination of divergent cultures because of long-term exposure to media products created from different media systems. In contrast, audiences from exporting countries will experience long-term exposure to media created from one media system and may be less cultivated toward understanding or even interpreting media produced from other media systems. While it is generally accepted that one-way media flow creates very different media environments across countries, it is the potential society-wide effects on audiences resulting from these different media environments that remain understudied, yet may impact the quality of future media consumption and future intercultural communication.

Entertainment narratives are one of the most common and easily format of media exported to other countries (Olson, 1999). To understand how storytelling influences audiences, another theory that can lend explanatory support is the transportation-imagery model. The transportation-imagery model explores the impact of using narrative formats to influence audiences' beliefs and perceptions (Green & Brock, 2000). Transportation is defined as a mechanism by which audiences become mentally absorbed into the world of a story and are influenced toward story-consistent attitudes after exposure. There are three dimensions in the process of transportation: cognitive, affective, and imagery (Green & Brock, 2000). This means that while transported into a narrative, audiences not only understand what is happening in the story, but also can feel the characters' emotions and can visually imagine themselves in the

situation. After experiencing transportation, audiences are more likely to accept the normative values presented in a narrative and tend to retain these values over long time periods (Bilandzic & Busselle, 2008). Another related construct is transportability, which is a personality trait used to describe an individual's propensity to be transported into stories (Dal Cin et al., 2004).

Previous research has shown that highly transportive experiences contribute to the cultivation effect by persuading viewers to hold similar beliefs portrayed in the media content produced from within a media system (Bilandzic & Busselle, 2008). Transportability, at the same time, works effectively as a predictor to these transportive experiences. However, no research has yet explored the reciprocal link, specifically the influence of cultivation within competing media systems on the transportability of its audiences toward various types of narrative content.

Therefore, since the audiences of importing countries are cultivated within a diverse media system, they may be able to become transported into a wider range of narratives than audiences from exporting countries who may have a more restricted degree of transportability. Such an effect would exhibit a more nuanced relationship between cultivation and transportation when examined across different media environments.

This research is important not only because it expands upon previous research, but also because it depicts how audiences are shaped by globalized communication and how these changes may go on to influence intercultural communication. Intercultural communication competence is defined as the ability of audiences to effectively and appropriately communicate by negotiating each other's cultural differences (Chen & Starosta, 1998). Connecting it with all the claims proposed above, the main question in this study is if the exposure to different media

systems shaped by one-way media flow also influence the intercultural communication competence through more or less transportability into a range of narratives media products.

LITERATURE REVIEW

One-way media flow

Global communication has never been balanced due to imbalanced economic development and technology development (Guback & Varis, 1982). In an early global communication study, Wilbur L. Schramm (1964) noted that news rarely travels between nations and developed countries have a greater media presence than less developed countries. Since then, global communication has developed greatly and news, and other media products such as film, music and television programs, have increasingly been exported around the world. However, this export of media products has followed Schramm's direction with almost all the content moving from developed countries to developing countries and rarely the other way around. This trend was termed "one-way media flow" in a report from UNESCO in 1974. While it has been generally accepted that the development of communication is unbalanced around the world, researchers' perspectives on this imbalance has changed during the past decades.

In the 1960s, the dominant focus on global communication was on how modern communication could help modernize third world countries, especially in Africa, Latin America and Asia (Fejes, 1981). Communication was often seen as a tool for social development. Scholars of this "modernization" approach believed that communication had great impact on the social development. Max Millikan (1969) described communication as "the most fundamental technological change". However, this was eventually critiqued as solely a "western" perspective

on global communication with the concept of “national development” or “modernization” conceived by the framework of American social scientists (Munawar, 2013).

In the 1970s, the discussion changed to focus on how global communication affected the culture and awareness of people in third world countries (Fejes, 1981). Scholars began to realize that the political-economy status of a nation is related to its communicative development and its media dependency on other nations (Lee, 1979). A concept of “media imperialism” appeared within this perspective, with one-way media flow as a new expression of imbalanced power dynamic across exporting countries and importing countries (Chadha & Kavoori, 2000). Through one-way media flow, those who have power control the media of those who lack power and even control their “information, awareness, education and even entertainment” (Munawar, 2013). In this sense, exporting nations are able to exert imperialistic power over importing nations, not through military power, but through the control of information they are exposed to. Therefore, according to this view, one-way media flow is a threat to those importing countries in terms of a loss of their languages, culture and life style. This view did attract some critics, who believed that one-way media flow was a sign of globalization and would contribute to international and regional collaboration (Varis, 1986).

Current scholarship in global communication explores the influence of these social structures and research has begun to ask more practical questions, moving from general to more regional frames and focusing more on how global communication might work under different social and cultural context (McPhail, 2010). For example, recent studies of global communication in Asia have examined the “Korean Wave;” the export of Korean pop culture to

other East Asian countries starting in the 1990s (Ryoo, 2009) and how it influences other economic and political factors within the country (Jang & Won, 2012; Doobo, 2006).

China and the United States should represent two contrasting examples of countries that primarily import or export media products. China is one of the biggest importing countries of media products including books, journals and videos (Liu, 2005). China has bought the copyright of many foreign TV series and made them available online. According to the report from State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Film and Television of The People's Republic of China, the box office revenue of imported movies in 2014 was 13.48 billion and accounted for 45.49% of the whole box office revenue. Compared to this, the box office revenue of Chinese movies exported out of the country was only 1.87 billion. Not only does China import a large volume of media products but these products also originate from a wide range of exporting countries. Media products imported to China come from the United States, Europe, Japan, Korea as well as many other countries. In summary, China should represent a media system that imports a diverse mix of media products from many different cultural sources.

In contrast, the American media system should represent a media exporting country. The United States is the leading video exporter in the world (Chan-Olmsted, Cha & Goro, 2008) and also exports most other media products including, television series, music, films and advertisements. On the other hand, few media products are imported to the United States from other countries (Martin & Nakayama, 2010). As a consequence, American audiences have few direct sources of foreign cultures through foreign media products. At the same time, foreign cultures are rarely mentioned in American produced media products and this gap seems to be

widening. Research conducted by American Journalism Review in 2010 found foreign news in daily newspapers fell by 53 percent from 1985 to 2010 (Kumar, 2011). Taken together, American audiences have fewer chances to be exposed to foreign cultures on either domestic or foreign media, which should make the media system mainly homogenous and focused on American culture. This difference is captured in the proposed hypothesis and research question:

H1. Chinese audiences will report greater consumption of foreign media products than U.S. audiences.

RQ1. What countries produce the majority of foreign content consumed by Chinese and U.S. audiences?

Finally, differences between the amount of media consumed is likely to influence any effect of media diversity. Previous studies suggest the overall media use in China and the United States exhibit different patterns. As for traditional media, Chinese audiences tend to read more, but watch and listen less. The average Chinese spends 8 hours per week on reading, which is more than Americans' 5.7 hours. Chinese audiences spend 15.7 hours per week watching TV and 2.1 hours listening to radio while Americans spend 19.0 hours on TV and 10.2 hours on radio (NOP World, 2013). Likewise, the U.S. has much greater internet penetration at 86.9% compared to only 47.4% in China (Internet World Stats, 2014), however that percentage is growing quickly (Internet World Stats, 2014) and college students in both countries report their amount of internet use to be similar, about three hours a day (Jones et al., 2009; Chen, 2014). While these studies suggest differences across media platforms, the influence of media diversity would likely come from a more global measure of how much media is consumed from within a media system across

all platforms. This difference on media consumption is explored with the following research question:

RQ2. How do U.S. and Chinese participants compare on amount of media they consume?

Since global communication has different impacts on the media systems of importing versus exporting countries, it becomes important to investigate how the audiences in these different media systems may be impacted and how it might influence future development of global communication.

Cultivation Theory

Cultivation theory emerged as the new medium of television began to dominate the cultural landscape in the early 1960s. Gerbner was the first to focus on the long-term cumulative effect of television instead of the immediate effects of exposure to specific content. Gerbner started a research project called “cultural indicators” in 1960, and its goal was to study television policies, programs and effects (Gerbner, 1969). Later he published a study titled, “Living with television: The Dynamics of the Cultivation Process” and introduced cultivation theory that describes how long-term exposure to media messages influence audiences to believe the portrayals of reality contained within those media messages.

Early cultivation studies focused on the media portrayal and resultant beliefs about violence (Gerbner & Gross, 1976). Research suggested that audiences that chose to watch larger amounts of television were more likely to over-estimate the real world risks related to the types of violent acts most often portrayed on television (Diefenbach & West, 2001). In particular, the influence on teenagers attracted a lot of attention in the literature (Anderson, Gentile, & Buckley, 2007).

Cultivation theory arose to explain the impact of growing up in a media environment dominated by television with the claim that the media industry played a very important role in one's socialization process (Gerbner et al., 2002). Gerbner (1986) writes that "the repetitive pattern of television's mass-produced messages and images forms the mainstream of a common symbolic environment." In this way of thinking, the content that audiences watch influence what kind of person they become. Cultivation theory has become one of the dominant theories in mass communication and has been applied to other media beyond television (Williams, 2006) and used to explore a wide range of perceptions, including gender roles, occupational roles and health issues (Diefenbach & West, 2001).

Through exposure to media products, audiences can pick up background knowledge that permits the interpretation of cultural meanings and influence future media consumption. Therefore, long-term exposure is a process of knowledge accumulation. When audiences have more background knowledge, they find it easier to understand and enjoy a media product related to that particular knowledge.

Most of the cultivation studies mentioned thus far originate from U.S. contexts. In contrast, most Chinese studies of cultivation focus on application and practical meaning of the theory, exploring the cultivation effect of different topics, different types of TV programs or different media platforms (Zhao, 2012). While there have been no cross-cultural cultivation studies between the two countries, these studies suggest similar cultivating influences and there is nothing to suggest the mechanisms would differ.

Beyond cultivation theory, there are complementary theories exploring this relationship from different perspectives. Within reading comprehension, readers need to deal with both text-driven features and reader-driven features (Bernhardt, 1991). While the text-driven features are provided by the message itself, reader-driven factors require audiences to use existing knowledge to guide comprehension, which can be influenced by long-term exposure both consciously and unconsciously. Similarly, schema theory explains people's cognitive learning as a process that attempts to match new experiences with existing mental patterns (Piaget, 1976). There are three kinds of schema: personal schema, cultural schema and universal schema (Gudykunst, 2005). Personal schema refer to schema achieved from direct experience; cultural schema refer to schemas that are shared across a cultural group and built through interacting with individuals or messages within a particular culture; and universal schema refer to general human schema shared by most people around the world (Gudykunst, 2005). As individuals encounter more examples that fit a certain schema, the schema becomes stronger and more organized, making such communication easier in the future (Gudykunst, 2005).

In the context of one-way media flow, the patterns present in the media environment will likely be different between importing countries and exporting countries. The patterns in media systems of importing countries will likely be more diverse, providing a system that would cultivate perceptions toward a more multicultural world and develop more structured and varied cultural schema. In contrast to this, media system of exporting countries would likely present media more homogeneous media patterns that cultivate toward a much more narrow set of cultural schema. Audiences from these two media systems may therefore exhibit very different

abilities to interpret various cultural patterns based on their cultivation from dominant media messages.

Transportation Theory

While cultivation theory offers a macro-level view of how one-way media flow may influence audiences, the transportation-imagery model can offer a micro-level interpretation. Green and Brock (2000) developed the transportation-imagery model to explain the effect of narrative formats of communication on audiences' beliefs and perceptions (Green & Brock, 2000). Transportation refers to a sense of losing oneself within the world of a story and, according to this model, individuals who are more transported into a narrative world are more likely to accept the views presented within the message (Bilandzic & Busselle, 2008; Laer, Ruyter, Visconti & Wetzels, 2014). Laer et al. (2014) described the transportation process as comprising of three aspects: the act of receiving and interpreting, empathy and mental imagery and losing track of reality in a physiological sense.

Transportation is influenced by both the content of the narrative itself, including character and plots choices (Banerjee & Greene, 2012) but also factors controlled by the audience, such as personal experience and prior knowledge (Fishbein and Yzer 2003), gender (Green & Brock, 2000) and familiarity to the content of narrative (Bilandzic and Busselle, 2008).

Familiarity, defined as the degree to which a story receiver has prior knowledge about or personal experience with the story topic or genre (Green, 2004), has been found to influence the transporting extent of a narrative. Story-receivers' familiarity with a certain genre or context increased the likelihood of the receivers being transported. (Laer, Ruyter, Visconti & Wetzels,

2014). This finding echoes the explanations of both the reading comprehension model and schema theory, as familiarity to similar types of messages would help to enhance understanding.

However, transportation is not just about understanding, but also feeling the events within the narrative. Identification is another related construct that describes how audiences may experience a story as if the events were happening to them (Cohen, 2001). Identification connects characters and viewers and is often defined as a process in which viewers “vicariously take the place of a media character and react to his or her experiences as if they were happening to the viewer” (Horton & Wohl, 1956; Rosengren & Windahl, 1972; Sestir, 2008). There are several elements that are related to identification. Genre, narrative verses nonnarrative genre (Cohen, 2001), similarity of feelings and situations between characters and viewers (Cohen, 2001), audiences’ perceived familiarity to characters (Rubin & McHugh, 1987), audiences’ perceived realism of the characters (Press, 1989) and demographic and attitude similarity between characters and viewers (Maccoby & Wilson, 1957; Turner, 1993). Audiences who identify with characters are more likely to be persuaded and socialized in the way similar to the portrayal of the target characters (Cohen, 2001). Previous literature has shown that there is a strong positive relation between transportation and identification when using a written narrative (Green, Garst, & Brock, 2004), however transportation can occur when there is no identification and identification can happen without being transported (Sestir, 2008).

Identification is often connected with empathy, which is the vicarious, spontaneous sharing of affect that can be provoked by witnessing another’s emotional state, by hearing about another’s condition or by experiencing such a state through mediated messages (Keen, 2006).

Research suggests there are five main elements to influence empathy. Empathy increases with familiarity (the subject's previous experience with an object), similarity (the perceived overlap between a subject and object, e.g., species, personality, age, gender), learning (explicit or implicit teaching), past experience (with situation of distress), and salience (strength of perceptual signal, e.g., louder, closer, more realistic, etc.) (Preston and de Waal, 2002). Personal histories and cultural contexts are also believed to be related the empathy (Keen, 2006). Empathy is a stable personality trait and works well when investigating long-term relationships while identification is more often used for exposure to specific messages.

In the context of one-way media flow, long-term exposure to diverse media system would likely result in audiences with higher familiarity, learning and past experience related to foreign cultures whereas long-term exposure to a media system with less diversity would not. It would likely increase the ability of audiences from an importing country to identify with a wider range of characters in narratives and to become transported into a wider range of narratives.

One-way media flow therefore becomes more than a matter of importing and exporting media products – it may influence how well audiences identify with and feel they understand individuals from different cultures. This difference in media systems is likely to shape the audiences' awareness, knowledge, affection and ability to become engaged with foreign media products and foreign cultures in general. Most narrative transportation studies originate from U.S. contexts and the theory has yet to be taken up by Chinese scholars. Therefore there have been no cross-cultural studies related to transportation to support or reject this line of reasoning.

Therefore, the following hypotheses are proposed:

H2: Audiences from importing countries will exhibit higher identification towards foreign characters in entertainment narratives than audiences from exporting countries.

H3: Audiences from importing countries will become more transported into a foreign narrative than audiences from exporting countries.

Intercultural Communication Competence

Intercultural communication competence represents the ability to effectively and appropriately communicate in a culturally diverse environment (Chen & Starosta, 1996). It is comprised of three dimensions: intercultural sensitivity, intercultural awareness and intercultural adroitness. Chen & Starosta (1998) explain intercultural sensitivity as the readiness to understand and appreciate cultural differences (an affective aspect), intercultural awareness as the understanding of cultural conventions that affect how we think and behave (a cognitive aspect) and intercultural adroitness as the skills needed to act effectively (a behavioral aspect).

Intercultural communication studies began from an examination of global migration patterns (Kupka, Everett & Wildermuth, 2007), looking at the experience of immigrants and international students (Ye, 2006). Studies in the U.S. focused on theory development and identifying dimensions of intercultural communication competence (Martin, 1993; Spitzberg, 2000). In China, most of the research focused on local and practical aspects of intercultural communication competence of Chinese citizens. Wang (2008) found that Chinese college students scored higher on positive attitude toward another culture than their ability to actually communicate with people from another culture, and still less was their knowledge about another culture (Wang, 2008). As for the antecedents and effects of intercultural communication

competence, Zhang (2014) found that Chinese students who take English classes in college not only enlarge their vocabulary and grammar of the language, but also increased their intercultural sensitivity to help them to be more open and empathetic to communicate with English speakers (Zhang, 2014). Other factors that have been suggested to lead to increase intercultural competence for Chinese people include overseas experience (Li, 2013) and watching western films and TV narratives (Jiang, 2013).

The long-term and cumulative effects of different degrees of identification and transportation caused by one-way media flow may result in important differences in the intercultural communication competence of these audiences. Audiences from an importing country might be more ready to accept cultural differences and feel more knowledge and skill in dealing with intercultural communication than audiences from an exporting country. Imported media makes it possible for audiences to get to know foreign cultures without physically being in contact with those cultures or even interacting with its people. Increased identification and transportation into these types of narratives may result in better intercultural communication competence overall. Therefore, the following hypothesis is proposed:

H4: Audiences from importing countries will have better intercultural communication competence toward the foreign cultures that dominate their imported selection than audiences from exporting countries.

Finally, this result may extend past exposure to the specific foreign cultures represented in the media system of an importing society. Even though audiences from importing countries may have developed their intercultural communication competence based on few select foreign

cultures that dominate their imported selection, the impact may be generalized when communicating with other cultures as intercultural communication competencies is often considered a general awareness and ability (Chen & Starosta, 1998). Likewise, the influence of being exposed to different media patterns is not only related to particular media audiences but to all society members. Beyond the effects of direct media influence, an individual is also influenced indirectly by the influence the media has on others within that society.

Therefore, the following research question and hypothesis is proposed:

RQ3. How does the media system influence the intercultural communication competence toward a culture that audiences have never been exposed to?

H5: Audiences from importing countries will have better intercultural communication overall than audiences from exporting countries.

METHODS

To explore these hypotheses and research questions, this study combined a 2×3 online experiment and media use survey. A total of 370 participants were recruited.

For the U.S. sample, 227 participants were recruited from undergraduate courses at Iowa State University. The average age was 19.78 ($SD = 1.79$) and 67.4% were female. When asked about the area they were raised, 29.5% reported urban areas, 51.1% suburban and 19.4% rural.

For the Chinese sample, 143 participants were recruited from undergraduate students at Central University of Finance and Economics in Beijing, China. The average age was 21.15 ($SD = 3.64$) and 63.41% were female. When asked about the area they were raised, 54.0% reported themselves urban areas, 23.4% suburban and 22.6% rural.

The participants were informed they were participating in a study about media use.

American participants received extra credit for their participation of their classes while Chinese participants volunteered. The experiment portion of the study was administered before the media use survey to avoid priming the participants about the purpose of the study.

Stimuli

The material for this study was a short story entitled *Murder at the Mall*, which is a stimulus used in numerous narrative studies, including Green et al. in 2000. "*Murder at the Mall*" is a true story about a little girl, Katie, who goes to the mall with her college-age sibling. While at the mall, Katie is brutally stabbed to death by a psychiatric patient. The story is emotionally moving and shocking.

This story was adjusted and nativized to represent three different cultural backgrounds. The names, places and other cultural symbols were replaced to align with the different cultures. All three narratives were translated to Chinese for the Chinese participants. The final length of the three stimuli versions was between 920 and 925 words.

Independent variables

Media system

Media system is divided into two categories according to diversity. The media system of importing countries is conceptualized as diverse while the media system of exporting countries is conceptualized as homogenous. The United States was selected as the representative of an exporting country in this study. China was selected as a representative of an importing country.

Cultural narratives

The stimulus narratives are divided into two kinds according to their origins: narrative from the participant's culture and narrative from a foreign culture. To explore if the difference in intercultural communication competence extends past the specific cultures represented by imported media products, two narratives from a foreign culture were used – one that was representative of foreign media products in a country and one that was largely absent. For the Chinese media system, U.S. media content should be commonly imported, so it was used as the representative foreign culture. Peru was used as a secondary and unrepresentative foreign culture as Peruvian media are rarely represented within either the U.S. or Chinese media systems.

Audiences from the two target media systems have one group of participants reading a narrative from their own culture and two groups of participants reading a narrative from foreign cultures.

Table 1 Experiment design

	American narrative	Chinese narrative	Peruvian narrative
American audiences	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Chinese audiences	Group 4	Group 5	Group 6

The three versions of the stimuli were nativized to emphasize these different cultures. For example, the name of the characters were changed from Katie, Joan, Christine to Yining, Xiaomin and Nana in the Chinese narrative and Chaska Perez, Cava and Urpi in the Peruvian narrative. Likewise, the name of the store in the mall was changed from American Eagle to Wanda in the Chinese narrative and Sodimac in the Peruvian narrative.

Dependent variables

There are three dependent variables in this study: identification, transportation and three levels of intercultural communication competence.

Identification

A character identification scale (see appendix 1) was used to measure identification towards narrative characters ($M=21.02$, $SD=3.41$, $\alpha = 0.80$) (Cohen, 2001). Two questions that were repetitive to the transportation scale were deleted, specifically, “While reading the story, I felt as if I was part of the action.” and “While reading the story, I forgot myself and was fully absorbed.” Two other questions did not fit the narrative context, specifically, “While reading the story, I wanted character X to succeed in achieving his or her goals.” and “When character X succeeded I felt joy, but when he or she failed, I was sad.” These were also removed.

Transportation

Transportation was measured with the Transportation Scale–Short Form (TS–SF) (see appendix 2) ($M=22.37$, $SD=3.52$, $\alpha = 0.76$) (Appel, Gnambs, Richter & Green, 2015).

Intercultural communication competence

Since intercultural communication competence is a broad and comprehensive topic, few direct measurements have been conducted. In this research, intercultural sensitivity was measured since it refers to the readiness and willingness to communicate with someone from another culture and is less affected by language skill compared to the other two aspects. Chen & Starosta (1998) established an intercultural sensitivity scale (see appendix 3) that has a high validity and reliability. They conducted a factor analysis and found five factors: interaction

engagement, respect of cultural differences, interaction competence, interaction enjoyment and interaction attentiveness. In this study, the question with the highest loading for each factor was selected and combined to create a shortened cultural competence scale. This target of this shortened scale was then modified to create three scales, (1) intercultural communication competence toward the common foreign culture, either toward the U.S. or toward China, depending on the country of the participant ($M=17.74$, $SD=2.73$, $\alpha = 0.67$) (2) intercultural communication competence toward the uncommon foreign culture, or toward Peru in all cases ($M=16.89$, $SD=2.70$, $\alpha = 0.65$), and (3) intercultural communication competence toward all cultures in general ($M=17.74$, $SD=2.73$, $\alpha = 0.64$).

Media use survey

After the experimental treatment and related questions, participants were asked how many hours they consume entertainment media and news media per week, the percentage of each that come from or are about foreign cultures, and specifically which cultures comprise their foreign media consumption. Participants were also asked how much entertainment media and news media they think the average citizen of their culture consumes and the percentage of each that come from or are about foreign cultures.

Interpersonal Interaction

Beyond media use, three questions were asked about participant's daily interaction with people from other cultures. Participants were asked to recall within the last week, how many days they met at least one person from another culture, how many days they had at least one personal conversation with someone from another culture and how many days they had at least

one work or school related activity with someone from another culture. These three were combined into one measure of interpersonal interaction ($M=11.25$, $SD=6.01$, $\alpha = 0.82$).

Individualism vs. Collectivism

Because intercultural communication competence can be influenced by other cultural differences other than media exposure, other culturally related variables were measured to serve as potential controls.

Hofstede's cultural dimensions theory is one of the most cited theories relative to cross-cultural communication (Hofstede & Bond, 1984). Hofstede used factor analysis to identify six dimensions that explain significant differences between cultures and how members of those cultures view the world: power distance, individualism, masculinity, uncertainty avoidance, pragmatism and indulgence. According to data from the Hofstede center website, the United States and China differ the greatest different on individualism (US: 91/ China: 20). To control for this variable and its potential impacts upon the variables of interest, the individualism-collectivism scale (Triandis & Gelfland, 1998) (Hui, 1988) was used to measure and control for differences in individualism between the target countries (see Appendix 6) ($M=73.85$, $SD=11.21$, $\alpha =.88$).

RESULTS

Media Diversity

The first hypothesis predicted that Chinese audiences will report greater consumption of foreign media products than U.S. audiences. In the survey, U.S. participants reported a mean of 15.66% ($SD=15.99$) of foreign entertainment they consume, which is significantly lower than the

49.70% ($SD=23.33$) of foreign entertainment Chinese participants reported to consume ($t(206) = -14.79, p < .01$) (See Table 2). Therefore, H1 was supported.

Table 2 Percentage of Foreign Entertainment

	Equality of Variances	Sig.	t	df	Sig.(2-tailed)
Percentage of foreign entertainment	35.468	.000	-16.153	347	.000
			-14.786	206.303	.000

Interestingly, U.S. participants believe that they consume less foreign content than the average American ($M=19.09\%$, $SD=15.01$) ($t(438) = -2.49, p = .013$) (See Table 3) while Chinese participants believe that they consume more foreign content than the average Chinese ($M=39.8\%$, $SD=15.01$) ($t(246) = 3.90, p < .01$) (See Table 4).

Table 3 Percentage of Foreign Entertainment—Self Report VS Average American

	Equality of Variances	Sig.	T	df	Sig.(2-tailed)
Percentage of foreign entertainment	.018	.894	-2.491	438	.013
			-2.490	437.578	.013

Table 4 Percentage of Foreign Entertainment—Self Report VS Average Chinese

	Equality of Variances	Sig.	T	df	Sig.(2-tailed)
Percentage of foreign entertainment	12.054	.001	3.902	264	.000
			3.902	245.996	.000

Turning to news content, U.S. participants reported a mean of 19.44% ($SD=19.26$) of foreign news they consume, which is significantly lower than the 36.52 ($SD=19.45$) of foreign news Chinese participants reported to consume ($t(341) = -7.94, p < .01$) (See Table 5). No difference were found between individual and perceived societal foreign news consumption for either the U.S. ($t(429) = -1.42, p = .156$) or China ($t(259) = -.10, p = .917$).

Table 5 Percentage of Foreign News

	Equality of Variances	Sig.	T	df	Sig.(2-tailed)
Percentage of foreign news	.028	.868	-7.938	341	.000
			-7.919	270.619	.000

Origin of Foreign Media

To answer RQ1 asking what countries produce the majority of foreign content consumed by Chinese and U.S. audiences, participants were asked to list the origin of foreign entertainment and news that they consume.

Regarding entertainment, American participants listed 26 categories. Five answers that were mentioned most frequently were NA, meaning I don't consume foreign entertainment (34.8%), the U.K. (14.4%), China (9.4%), Japan (6.6%) and European countries (6.6%) (See Figure1) .

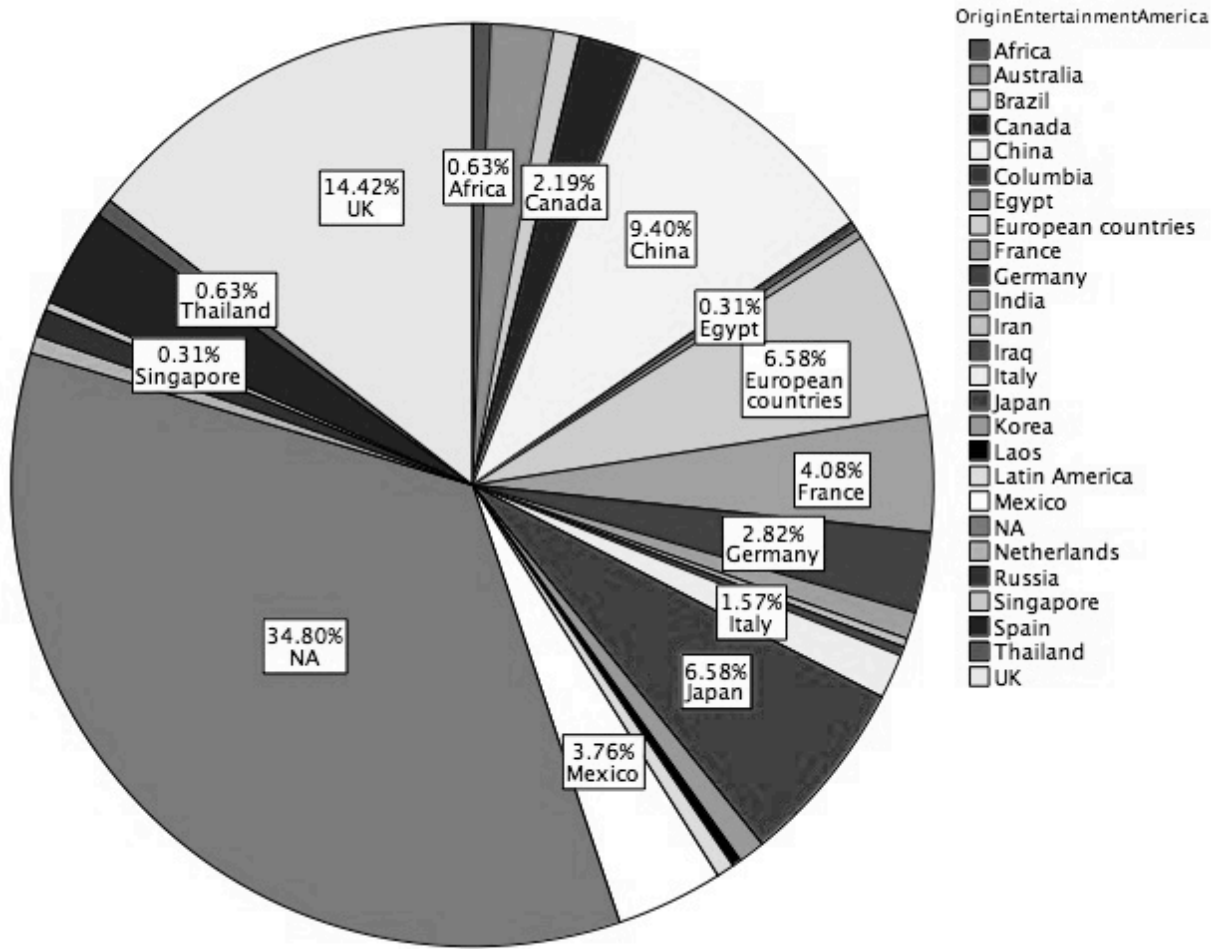


Figure 1. Countries of Origin on foreign entertainment from American participants.

Chinese participants listed 10 categories. Five most frequently mentioned answers were U.S. (42.8%), Korea (18.8%), U.K. (15.3%), Japan (13.5) and NA (4.4%) (See Figure 2).

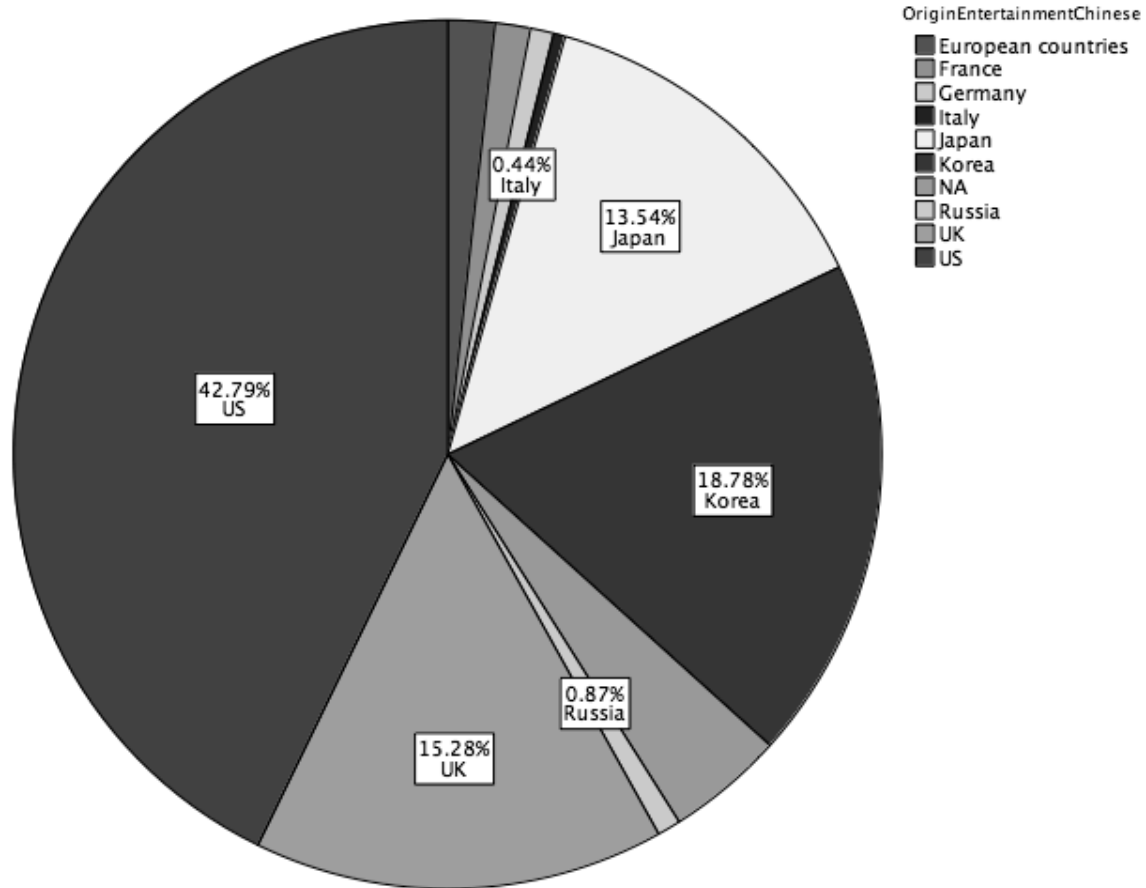


Figure 2. Countries of Origin on foreign entertainment from Chinese participants.

Regarding news, American participants listed 35 categories. Five answers that were mentioned most frequently are NA (30.5%), U.K. (11.5%), Middle East (9.9%), China (8.0%) and European countries (6.4%) (See Figure 3).

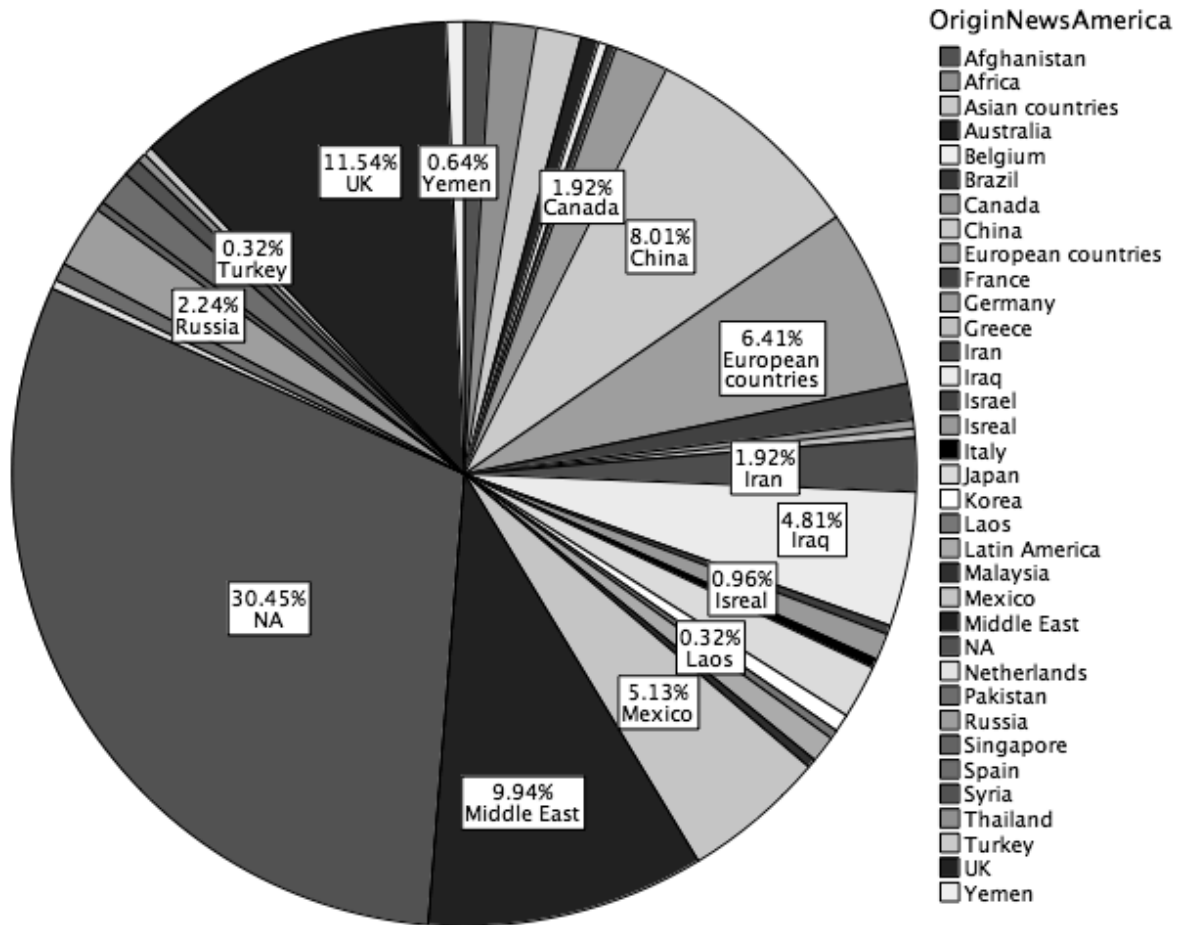


Figure 3. Countries of Origin on foreign news from American participants.

Chinese participants listed 19 categories. Five most frequently mentioned answers are U.S.

(46.6%), Japan (15.1%), Russia (6.5%), U.K. (5.6%), and NA (5.6%) (See Figure 4).

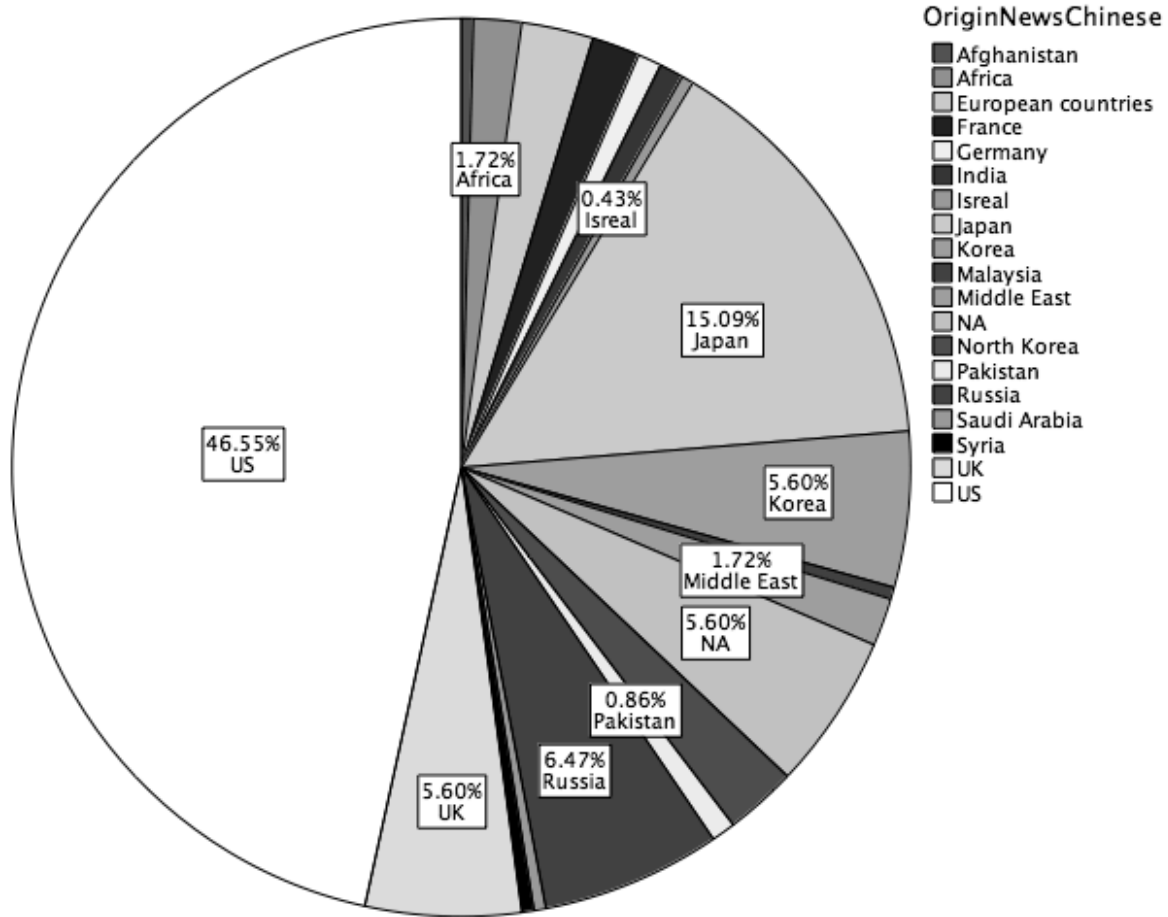


Figure 4. Countries of Origin on foreign news from Chinese participants.

Therefore, in response to RQ1, foreign media in China is dominated by U.S. content, which supports the assumption that Chinese media users would be familiar with exported U.S. media products. While Chinese media does not dominate the foreign content in the U.S. media environment, it nevertheless represents one of the top three sources of foreign content in both entertainment and news media, suggesting that for those Americans who do consume foreign content, China would represent a common source.

Media Exposure

RQ2 asked how U.S. and Chinese participants compare on amount of media they consume. American participants reported consuming 27.76 hours ($SD=21.50$) of entertainment per week, which was significantly greater than the 21.35 hours per week ($SD=14.72$) reported by Chinese participants ($t(337)=3.28, p=.001$) (See Table 6).

Table 6 Time on Entertainment

	Equality of Variances	Sig.	T	df	Sig.(2-tailed)
Time on entertainment	8.929	.003	2.993	343	.003
			3.281	336.645	.001

In contrast, American participants reported consuming 6.92 hours ($SD=9.86$) of news per week, which was significantly less than the 10.52 hours ($SD=11.96$) per week reported by Chinese participants ($t(223)=-2.86, p=.005$) (See Table 7).

Table 7 Time on News

	Equality of Variances	Sig.	T	df	Sig.(2-tailed)
Time on News	6.569	.011	-3.009	342	.003
			-2.859	222.627	.005

Therefore, in response to RQ2, American audiences consume more entertainment content than Chinese audiences while Chinese audiences consume more news than American audiences. Yet, because the source of foreign content for each countries were similar for both entertainment and news media, this difference may be of little consequence within a similar cultivating media environment.

Identification

H2 predicted that audiences from importing countries would exhibit higher identification towards foreign characters in entertainment narratives than audiences from exporting countries. One-Way ANOVA was conducted on identification score of American participants on characters in American narrative ($M=21.31$, $SD=3.40$), Chinese narrative ($M=21.29$, $SD=3.17$) and Peruvian narrative ($M=21.15$, $SD=3.75$). No significant differences were found ($F(2, 220) = .45$, $p = .956$).

Regarding the Chinese participants, there was again no significant difference between identification within the American narrative ($M=20.37$, $SD=3.89$), Chinese narrative ($M=20.77$, $SD=2.79$) and Peruvian narrative ($M=20.86$, $SD=3.30$) ($F(2,137) = .288$, $p = .75$). Therefore, H2 was not supported.

Transportation

H3 predicted that audiences from importing countries would become more transported into a foreign narrative than audiences from exporting countries. One-Way ANOVA was conducted on transportation score of American participants on the American narrative ($M=22.78$, $SD=3.45$), Chinese narrative ($M=22.42$, $SD=3.15$) and Peruvian narrative ($M=22.89$, $SD=4.17$). No significant differences were found ($F(2,223) = .346$, $p = .708$).

Regarding the Chinese participants, there was again no significant difference between identification within the American narrative ($M=22.21$, $SD=3.24$), Chinese narrative ($M=21.19$, $SD=3.18$) and Peruvian narrative ($M=22.14$, $SD=3.66$) ($F(2,137) = 1.368$, $p = .258$).

Therefore, H3 was not supported. Because neither identification nor transportation was significantly different, they cannot serve as mediators for intercultural communication competence. Therefore, intercultural communication competence will be explored merely as a main effect.

Intercultural Communication Competence

H4 predicted that audiences from importing countries would have better intercultural communication competence toward the foreign cultures that dominate their imported selection than audiences from exporting countries. Likewise, RQ4, asked if the media system influences the intercultural communication competence toward a culture that audiences have never been exposed to.

The U.S. intercultural communication competence score toward the familiar foreign culture of China was 17.01 ($SD=3.22$) while the Chinese intercultural communication competence score toward the familiar foreign culture of the U.S. was 16.98 ($SD=2.40$). No significant difference was found ($t(346)=.08$, $p=.94$) and H4 was not supported.

The U.S. intercultural communication competence score toward the unfamiliar foreign culture of Peru was 17.05 ($SD=2.92$) while the Chinese intercultural communication competence score toward the unfamiliar foreign culture of Peru was 16.65 ($SD=2.29$). No significant difference was found ($t(358)=1.42$, $p=.16$). In response to RQ3, there is no evidence to suggest

that the media diversity influences intercultural communication competence towards an unfamiliar culture.

Finally, H5 predicted that audiences from importing countries will have better intercultural communication overall than audiences from exporting countries. The means of the general intercultural communication competence score of U.S. participants ($M=17.92$, $SD=2.86$) was significantly higher than the means of Chinese participants ($M=17.31$, $SD=2.42$) ($t(364)=3.90$, $p < .01$) (See Table 8). This is opposite to the relationship predicted and H5 was therefore not supported.

Table 8 Intercultural Communication Competence

	Equality of Variances	Sig.	t	df	Sig.(2-tailed)
Intercultural Communication	.926	.337	2.718	364	.007
Competence			2.797	324.656	.005

Interpersonal Interaction

Moving beyond mediated intercultural exposure to actual intercultural exposure, the interpersonal interaction score of American participants ($M=14.43$, $SD=4.77$) was significantly greater than the mean of the Chinese participants ($M=5.78$, $SD=3.44$) ($t(341)=19.83$, $p < .01$) (See Table 9).

Table 9 Interpersonal Interaction

	Equality of Variances	Sig.	T	df	Sig.(2-tailed)
Interpersonal	25.903	.000	18.242	357	.000
interaction			19.833	340.559	.000

DISCUSSION

This study explored if the exposure to different media systems shaped by one-way media flow influenced the intercultural communication competence through more or less transportability into a range of narratives media products.

Media-Use Survey

As part of this study, a media-use survey was conducted to ensure the countries chosen to represent primarily importing or exporting countries, specifically China and the U.S. respectively, were valid.

Results confirm that the Chinese participants consumed significantly more foreign content in both entertainment and news media than U.S. participants, affirming that China represents more of an importing country than the U.S. More so, the main source of foreign content in China came from the U.S., again suggesting that Chinese audiences are familiar with U.S. media and affirming the U.S. as more of an exporting country with regard to one-way media flow. Of the foreign media consumed in the U.S., Chinese media were within the top three sources of origin for both entertainment and news media, suggesting that for the smaller percentage of U.S. audiences who do consume foreign media, Chinese content is likely to be somewhat familiar. Neither Chinese nor U.S. participants noted consuming Peruvian media in any way, supporting that nation's media as one mostly unknown to both target countries used in this study. It is worth noting that the U.S. participants think they consume less foreign content than the average American and the Chinese participants think they consume more foreign content than the average Chinese, suggesting that, if accurate, the difference between media environments may be

less pronounced in the general population. However, the measured difference is so pronounced that even with this potentially biased sample, the significant differences between U.S. and an exporting country and China as an importing one is likely to remain strong.

On top of this, American audiences consume more entertainment content than Chinese audiences while Chinese audiences consume more news than American audiences. Likewise, although U.S. audiences consume much less foreign media overall, the diversity of foreign media they consume is much greater than that of the Chinese participants. U.S. participants noted 26 sources of foreign entertainment media and 35 sources of foreign news media compared to the Chinese participants 10 and 19 sources respectively. While these represent interesting cultural differences, their impact on the questions of interest are likely to be of little consequence as the diversity between entertainment and news media are both in the same direction and the foreign countries of interest are present regardless of the diversity of foreign media available.

These findings contribute to our understanding of one-way media flow study by showing how the media environment of importing countries and exporting countries have been influenced by this uneven movement of media content.

Yet, there are limitations to the representativeness of these results. On one hand, the participants consisted of college students, which likely consume a different amount and type of media than the average citizen of their respective countries. For instance, studies find that college students use the Internet a greater amount than the rest of the population (Jones et al., 2009). Likewise, China is currently experiencing a generational shift, such that younger generations are much more individualistic than older generations (Cao, 2009) -- likely the reason the population

used in this study showed no differences along the individualism-collectivism scale a difference that might appear if an older Chinese population was included. Beyond just the limitations of a college aged sample, the geographic region of the participants were not representative of the larger national populations. Most of the American participants reported themselves as growing up in suburban areas while most of Chinese participants reported themselves as living in urban area where as the actual distributions of population living in urban area is 81% in U.S. and 53% in China (World Health Organization, 2013).

Beyond mere media use, future studies could explore the framing of foreign media content available in exporting and importing countries compared to the audiences' choices for consumption. Likewise, different media platforms could be explored regarding their diversity and consumption. The use of new media might differ between importing countries and exporting countries and this difference might be related to the diversity of media usage. The restrictions on different media platforms should also been studied.

Experimental Conditions

It was predicted that audiences from importing countries would be more able to become transported into and identify with narratives from different cultures. This in turn would lead to greater intercultural communication competence. However, no significant differences were found along any of these variables. There are a few possible reasons for this.

One possible reason is that the stimuli used may be too focused on universal feelings of fear and loss rather than specific cultural orientations. Similarly, the way the stimulus were nativized to accentuate different cultures may have been seen as tangential to the main story line rather

than something central and defining in the story. Another reason could be the chosen narrative format. In this experiment, a written narrative was used as stimulus. However, the results might also depend on the format of media content. For example, Chinese audiences may be more familiar with TV series from the United States rather than books or other written content. Likewise, video could provide other cultural cues visually, potentially extenuating any effect. There may have been more effects if the stimuli were displayed in video format instead of text.

However, another major reason could be the conflicting directions between mediated and actual exposure to foreign cultures. While Chinese participants reported consuming greater amounts of foreign media as compared to U.S. participants, they reported less actual interaction with people from different cultures. Likewise, U.S. participants exhibited a greater general intercultural communication competence. This is not surprising as the United States is a country founded by immigrants while China consists of one main ethnicity with less diversity. American audiences seem to have more of a chance to communicate with actual people from other cultures, which may develop better intercultural communication competence regardless of the amount of mediated foreign content consumed. A post-hoc analysis was conducted to explore this, finding the correlation between interpersonal interaction and intercultural communication competence is significant ($r(355) = .17, p = .001$) whereas the correlation between percentage of foreign media consumed and intercultural communication competence is not ($r(333) = -.037, p = .499$). This suggests that whatever influence media diversity may play on these factors, interpersonal communication plays a much larger role.

However, when it comes to communication with people from specifically either China or Peru, American audiences showed no differences with Chinese audiences. To investigate why, future research should explore the stereotypes of different countries and perceived cultural distance to understand the context of each interaction. Qualitative interviews may help to better understand audiences' thoughts and behaviors. Also, linguistic factors could be investigated as language similarity might also influence willingness and confidence in intercultural communication.

A final limitation of both the media use survey and experiment is that the research is based on self-reported measures and might be biased compared to the validity of the real situation in question. Especially when examining variables like intercultural communication and media use, participants may hide their real feeling because of the social pressure or moral and political pressures.

CONCLUSION

One-way media flow has been studied from variety of perspectives and this research extends the potential effects of this uneven flow of media down to the individual level of cultivation and transportation into different media products. While the results did not confirm any of these impacts, they do show how the media system of importing and exporting countries differ in terms of diversity and opened a door to learn more about how audiences are really influenced by such globalization. Based on this research, more work can be done to investigate the specific process of consuming foreign media and following consequences on audiences.

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APPENDIX 1 IDENTIFICATION SCALE

1. I was able to understand the events in the story in a manner similar to that in which character Joan (Xiaomin/Cava) understood them.
2. I think I have a good understanding of character Joan (Xiaomin/Cava).
3. I tend to understand the reasons why character Joan (Xiaomin/Cava) does what he or she does.
4. While reading the story I could feel the emotions character Joan (Xiaomin/Cava) portrayed.
5. During reading, I felt I could really get inside character Joan (Xiaomin/Cava)'s head.
6. At key moments in the show, I felt I knew exactly what character Joan (Xiaomin/Cava) was going through.

APPENDIX 2 TRANSPORTATION SCALE

1. I could picture myself in the scene of the events described in the narrative.
2. I was mentally involved in the narrative while reading it.
3. I wanted to learn how the narrative ended.
4. The narrative affected me emotionally.
5. While reading the narrative I had a vivid image of Katie (Yining/Chaska).
6. While reading the narrative I had a vivid image of Joan (Xiaomin/Cava) .

APPENDIX 3 INTERCULTURAL SENSITIVITY SCALE

General

1. I am pretty sure of myself in interacting with people from different cultures.
2. I often get discouraged when I am with people from different cultures.
3. I am very observant when interacting with people from different cultures.
4. I respect the ways people from different cultures behave.
5. I enjoy experiencing the differences between cultures other than mine.

China/US

1. I am pretty sure of myself in interacting with people from China (U.S.).
2. I often get discouraged when I am with people from China (U.S.).
3. I am very observant when interacting with people from China (U.S.).
4. I respect the ways Chinese (Americans) behave.
5. I enjoy experiencing the differences between Chinese (American) culture and mine.

Peru

1. I am pretty sure of myself in interacting with people from Peru.
2. I often get discouraged when I am with people from Peru.
3. I am very observant when interacting with people from Peru.
4. I respect the ways Peruvians behave.
5. I enjoy experiencing the differences between Peruvian cultures and mine.

APPENDIX 4 MEDIA USAGE QUESTIONS

1. About how many hours a week do you watch, read or listen to the media for entertainment?

Consider television, movies, books, online content, or other entertainment media.

2. Of the entertainment content you consume, about what percent do you think is foreign --

either created in a foreign country or specifically focusing on another culture?

3. Which countries do the foreign entertainment content you consume primarily come from?

List as many countries as is relevant for you. If you don't or barely consume foreign entertainment, just write NA.

4. For the average American, what percent of their entertainment content do you think is

foreign?

5. About how many hours a week do you watch, read or listen to news? Consider television,

newspapers, online news stories or other news sources.

6. Of the news content you consume, about what percent do you think is foreign -- either

created in a foreign country or specifically focusing on another culture?

7. Which countries do the foreign news content you consume primarily come from? List as

many countries as is relevant for you. If you don't or barely consume foreign entertainment, just write NA.

8. For the average American, what percent of their news content do you think is foreign?

APPENDIX 5 INTERPERSONAL INTERACTION QUESTIONS

1. Within the last week, how many days did you see at least one person from another culture?
2. Within the last week, how many days did you have at least one personal conversation with someone from another culture?
3. Within the last week, how many days did you have at least one work or school related activity with someone from another culture?

APPENDIX 6 INDIVIDUALISM SCALE

1. I'd rather depend on myself than others.
2. I rely on myself most of the time; I rarely rely on others.
3. I often do "my own thing."
4. My personal identity, independent of others, is very important to me.
5. It is important that I do my job better than others.
6. Winning is everything.
7. Competition is the law of nature.
8. When another person does better than I do, I get tense and aroused.
9. If a coworker gets a prize, I would feel proud. (R)
10. The well-being of my coworkers is important to me. (R)
11. To me, pleasure is spending time with others. (R)
12. I feel good when I cooperate with others. (R)
13. Parents and children must stay together as much as possible. (R)
14. It is my duty to take care of my family, even when I have to sacrifice what I want. (R)
15. Family members should stick together, no matter what sacrifices are required. (R)
16. It is important to me that I respect the decisions made by my groups. (R)

APPENDIX 7 STIMULUS NARRATIVE – AMERICAN NARRATIVE**A Murder in America**

Katie Mason was visiting the mall along with her older sister, Joan, who was home for Christmas from college, and her six-year-old sister, Christine. As they milled around with the crowd at a sidewalk sale in front of the local American Eagle's, little Christine began tugging at Joan's hand to attract her attention to the mechanical pony rides, begging to be taken over there. Katie was attracted by a mug and told them to go first and was about to join them later. Leaving Katie by herself, Joan and her younger sister headed toward the rides. Just as they reached the pony, Joan heard a hubbub from somewhere behind her and then a child's shrill scream. She turned, dropped Christine's hand, and advanced a few feet toward the sound. People were scattering in all directions, trying to get away from a large, disheveled man who stood over a fallen little girl, his outstretched right arm pummeling furiously away at her. Even through the haze of her frozen incomprehension, Joan knew instantly that the child lying on her side at the crazed man's feet was Katie. At first, she saw only the arm, then realized all at once that in its hand was clutched a long bloody object. It was a hunting knife, about seven inches long.

Using all his strength, up and down, up and down, in rapid pistonlike motions, the assailant was hacking away at Katie's face and neck. In an instant, everyone had fled--murderer and victim were suddenly alone. Unhindered at his frenzied work, the man first crouched and then sat alongside the child, chopping with those ceaseless plungings of his ferocious arm. As the floor reddened with her sister's blood, Joan, by then also alone, stood about twenty feet away, rooted

there by disbelief and horror. She would later remember that the air seemed too thick to let her move through it--her body felt warm and benumbed, and she was enveloped in a dreamy mist of insulation.

Except for the ferocious chopping of that unremitting arm coming down again and again on the silent child, there was almost no movement in the entire, unearthly scene. Anyone watching from inside American Eagle's or the refuge of some other concealment might have seen a grotesque tableau of madness and slaughter being enacted on that soundless street.

Though Joan was certain the macabre scene would have no end, her fixed immobility could not have lasted more than a few seconds, but during that seeming protraction of time she saw the knife repeatedly enter her sister's face and upper body. Two men suddenly appeared from somewhere beyond the margins of the tableau and grabbed at the killer, shouting as they tried to wrestle him down. But he could not be deterred--with psychotic determination, he kept stabbing at Katie. Even when one of the men began aiming powerful heavy-booted kicks at his face, he seemed not to notice, though his head was being knocked from side to side by the force of the blows. A policeman ran up and seized the knife wielding arm; only then did the three men manage to subdue the struggling maniac and pin him to the ground.

As the crazed attacker was pulled off Katie, Joan rushed forward and took her sister into her arms. Turning her gently over from her side onto her back, and looking into that lacerated little face, she said softly, "Katie, Katie" as if she were cooing to a cradled babe. The child's head and neck were covered with blood and her face was soaked in it, but her eyes were clear.

The ambulance sped Katie to the nearest hospital, which was only a few minutes away. Although she was clearly pulseless and brain-dead on arrival, and beyond clinical death, the appalled emergency room team did every possible thing to bring her back, even with the certain foreknowledge that their attempts would be futile. When they finally gave up, their frustration and rage turned to grief. Tearfully, one of the doctors told Joan and her parents what they already knew.

The man who murdered Katie Mason was a thirty-nine-year-old paranoid schizophrenic named Peter Carlquist. Two years earlier, he had been acquitted by reason of insanity in the attempted knife murder of his roommate, whom he accused of putting poison gas into their radiator. He had a long history of such attacks on people, including his sister and several high school classmates. As early as age six, he had told a psychiatrist that the devil had come up out of the ground and entered his body. Perhaps he was right.

Following the assault on his roommate, Carlquist had been institutionalized in a unit for the criminally insane on the sprawling grounds of the state mental hospital situated at the outskirts of the city visited by Katie Mason on that fateful December day. Only a short time before, an advisory board had judged him sufficiently recovered to be transferred to a unit housing an assortment of the mentally ill, where patients were permitted to sign themselves out for several hours at a time. On the morning of the assault, Carlquist strolled off the grounds, took a municipal bus into town, and walked into a local hardware store. After buying a hunting knife, he came upon the shopping mall. And there in the crowd outside Woolworth's he saw one pretty

girl wearing identical dress. Rushing forward, he grabbed her by the arm, threw her to the ground, and began his demonic work.

APPENDIX 8 STIMULUS NARRATIVE – CHINESE NARRATIVE

A Murder in China

Wang Yining was visiting the mall along with her older sister, Xiaomin, who was home for Chinese new year from college, and her six-year-old sister, Nana. As they milled around with the crowd at a sidewalk sale in front of the local Wanda's, little Nana began tugging at Xiaomin's hand to attract her attention to the mechanical pony rides, begging to be taken over there. Yining was attracted by a mug and told them to go first and was about to join them later. Leaving Yining by herself, Xiaomin and her younger sister headed toward the rides. Just as they reached the pony, Xiaomin heard a hubbub from somewhere behind her and then a child's shrill scream. She turned, dropped Nana's hand, and advanced a few feet toward the sound. People were scattering in all directions, trying to get away from a large, disheveled man who stood over a fallen little girl, his outstretched right arm pummeling furiously away at her. Even through the haze of her frozen incomprehension, Xiaomin knew instantly that the child lying on her side at the crazed man's feet was Yining, her sister. At first, she saw only the arm, then realized all at once that in its hand was clutched a long bloody object. It was a sharp knife, about twenty centimeters long.

Using all his strength, up and down, up and down, in rapid pistonlike motions, the assailant was hacking away at Yining's face and neck. In an instant, everyone had fled--murderer and victim were suddenly alone. Unhindered at his frenzied work, the man first crouched and then sat alongside the child, chopping with those ceaseless plungings of his ferocious arm. As the

floor reddened with her sister's blood, Xiaomin, by then also alone, stood about five meters away, rooted there by disbelief and horror. She would later remember that the air seemed too thick to let her move through it--her body felt warm and benumbed, and she was enveloped in a dreamy mist of insulation.

Except for the ferocious chopping of that unremitting arm coming down again and again on the silent child, there was almost no movement in the entire, unearthly scene. Anyone watching from inside Wanda's or the refuge of some other concealment might have seen a grotesque tableau of madness and slaughter being enacted on that soundless street.

Though Xiaomin was certain the macabre scene would have no end, her fixed immobility could not have lasted more than a few seconds, but during that seeming protraction of time she saw the knife repeatedly enter her sister's face and upper body. Two men suddenly appeared from somewhere beyond the margins of the tableau and grabbed at the killer, shouting as they tried to wrestle him down. But he could not be deterred--with psychotic determination, he kept stabbing at Yining. Even when one of the men began aiming powerful heavy-booted kicks at his face, he seemed not to notice, though his head was being knocked from side to side by the force of the blows. A policeman ran up and seized the knife wielding arm; only then did the three men manage to subdue the struggling maniac and pin him to the ground.

As the crazed attacker was pulled off Yining, Xiaomin rushed forward and took her sister into her arms. Turning her gently over from her side onto her back, and looking into that lacerated little face, she said softly, "Yining, Yining" as if she were cooing to a

cradled babe. The child's head and neck were covered with blood and her face was soaked in it, but her eyes were clear.

The ambulance sped Yining to the nearest hospital, which was only a few minutes away. Although she was clearly pulseless and brain-dead on arrival, and beyond clinical death, the appalled emergency room team did every possible thing to bring her back, even with the certain foreknowledge that their attempts would be futile. When they finally gave up, their frustration and rage turned to grief. Tearfully, one of the doctors told Xiaomin and her parents what they already knew.

The man who murdered Wang Yining was a thirty-nine-year-old paranoid schizophrenic named Shen Qiang. Two years earlier, he had been acquitted by reason of insanity in the attempted knife murder of his roommate, whom he accused of putting poison gas into their radiator. He had a long history of such attacks on people, including his sister and several high school classmates. As early as age six, he had told a psychiatrist that the devil had come up out of the ground and entered his body. Perhaps he was right.

Following the assault on his roommate, Shen Qiang had been institutionalized in a unit for the criminally insane on the sprawling grounds of the Central mental hospital situated at the outskirts of the city visited by Wang Yining on that fateful February day. Only a short time before, an advisory board had judged him sufficiently recovered to be transferred to a unit housing an assortment of the mentally ill, where patients were permitted to sign themselves out for several hours at a time. On the morning of the assault, Shen Qiang strolled off the grounds, took a bus into town, and walked into a local hardware store. After buying a knife, he came upon

the shopping mall. And there in the crowd outside Wanda's he saw one pretty girl wearing identical dress. Rushing forward, he grabbed one of the girl by the arm, threw her to the ground, and began his demonic work.

APPENDIX 9 STIMULUS NARRATIVE – PERUVIAN NARRATIVE

A Murder in Peru

Chaska Perez was visiting the mall along with her older sister, Cava, who was home for the first communion of her sister Chaska, and her six-year-old sister, Urpi. As they milled around with the crowd at a sidewalk sale in front of the local Sodimac's, little Urpi began tugging at Cava's hand to attract her attention to the mechanical pony rides, begging to be taken over there. Chaska was attracted by a mug and told them to go first and was about to join them later. Leaving Chaska by herself, Cava and her younger sister headed toward the rides. Just as they reached the pony, Cava heard a hubbub from somewhere behind her and then a child's shrill scream. She turned, dropped Urpi's hand, and advanced a few feet toward the sound. People were scattering in all directions, trying to get away from a large, disheveled man who stood over a fallen little girl, his outstretched right arm pummeling furiously away at her. Even through the haze of her frozen incomprehension, Cava knew instantly that the child lying on her side at the crazed man's feet was Chaska. At first, she saw only the arm, then realized all at once that in its hand was clutched a long bloody object. It was a hunting knife, about seven inches long.

Using all his strength, up and down, up and down, in rapid pistonlike motions, the assailant was hacking away at Chaska's face and neck. In an instant, everyone had fled--murderer and victim were suddenly alone. Unhindered at his frenzied work, the man first crouched and then sat alongside the child, chopping with those ceaseless plungings of his ferocious arm. As the floor

reddened with her sister's blood, Cava, by then also alone, stood about twenty feet away, rooted there by disbelief and horror. She would later remember that the air seemed too thick to let her move through it--her body felt warm and benumbed, and she was enveloped in a dreamy mist of insulation.

Except for the ferocious chopping of that unremitting arm coming down again and again on the silent child, there was almost no movement in the entire, unearthly scene. Anyone watching from inside Sodimac's or the refuge of some other concealment might have seen a grotesque tableau of madness and slaughter being enacted on that soundless street.

Though Cava was certain the macabre scene would have no end, her fixed immobility could not have lasted more than a few seconds, but during that seeming protraction of time she saw the knife repeatedly enter her sister's face and upper body. Two men suddenly appeared from somewhere beyond the margins of the tableau and grabbed at the killer, shouting as they tried to wrestle him down. But he could not be deterred--with psychotic determination, he kept stabbing at Chaska.

Even when one of the men began aiming powerful heavy-booted kicks at his face, he seemed not to notice, though his head was being knocked from side to side by the force of the blows. A policeman ran up and seized the knife wielding arm; only then did the three men manage to subdue the struggling maniac and pin him to the ground.

As the crazed attacker was pulled off Chaska, Cava rushed forward and took her sister into her arms. Turning her gently over from her side onto her back, and looking into that lacerated little face, she said softly, "Chaska, Chaska" as if she were cooing to a cradled babe. The

child's head and neck were covered with blood and her face was soaked in it, but her eyes were clear.

The ambulance sped Chaska to the nearest hospital, which was only a few minutes away. Although she was clearly pulseless and brain-dead on arrival, and beyond clinical death, the appalled emergency room team did every possible thing to bring her back, even with the certain foreknowledge that their attempts would be futile. When they finally gave up, their frustration and rage turned to grief. Tearfully, one of the doctors told Cava and her parents what they already knew.

The man who murdered Chaska Perez was a thirty-nine-year-old paranoid schizophrenic named Pedro Martinez. Two years earlier, he had been acquitted by reason of insanity in the attempted knife murder of his roommate, whom he accused of putting poison gas into their radiator. He had a long history of such attacks on people, including his sister and several high school classmates. As early as age six, he had told a psychiatrist that the devil had come up out of the ground and entered his body. Perhaps he was right.

Following the assault on his roommate, Martinez had been institutionalized in a unit for the criminally insane on the sprawling grounds of the state mental hospital situated at the outskirts of the city visited by Chaska Perez on that fateful December day. Only a short time before, an advisory board had judged him sufficiently recovered to be transferred to a unit housing an assortment of the mentally ill, where patients were permitted to sign themselves out for several hours at a time. On the morning of the assault, Martinez strolled off the grounds, took a municipal bus into town, and walked into a local hardware store. After buying a hunting knife, he came

upon the shopping mall. And there in the crowd outside Sodimac's he saw one pretty girls wearing identical dress. Rushing forward, he grabbed her by the arm, threw her to the ground, and began his demonic work.