Cross-Cultural Difference in Reactions to Facework During Service Failures

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Abstract

When companies have service failures, they need to not only fix the actual problem but also to communicate with customers in ways that do not damage the relationship. This study examines whether people with different cultural orientations react differently to the communications that attack or support community-related face (positive face) versus autonomy-related face (negative face). We predicted, and found, that Westerners (Americans) react more strongly than Asians (Koreans and Indians) to autonomy-related facework. We also predicted, and found, that the emotional impact of community-related face was stronger for Asians than for Westerners, and that the emotional impact of autonomy-related face was stronger for Westerners than Asians. Theoretical and practical implications for managing service failures across cultures are discussed.

Business relationships come in many varieties. They form between suppliers of goods and retailers, between service organizations such as law firms and their clients, and between organizations and their customers. No matter what the underlying relationship, it has two equally important components. The first component is the ''deal'', that is, the actual payments that are made and products or services that are exchanged. A second, and equally important component, is the relationship itself. The quality of the relationship addresses the level of satisfaction that parties report based on their subjective experience of the negotiation process, including the fairness of the process and their ability to save ''face'' (Curhan, Elfenbein, & Xu, 2006).

These two components are related: failures in business transactions (that is, when transactions go awry, because of problems with the product, delivery, or payment system, producing a dispute between buyer and seller) have implications not just for the violation of contractual obligations but also for how individuals perceive the relationship.

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Consequently, together with a focus on customer satisfaction, in the consumer behavior literature, there is considerable emphasis on service recovery (Hart, Heskett, & Sasser, 1990; McColl-Kennedy & Sparks, 2003; Verhoef, 2003; Weun, Beatty, & Jones, 2004): that is, what organizations can do to restore their client relationships after a service failure. Managing both relationships and relational repair is a challenging task, and those challenges increase when the service relationship crosses national boundaries. Once we move into the realm of international business relationships, we need to understand and manage relationships against the backdrop of differing representations of relationships and different norms about what is appropriate in redressing service failures (Becker, 2000; Mattila & Patterson, 2004; Wong, 2004).

In this research, our focus is on how suppliers and customers might manage their relationships within different cultures. Such service relationships, with the associated risk of service failures, are increasingly common as we embrace internet commerce. Internet commerce both allows commercial transactions to occur more easily across borders and the very process of having disputes managed via the internet makes it more likely (compared with face-to-face interactions) that aggressive approaches to dispute resolution will sometimes occur (Friedman & Currall, 2003). However, the remedies are likely to be more complex, because culture affects both how business relationships are managed and how disputes arising from service failures are resolved (Becker, 2000; Wong, 2004). Our focus is not on how the contractual aspects of such failures are managed but on how the relationship is restored. Specifically, we focus on the extent to which recognizing and restoring face, ''a claimed sense of favorable social self-worth that a person wants others to have of her or him'' (Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998, p. 187), can restore a damaged business relationship. Research on cross-cultural psychology suggests that sensitivities to face may be quite different across cultures (Oetzel & Ting-Toomey, 2003; Ting-Toomey et al., 1991): People in Eastern cultures are usually seen as being much more sensitive to face than those in Western cultures. This paper challenges the existing cross-cultural studies of face by arguing that East and West do not differ in *amount* of concern for face (the typical focus), but rather in the *type* of face they are concerned about.

In this research, we compare a Western country, the United States, with two Asian countries, India and Korea. We tested our theory using scenario-based online experiments. The context for our studies is online sales, where there is a dispute between a retail provider and a customer. We are interested in whether a customer's willingness to do business again with the company is enhanced by different types of facework in the United States compared with Korea and India. Understanding the impact of facework on business relationships has important implications for international management because our theory implies that, when facing disputes between parties, a strategy that makes perfect sense in one culture may be counterproductive in another culture.

Goffman (1967) defined the term ''face'' as ''the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by his or her self-presentation (p. 5)''. Ting-Toomey described face as ''a claimed sense of desire for social self-worth or self-image in a relational situation'' (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001, p. 19). Generally, face indicates our self-image with regard to the public. Face is not our actual image—what others see when we interact

with them—but rather it is the self-concept or self-image that "we wish to project concerning our social position, social status, and credibility and what we perceive to be the way others see us as a result" (Ginkel, 2004, p. 476). Face is an important part of social interaction in everyday life, as we want to uphold, maintain, or save our face in almost every type of social interaction.

Our face is damaged when we are teased or criticized, while our face is enhanced when we are complimented. Many social scientists have recognized that this inborn desire to maintain a positive self-image significantly influences people's emotions and decisions when they face disputes (e.g., negotiation, conflict management; Ting-Toomey, 1988; White, Tynan, Galinsky, & Thompson, 2004), and that much of what happens in daily communications (e.g., politeness, complimenting, apologies) can be considered "facework" designed to maintain face for self and others (e.g., Bond, 1991; Garcia, 1996). Facework is thus an impression management activity that aims to mitigate face threat. We engage in facework in everyday life for various reasons. One may want to save face because of one's pride and honor. Desire to keep a good reputation is another common motivation for facework. One may want to save the others' face as well, because one thinks that others have a right to keep their dignity or because one does not want to confront hostility that might come from the other's loss of face. Compassion and consideration can also motivate one to protect others' face (Goffman, 1967).

Facework targeted at another party can come in two forms: face support and face attack. Face support or face-giving is "the facework which actively promotes the given face want of the other" (Lim, 1994, p. 213). Face support is usually carried out through compliments or expressions of admiration for the other's achievement or abilities and is generally aimed to provoke favorable emotion from the hearer. By contrast, facework can also be employed to attack face. Tracy (1990) defined facework as the "communicative strategies that are the enactment, support, or *challenge* of those situated identities" (p. 210). Face-challenging tactics are commonly observed in the context of dispute or negotiation. One may challenge the others' face through showing disrespect to the other party to hold them in low repute, esteem, and standing (Brett et al., 2007). Through this tactical move, one may expect to gain a more preferable position or enhanced power in conflicts.

In the context of seller's conflict with buyers after a service failure, sellers' communications with the buyer will—whether the seller intends to or not—involve facework, as the seller's words are likely to support or attack the buyer's face. In this study, we focus on the effects of sellers' facework (i.e., face support or face attack) on buyers from different national cultures.

Face and Conflict Management

Our concern with face is focused on how face impacts conflict management. If there is a dispute between two parties, is the ability of the parties to resolve a dispute affected by how each side manages the other's face? Conflict management scholars have recognized that face theories provide a useful framework for understanding peoples' behaviors and decisions in situations where two parties have different interests (e.g., negotiation, dispute

resolution, etc.). According to Wilson (1992), negotiations often have inherent potential threats to face, as the parties are telling each other what they should do and may either attack or support face as tactics to cajole others into accepting their preferred alternative. Responses to negotiation tactics may be driven as much by concerns to protect face as by concerns to achieve better outcomes. For example, concession in negotiation may indicate submission to the other party's request, potentially signaling weakness, foolishness, or incompetence (i.e., losing face) to the opponent or audiences or constituencies (Pruitt, 1971). To prevent such a situation of losing face, people may limit their concessions (Hiltrop & Rubin, 1981), even if those might be needed to obtain a deal.

Face has been shown to affect not only negotiation but also dispute resolution more broadly. In a recent study by Brett et al. (2007), face affected how quickly online mediators were able to resolve disputes between parties with a dispute over a purchase made on eBay. When disputants wrote messages that supported the face of the other party (such as providing a social account for the dispute), resolution occurred more quickly; when disputants wrote messages that attacked the other party's face (such as expressing negative emotions and making demands), resolution occurred more slowly. Thus, as in negotiations, face threats reduce the ability to resolve disputes quickly and effectively. In both contexts, the speed and effectiveness of resolution is determined by whether the communicator chooses to attack or support the other's face. Resolution is impeded when communicators attack others' face and facilitated when they support others' face.

H1: Face attack by parties in a dispute will reduce the likelihood that the dispute will be resolved, while face support by parties in a dispute will increase the likelihood that a dispute will be resolved.

Politeness Theory and Facework

One of the seminal works on face is Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory. According to this theory, face occurs in two forms. One is ''positive'' face, the desire to be approved of by others, and the other is ''negative'' face, the desire to be unimpeded by others. In other words, positive face is one's desire to positively affirm the existence of a relationship or tie with other people. Negative face is one's wish to maintain autonomy and to confirm one's independence from influence by others. Building on Goffman's (1967) concept of facework (face support and face attack) and Brown and Levinson's (1987) distinction of two faces (positive face and negative face) in their politeness theory, we can think of four types of facework: positive face support, positive face attack, negative face support, and negative face attack. *Positive face support* is an attempt to support the other party's positive face by expressing that they are a worthy companion. Individuals convey this intention when they claim common ground with the other party, exaggerate their common interests, express sympathy, attend to the other's needs, or give gifts. In contrast, *negative face support* is an attempt to support the other party's negative face by expressing respect for their autonomy and freedom (Lim & Bowers, 1991). Negative face support is conveyed when we try not to coerce the other party, show deference to others, and try to minimize our imposition on them, apologize, or beg forgiveness. Turning to face attack,

positive face attack is an attempt to devalue the relationship with the other party. Some common tactics to attack the other's positive face would be to show a lack of sympathy or concern for the other, aggressively disagree with them, explain that their problems are of no concern to you, or show that the other party is not part of your group. *Negative face attack* occurs when one undermines the autonomy of the other party and shows lack of respect and can produce feelings of embarrassment, anxiety, and depression (Cupach & Carson, 2002). Tactics used to attack the other's negative face include making demands on the other person, telling that person what he or she ought to do, and generally presuming to be in charge of the other person.

These four types of facework may occur when sellers interact with buyers who are complaining about the unsatisfactory goods or services. The most common facework by sellers is supporting buyers' face. Sellers may apologize for the product/service failure and reassure the buyer that he or she is in control (negative face support) or tell customers that they value customers and want customers coming back in the future (positive face support). Although sellers mainly engage in face support after product/service failure, sellers can also carry out face attacks. If seller's feel that they were the ones who were mistreated, they may demand actions of the buyer placing the seller in control (negative face attack) or suggest that the buyer is not so important as to deserve any special treatment (positive face attack). While concerns with face are thought to be universal, the ways in which people react to particular forms of face attack and face support may be different in different parts of the world. In the next section, we examine the ways that culture may affect responses to positive and negative facework.

Culture, Norms, and the Influence of Facework

Markus and Kitayama (1991) maintain that Westerners and non-Westerners (primarily Asians) differ in their relational self-construals (that is, how they represent their relationships with others). Whereas the self is perceived as independent and standing apart from others in Western cultures, the self is perceived as interdependent with and defined in relation with others in Asian cultures. As Kitayama, Markus, Matsumoto, and Norasakkunkit (1997) put it, "Western, especially, European American middle-class cultures are organized according to meanings and practices that promote the independence and autonomy of a self that is separate from other similar selves and from social context. … In contrast, many Asian cultures do not highlight the explicit separation of each individual (Kitayama et al., 1997, p. 1247)." Rather, they focus on "the fundamental connectedness of human beings to each other" (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, p. 227). As a result of these different relational self-construals, Asians value social capital—the relationship—more than Westerners (Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbett, 1998; Gelfand, Major, Raver, Nishii, & O Brien, 2006; Kitayama et al., 1997). Moreover, Asians place greater importance on a sense of belonging than Westerners who, conversely, value autonomy and independence.

These differences in values translate into different social norms as well. Social norms are "rules and standards that are understood by members of a group, and the guide and/or constrain social behavior without the force of laws" (Cialdini & Trost, 1998, p. 152). They

inform us the common rules of desirable as well as unacceptable behaviors in a given society (Triandis, 1994). Social norms not only prescribe us how to behave properly but also inform us about how others would act in similar situations (Cialdini, Kallgren, & Reno, 1991; Cialdini, Reno, & Kallgren, 1990). People who violate social norms are liable to experience negative feelings (Ohbuchi et al., 2004), negative evaluations (Kiesler, 1966), and rejections (Triandis, 1989) from their in-group members. We maintain that, because of their different self-construals and social values, Asians and Westerners hold different implicit interactional norms. Because of their strong emphasis on social relationships, Asians, compared with Westerners, have higher expectations of the other party's recognition of the value of the relationship with them. On the other hand, Westerners, compared with Asians, have higher expectations of the other party's respect for their autonomy and independence, because of their strong emphasis on those values.

These differences in self-construals and social norms imply that Asians and Westerners will be more sensitive to positive and negative face, respectively. Because positive facework focuses on affirming or rejecting the other party's membership in a community, people from Asian cultures are more likely to respond well to positive face support and undermined by positive face attacks than people from Western cultures. Because negative facework focuses on affirming or rejecting the other party's sense of autonomy, people from Western cultures are more likely to respond well to negative face support and undermined by negative face attacks. Consequently, it is likely that positive and negative facework will have a differential impact on business relationships, depending on whether they occur in Asian or Western cultures. In the context of disputes over service failures, dispute resolution will be influenced more strongly by positive facework in Asian cultures, while it will be influenced more strongly by negative facework in Western cultures.

H2a: The influence of positive facework on ability to resolve disputes will be higher for people from Asian cultures than Western cultures.

H2b: The influence of negative facework on ability to resolve disputes will be higher for people from Western cultures than Asian cultures.

Mediating Mechanisms

In order for positive or negative facework to have an effect, it must be experienced by the other party as a threat (or benefit) to face. We refer to the impact of facework as *subjective face threat*. To be clear, when we are talking about actual comments made to attack/support face (which are objectively manipulated in our study), we use the words "face attack" and "face support"; when we are talking about the subjective experience of attack/support, we use the words "subjective face threat." Subjective face threat is increased by face attacks and decreased by face support. Following this reasoning, face attacks should create the subjective experience of either being cut-off and disrespected (high subjective positive face threat) *or* of losing one's autonomy (high subjective negative face threat). The former should occur as a result of positive face attacks, while the latter should occur as a result of negative face attacks. Conversely, face support should

Table 1
Examples of Positive/Negative Face Attack/Support and Their Impact on Targets

	Facework examples	Target's subjective feelings after facework
Positive face		
Support	Claiming common ground (e.g., similar attitudes, opinions, empathy, etc.) with the other party, exaggerating common interests, giving gifts, compliments, approval, praise	Reduced subjective positive face threat—feeling that the other party is trying to support the relationship; feeling liked, and appreciated
Attack	Showing a lack of sympathy or concern for the other, aggressive disagreement, explaining that their problems are of no concern to you, or showing that the other party is not part of your group	Enhanced subjective positive face threat—feeling that the other party is trying to damage the relationship; feeling unwelcome and ostracized
Negative face		
Support	Showing deference to the other party, trying to minimize the imposition on them, apologizing, and begging forgiveness	Reduced subjective negative face threat—feeling that the other party is trying to support your independence; feeling self-directing and self-governing
Attack	Making demands on the other person, telling that person what he or she ought to do, and generally presuming to be in charge of the other person	Enhanced subjective negative face threat—feeling that the other party is trying to control and constrain you; feeling restrained

create the subjective experience of respect and belonging (reduced subjective positive face threat) *or* of retaining one's independence and freedom (reduced subjective negative face threat). The former should occur as a result of positive face support, while the latter should occur as a result of negative face support (Table 1 describes the examples of positive/negative face attack/support and their impact on targets). The natural causal chain, then, puts subjective face threat between facework and resolution of the dispute. Recalling that we expect face attacks to both decrease willingness to resolve disputes (H1) and to increase subjective face threat, we hypothesize that:

H3: The effect of positive face attack on ability to resolve disputes is mediated by subjective positive face threat; the effect of negative face attack on ability to resolve dispute is mediated by subjective negative face threat.

While this mediating effect is expected to be universal, how broad the emotional impact is of face attacks or face support may be different in different cultures. In particular, we ask whether positive facework might have a more global impact for people in Asian cultures (impacting not just subjective experience of positive face but also subjective experience of negative face), and whether negative facework might have a more global impact for people in Western cultures (impacting not just subjective experience of negative face but also subjective experience of positive face). Our general argument is that, because of their greater sensitivity to autonomy, threats to independence

(that is, negative face attacks) will have a global impact on the subjective experience of both positive and negative face in Western cultures, whereas their impact will be restricted to subjective negative face in Asian cultures. Conversely, because of their greater sensitivity to community, threats to a sense of belonging (positive face attacks) will have a global impact on the subjective experience of both positive and negative face in Asian cultures, whereas their impact will be restricted to subjective positive face in Western cultures.

First, we consider the effects of face on people from Western cultures. In many cases, negative face attack is carried out as a form of ''command,'' directing what the hearer should do. Commands usually imply ''not only what the recipient should do but also convey the expectation that the recipient will comply with the directive'' (Brett et al., 2007, p. 89). This implication attacks the hearer's autonomy and independence, and thus their subjective experience of negative face threat increases. Furthermore, for people with high desire to be unimpeded and unhindered by others (Westerners), this type of communication (command) can also damage their sense of community. As independence and autonomy are so central in social relationships for Westerners, when they feel that their autonomy is threatened by the other party, their subjective feelings of being treated as a respected social interaction partner (subjective positive face) can be seriously damaged.

However, we expect that positive face attack does not significantly affect subjective negative face threat for Westerners. Through a positive face attack, the speaker implies that the hearer is not a good companion of the speaker. In other words, positive face attack strongly conveys the meaning of separation by denying the value of relationship between two parties. It should damage positive face, but there is no theoretical reason to expect that it damages Westerner's sense of autonomy (that is, produce an experience of subjective negative face threat).

Turning now to people from Asian cultures, we expect a different pattern. Attacks on belonging to the community (positive face attacks) may damage both subjective positive and subjective negative face, while attacks on autonomy (negative face attacks) should hurt only subjective negative face for Asians. Markus and Kitayama (1991) maintained that Asians have an interdependent self-construal. The interdependent self becomes most meaningful and complete when individuals are involved in appropriate social relationships. As, for Asians, self is understood and defined through the relationship with others, autonomy and relationship cannot be separated. For example, ''an independence behavior exhibited by a person in an interdependent culture is likely to be based on the premise of underlying interdependence'' (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, p. 227). This may mean that an Asian cannot be truly independent without a firm and fundamental relationship with other in-group members. Given that autonomy and relationship cannot be separated for Asians, we expect that Asians' feeling of independence will be damaged when the foundation of their social life (relationship) is threatened. That is, for Asians, positive face attacks will damage both subjective positive and negative face.

On the other hand, we expect that attacks on autonomy (negative face attacks) for Asians will influence the subjective experience of negative face, but not the subjective experience of positive face. Compared with Westerners, Asians are less likely to be influenced by ego-focused feelings such as anger because (a) they are more likely to

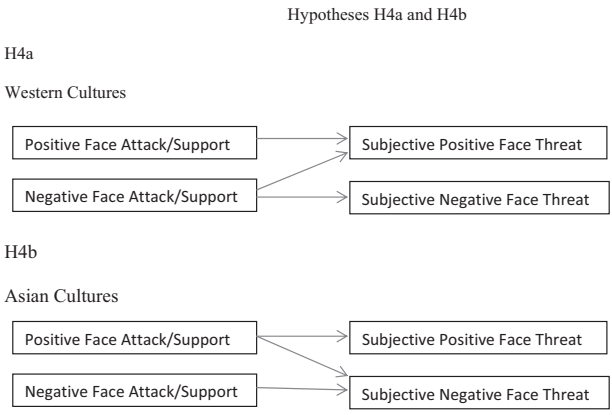

Figure 1. Hypotheses H4a and H4b.

learn to control private feelings to facilitate the interpersonal relationships and (b) one's inner feelings, compared with interpersonal relationships, are less important in determining consequent actions (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). This means that Asians are more likely to put priority on interpersonal relationships than ego-focused feelings. Therefore, it is likely that Asians' relationship-related face (subjective positive face) is not influenced by an attack on their feelings of autonomy (negative face attacks) and the resulting negative emotions. These hypotheses are shown visually in Figure 1.

H4a: For people from Western cultures, negative face attacks will impact the subjective experience of both positive and negative face threats, while positive face attacks will arouse only the subjective experience of positive face threat.

H4b: For people from Asian cultures, positive face attacks will impact the subjective experience of both positive and negative face threats, while negative face attacks will arouse only the subjective experience of negative face threat.

Methods

Study Design

We studied responses to face attacks using a scenario study that was implemented via eLab, a virtual laboratory with a large subject pool of adults around the world. Subjects were invited to join a study, ostensibly about online marketing. Subjects were told about a conflict between a retailer of dehumidifiers and one of its customers that occurred because the customer had a problem with the product that was received (see Appendix 1 for the full scenario). In response to the customer's complaint, the retailer offered in all cases to provide the addition pump that was needed at a 40% discount. However, there were added comments made by the retailer that were designed to match the four

approaches to face discussed earlier (positive face attack, positive face support, negative face attack, and negative face support). Using a scenario format in this study allowed us to carefully control the communication. In particular, it allowed us to make sure that in all cases the substance of the offer made to the complaining buyer was exactly the same (the 40% discount on the new pump), while varying *how* the offer was made.

Subjects

The experiments were conducted with subjects who are born and living in the United States, South Korea, and India.[1] We selected United States for Western culture, and Korea and India for Asian culture. Korean and Indian culture share many representative cultural characteristics of Asia such as high collectivism, high power distance (Hofstede, 1983; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998), long-term orientation (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005), high-context interaction patterns (Hall, 1976; Hall & Mildred, 1990), and interdependent self-construal (Markus & Kitayama, 1994). Initial e-mail invitations went to 550 American e-Lab subjects and 184 responded,[2] yielding a 32% response rate. The final American population had a mean age of 43, mean education level of ''some college'', and was 45% female. Participation was rewarded by being in a drawing for $100. One check was given for every 100 participants. Five hundred and fifty invitations were initially sent to Korean subjects and 214 responded to the invitation, resulting in 39% response rate. The final Korean population had a mean age of 32 years, mean education level of ''college'', and was 52% female. Four hundred and fifty-two invitations were initially sent to Indian eLab subjects, 81 subjects responded to the invitation resulting in 18% response rate. The final Indian population had a mean age of 38 years, mean education level of ''college'', and was 54% female.

We believe that comparing Asians and Westerners by their nationality, so-called common view approach (see Heine, Lehman, Peng, & Greenholtz, 2002), is an appropriate way to investigate the behavioral differences between interdependent Asians and independent Westerners. Numerous cross-cultural comparison studies were based on this approach (e.g., Choi, Nisbett, & Norenzayan, 1999; Cousins, 1989; Hsee & Weber, 1999; Iyengar & Lepper, 1999; Kim & Markus, 1999; Kitayama, Markus, & Kurokawa, 2000; Kitayama et al., 1997; Morris & Peng, 1994; Peng & Nisbett, 1999; Yamagishi & Yamagishi, 1994). Although comparing cultures on the basis of the mean scores of subjective Likert measures of individualism–collectivism has been another method to study cultural

[1]eLab is owned and managed by a major research university located in southern part of U.S. We used eLab for American and Indian subjects. The Korean eLab is owned and managed by a major Korean marketing research company. We used Korean eLab for Korean subjects. For Korean subjects, all the scenarios and questionnaires were translated to Korean. The Korean version of scenarios and questionnaires were back-translated to English to ensure the similarity with the English version. Indian subject were given the scenarios and questionnaires in English. There was no renumeration of subjects.

[2]Among 184 American respondents, there are six African Americans, nine Hispanics, and nine Asian Americans. The rest are European Americans. Based on the common view approach, we believe that Asian Americans are closer to the prototypical Westerners (independent) than Asians.

differences, we did not use this method because our theory is based on Asia–West differences not individualism–collectivism distinction.

Structured Face Communications

We constructed communications about face to conform to the definitions of positive and negative face provided by Brown and Levinson (1987). They identified 15 distinct communication strategies that convey positive face–focused politeness and a further 15 communication strategies that convey negative face focused politeness. We used a subset of these strategies as the basis for our scenarios. We selected these strategies based on their plausibility within the dispute context and our ability to credibly incorporate them into written messages. To develop our positive face scenarios, we focused on two strategies that conveyed cooperation: expressing optimism and suggestions that included both parties in the resolution/problem-solving process. To develop our negative face scenarios, we focused on three strategies that address independence and responsibility: attempting to minimize the imposition on the buyer, giving deference to the buyer, and apologizing. In the face support condition, the scenario was congruent with these principles; in the face attack condition, the scenario violated these principles. Our scenarios are shown in Appendix 2. Therefore, our study design was 2 (attack/support) × 2 (positive/negative face) × 3 (United States, Korea, India).

After receiving the message from the offending seller, participants were asked to respond to a number of survey items. These included a question about their willingness to do business with that seller again (''I would consider doing business with this company again''). This item is our main dependent variable, indicating whether the dispute was resolved to the point that the subject would be willing to maintain an ongoing relationship with the business. We should note that in marketing research, there is strong evidence that single-item measures have similar results as multi-item scales, so that in cases with a singular object and a concrete attribute, single-item measures should be used (Bergkvist & Rossiter, 2007). Also, we asked questions about their subjective experiences of positive and negative face.

Measures

Subjective face threat was measured using Cupach and Carson's (2002) politeness scale. This scale includes 10 items that measure subjective positive face threat and four items that measure subjective negative face threat. The subjective positive face threat scale included items that asked participants whether they felt that the company's actions were, e.g., rude, insensitive, disrespectful, hostile, contemptuous and relationship, or damaging. The subjective negative face threat scale included items that asked participants whether they felt that the company's actions constrained their choices, took away their independence, made them look bad in the eyes of others, and invaded their privacy. These subjective face threat items and the item asking about willingness to do business with the seller again were answered on 7-point Likert scales. Scale reliabilities and correlations for three cultures are shown in Table 2.

Table 2
Correlations and Scale Reliabilities

Variables	Mean	*SD*	1	2	3
United States (*N* = 184)					
Subjective positive face threat	3.34	1.79	(.94)		
Subjective negative face threat	4.12	1.31	.52**	(.75)	
Willingness to do business (WILL)	2.78	1.7	−.75**	−.36**	–
Korea (*N* = 214)					
Subjective positive face threat	4.39	1.36	(.79)		
Subjective negative face threat	4.55	1.23	.75**	(.80)	
Willingness to do business (WILL)	2.45	1.67	−.41**	−.38**	–
India (*N* = 81)					
Subjective positive face threat	4.17	1.24	(.84)		
Subjective negative face threat	4.58	1.32	.66**	(.76)	
Willingness to do business (WILL)	2.93	1.86	−.45**	−.28*	–

Note. Numbers on the diagonal are Cronbach's alphas for each variable.
**$p < .01$; *$p < .05$.

Results

To test H1 (which says that, for both Westerners and Asians, positive and negative face attack by sellers in a commercial dispute reduce customer willingness to do business again with the seller, while positive and negative face support by sellers enhance customer willingness to do business again with the seller), we conducted an analysis of covariance (ANCOVA[3]), with controls for age, education, and gender,[4] for both positive and negative facework conditions for the subjects from all three countries (United States, Korea, and India). The results are summarized in Table 3. Customer willingness to do business again after face attack ($M = 1.73$, $SD = 1.19$) is significantly lower than that after face support ($M = 2.75$, $SD = 1.78$) for positive face, $F(1, 229) = 25.62$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .1$. Also for negative face, customer willingness to do business again after face attack ($M = 2.11$, $SD = 1.65$) is significantly lower than that after face support ($M = 3.36$, $SD = 1.76$), $F(1, 229) = 29.73$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$. We next conducted an ANCOVA for each country (United States, Korea, and India) to see whether this pattern held within each country. The results are summarized in Table 3. The only condition where willingness to do business again was not significantly higher in the face support than the face attack conditions was for Indians when considering negative face, which is consistent with our later culturally-focused hypotheses. Therefore, H1 is fully supported by American and Korean data, but partially by Indian data.

[3]We also conducted ANOVAs, instead of ANCOVAs, to test hypotheses H1, H2a and H2b. The results of hypothesis tests without controlling demographic variables (ANOVA) are same with those with controlling demographic variables (ANCOVA).

[4]Shimanoff (1994) and Ting-Toomey and Kurogi (1998) recognized that age, gender, and status are associated with individual's claimed sense of favorable social self-image (face concern) in a relational context.

Table 3
ANCOVA Results for the Effects of Facework (Support/Attack) on Willingness to Do Business Again

	Support		Attack			
	Mean	*SD*	Mean	*SD*	*F*	η_p^2
All three countries						
Positive face	2.75	1.78	1.73	1.19	25.62 (1, 229)***	.1
Negative face	3.36	1.76	2.11	1.65	29.73 (1, 229)***	.12
US						
Positive face	2.68	1.84	1.38	.85	18.40 (1, 80)***	.19
Negative face	3.7	1.71	1.57	1.07	49.20 (1, 83)***	.37
Korea						
Positive face	2.48	1.61	1.78	1.06	7.38 (1, 103)**	.07
Negative face	3.15	1.71	2.39	1.92	4.24 (1, 101)*	.04
India						
Positive face	3.62	1.86	2.35	1.79	3.66 (1, 36)*	.09
Negative face	3.15	1.98	2.55	1.67	0.56 (1, 35)	.02

Note. Age, education, and gender are controlled for all models.
*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed).

H2a proposes that the influence of positive facework on willingness to do business again is higher for people from Asian countries than those from Western countries. To test this hypothesis, we conducted a 3 (country: United States, Korea, India) × 2 (facework: support vs. attack) ANCOVA, controlling for age, education, and gender. We found that, as shown in Table 4, our analysis did not support H2a: in the positive face condition, the interaction between country and facework did not affect participants' willingness to do business with the seller ($F[2, 225] = 1.34$, $p > .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$).

H2b proposes that the influence of negative facework on willingness to do business again is higher for people from Western countries than those from Asian countries. We tested this hypotheses in a 3 (country: United States, Korea, India) × 2 (facework: support vs. attack) ANCOVA, controlling for age, education, and gender. A significant interaction between country and facework, $F(2, 225) = 4.89$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$, supported H2b (see Table 4). To explore further, we conducted two separate ANCOVAs, one of which compared United States and Korean subjects' responses with negative facework, the other of which compared United States and Indian subjects' responses with negative facework. Again, age, education, and gender are controlled. Both tests generated significant interactions between culture and facework ($F = 8.82$, $p < .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$ for United States vs. Korea; $F = 5.13$, $p < .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$ for United States vs. India). Figure 2 shows the adjusted means of willingness to do business again in two facework conditions (support and attack) made by American and Korean respondents. Figure 3 shows the adjusted means of willingness to do business again in two facework conditions made by American and Indian respondents. In both interactions, negative facework had a higher impact on Americans. From these results, we can conclude that threats to autonomy have a bigger impact on willingness to do business again for Americans than for Koreans or Indians.

Table 4
ANCOVA Results for the Effects of Culture and Facework (Support/Attack) on Willingness to Do Business Again in Positive Face and Negative Face Conditions

	3 Countries			United States and Korea			United States and India		
Comparison	*df*	*F*	η_p^2	*df*	*F*	η_p^2	*df*	*F*	η_p^2
Positive face condition									
Controls									
Age	1, 225	0.22	.001	1, 186	0.07	0	1, 119	0.06	.001
Education	1, 225	3.27	.01	1, 186	2.88*	.02	1, 119	3.22*	.03
Gender	1, 225	0.36	.002	1, 186	0.05	0	1, 119	1.29	.01
Main effects									
Culture	2, 225	7.67***	.06	1, 186	0.4	.002	1, 119	11.11***	.09
Facework	1, 225	25.08***	.1	1, 186	23.72***	.11	1, 119	17.87***	.13
Interaction effect	2, 225	1.34	.01	1, 186	2.44	.01	1, 119	0.11	.001
Culture × Facework									
R^2			.17			.13			.23
n			234			193			126
Negative face condition									
Controls									
Age	1, 225	2.07	.01	1, 187	1.15	.01	1, 121	0.91	.01
Education	1, 225	0.001	0	1, 187	0.17	.001	1, 121	0.002	0
Gender	1, 225	4.63*	.02	1, 187	4.17*	.02	1, 121	6.75**	.05
Main effects									
Culture	2, 225	0.08	.001	1, 187	0.002	0	1, 121	0.27	.002
Facework	1, 225	23.11***	.09	1, 187	33.45***	.15	1, 121	23.03***	.16
Interaction effect	2, 225	4.89**	.04	1, 187	8.82**	.05	1, 121	5.13*	.04
Culture × Facework									
R^2			.18			.2			.3
n			234			194			128

Notes. Age (1 = 20s or lower, 6 = 70s or higher). Education (1 = Less than high school, 6 = post graduate). Gender (0 = Male, 1 = Female).
*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$ (two-tailed).

H3 states that the effect of positive facework on willingness to do business again with a seller is mediated by the subjective positive face threat experience, while the effect of negative facework on willingness to do business again is mediated by subjective negative face threat. To test H3, we conducted two mediation analyses for each of the three countries studied. We employed the method described by Baron and Kenny (1986) to show the mediating effects, and the results are summarized in Table 5.[5] Figure 4 shows the relationships that are tested in these models.

[5]Table 5 presents the results of a series of ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions with controlling demographic variables. We also conducted the same regressions without controlling demographic variables. The results of hypothesis tests hold same.

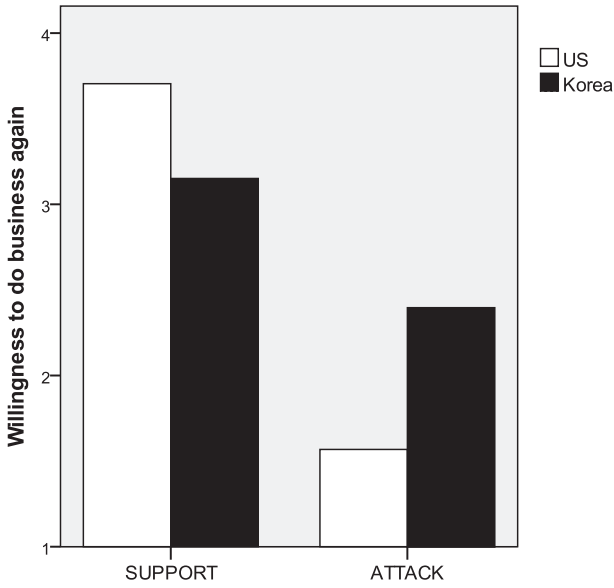

Figure 2. Adjusted means of willingness to do business again in negative face support/attack conditions made by American and Korean respondents.

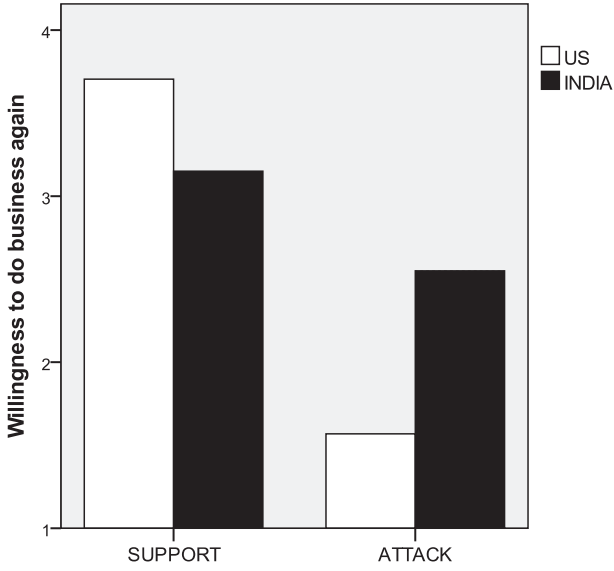

Figure 3. Adjusted means of willingness to do business again in negative face support/attack conditions made by American and Indian respondents.

Table 5
Multiple Regressions for Testing H3 and H4

Dependent Variables	Willingness to do business again Model 1	Subjective positive face threat Model 2	Willingness to do business again Model 3	Willingness to do business again Model 4	Subjective negative face threat Model 5	Willingness to do business again Model 6	Subjective negative face threat Model 7	Subjective positive face threat Model 8
US								
Age	–0.001	0.003	0.002	–0.005	0.009	–0.003	0.01	0.02
Education	–0.22	0.11	–0.11	0.09	0.05	0.11	–0.02	–0.01
Gender	–0.26	0.11	–1.16	–0.88**	0.27	–0.81**	–0.29	0.75**
Positive facework (0 = support, 1 = attack)	–1.36***	2.02***	0.55				0.24	
Subjective positive face threat			–0.95***					
Negative facework (0 = support, 1 = attack)				–2.07***	1.26***	–1.75***		2.49***
Subjective negative face threat						–0.24*		
Model R^2	.21	.51	.21	.43	.25	.45	.03	.59
R^2 Adjusted	.17	.48	.17	.4	.21	.42	–.02	.57
Overall *F*	5.301***	20.68***	5.301***	15.47***	6.857***	13.55***	0.57	29.94***
df	4, 80	4, 80	5, 79	4, 83	4, 84	5, 82	4, 80	4, 84
Korea								
Age	0.01	0.005	0.02	–0.02	0.007	–0.02	0.01	0.002
Education	–0.05	0.002	–0.05	0.02	–0.04	0.01	–0.1	–0.16*
Gender	0.19	0.007	0.2	–0.19	0.27	–0.09	0.31	–0.13
Positive facework (0 = support, 1 = attack)	–0.75**	0.8***	–0.09				0.73***	
Subjective positive face threat			–0.83***					

Table 5
(Continued)

Dependent Variables	Willingness to do business again Model 1	Subjective positive face threat Model 2	Willingness to do business again Model 3	Willingness to do business again Model 4	Subjective negative face threat Model 5	Willingness to do business again Model 6	Subjective negative face threat Model 7	Subjective positive face threat Model 8
Negative facework (0 = support, 1 = attack)				−0.75*	0.67**	−0.5		1.24***
Subjective negative face threat						−0.37**		
Model R^2	.08	.231	.27	.06	.09	.12	.14	.34
R^2 Adjusted	.04	.2	.23	.02	.06	.07	.11	.32
Overall *F*	2.09	7.737***	7.53***	1.55	2.584*	2.647*	4.269**	13.23***
df	4, 103	4, 103	5, 102	4, 101	4, 101	5, 100	4, 103	4, 101
India								
Age	0.02	−0.01	0.01	−0.03	0.01	−0.02	−0.02	0.005
Education	−0.11	−0.08	−0.14	−0.3	−0.19	−0.51*	−0.02	0.19
Gender	−0.51	0.02	−0.5	−0.31	−0.35	−0.68	−0.03	−0.15
Positive facework (0 = support, 1 = attack)	−1.14*	1.65***	−0.43				1.61***	
Subjective positive face threat			−0.43*					
Negative facework (0 = support, 1 = attack)				−0.46	0.55	0.13		0.86**
Subjective negative face threat						−1.09***		

Table 5
(Continued)

Dependent Variables	Willingness to do business again Model 1	Subjective positive face threat Model 2	Willingness to do business again Model 3	Willingness to do business again Model 4	Subjective negative face threat Model 5	Willingness to do business again Model 6	Subjective negative face threat Model 7	Subjective positive face threat Model 8
Model R^2	.14	.39	.2	.1	.15	.46	.32	.23
R^2 Adjusted	.05	.32	.09	−.01	.05	.39	.25	.14
Overall *F*	1.518	5.797***	1.776	0.93	1.528	5.885***	4.311**	2.61*
df	4, 36	4, 36	5, 35	4, 35	4, 35	5, 34	4, 36	4, 35

Notes. Age (1 = 20s or lower, 6 = 70s or higher). Education (1 = Less than high school, 6 = post graduate). Gender (0 = Male, 1 = Female).
*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$. (Controls are reported two-tailed, while variables with directional hypotheses are reported one-tailed.)

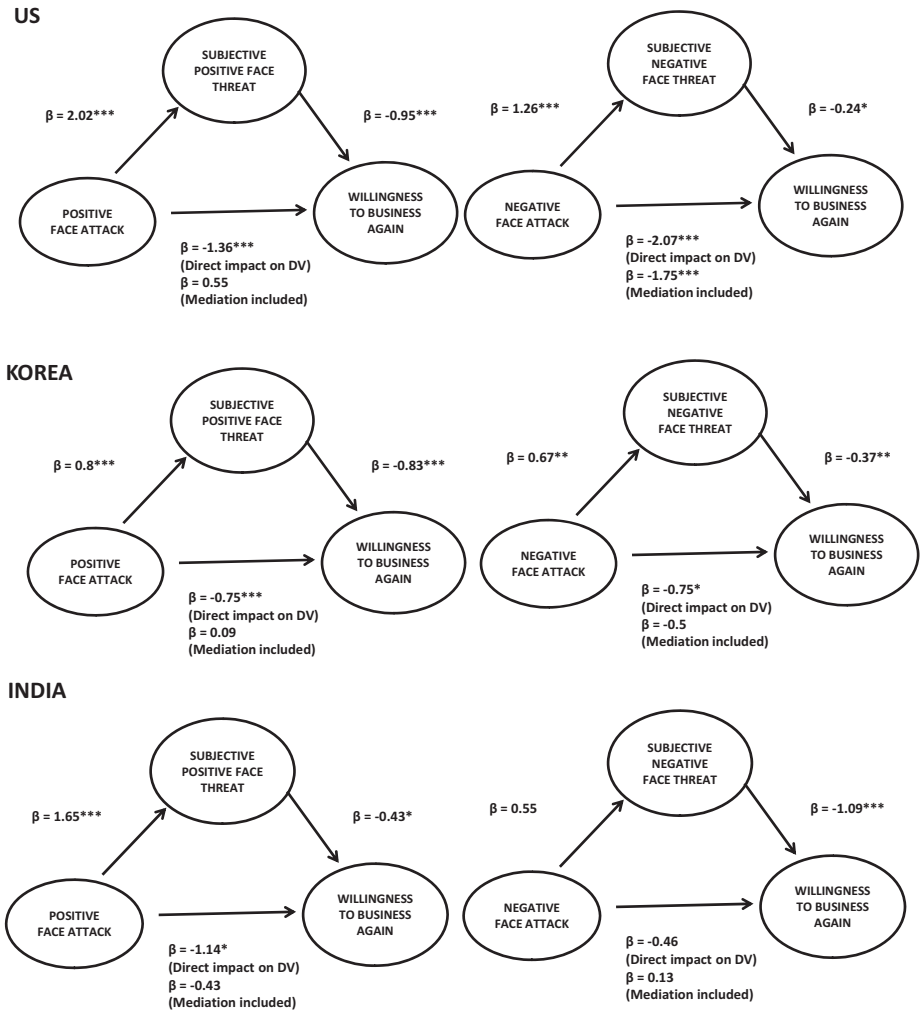

Figure 4. Theoretical mechanism between facework and willingness to do business again.
Notes. All betas reported are unstandardized. Age, education, and gender are controlled in all models.
*$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$ (one-tailed).

To show that the effect of A on C occurs through B, you need to (1) show that A affects C, (2) show that B predicts C, and (3) show that when B is added to the model demonstrating that A affects C, B is significant, while the effect of A is reduced (partial mediation) or eliminated (full mediation). In our case, for each country, model 1 and model 4 (see Table 5) show the main effect of IV (positive/negative facework [0 = support, 1 = attack]) on DV (willingness to do business again). Model 2 and model 5 present the effect of IV on the mediator (subjective positive/negative face threat). And model 3 and model 6 show the effect of IV on DV, while mediator is included.

Looking first at positive face attack for Americans, we see that positive face attack increases subjective positive face threat ($\beta = 2.02$, $p < .001$; model 2), which decreases willingness to do business again ($\beta = -.95$, $p < .001$; model 3). After adding subjective positive face threat to the model 1, the relationship between positive face attack and willingness to do business again goes from a significant negative relationship ($\beta = -1.36$, $p < .001$; model 1) to a nonsignificant relationship ($\beta = .55$, $p =$ n.s.; model 3), indicating full mediation. Turning next to negative face attack for Americans, we see that negative face attack does increase subjective negative face threat ($\beta = 1.26$, $p < .001$; model 5), which does decrease willingness to do business again ($\beta = -.24$, $p < .05$; model 6). Adding Subjective negative face threat to the model 4, the significant impact of negative face attack on willingness to do business again goes from -2.07^{***} (model 4) to -1.75^{***} (model 6). Given that there clearly is not full mediation, we conducted a Sobel test to see whether there was partial mediation. Results ($Z = -1.82$, $p < .05$ [one-tailed]) showed a partial mediation.

Looking first at positive face attack for Koreans, we see that positive face attack increases subjective positive face threat ($\beta = .8$, $p < .001$; model 2), which decreases willingness to do business again ($\beta = -.83$, $p < .001$; model 3). After adding subjective positive face threat to the model 1, the relationship between positive face attack and willingness to do business again goes from a significant negative relationship ($\beta = -.75$, $p < .01$; model 1) to a nonsignificant relationship ($\beta = -.09$, $p =$ n.s.; model 3), indicating full mediation. Turning next to negative face attack for Koreans, we see that negative face attack does increase subjective negative face threat ($\beta = .67$, $p < .01$; model 5), which does decrease willingness to do business again ($\beta = -.37$, $p < .01$; model 6). Adding subjective negative face threat to the model 4, the impact of negative face attack on willingness to do business again goes from significant ($\beta = -.75$, $p < .05$; model 4) to nonsignificant ($\beta = -.5$, $p =$ n.s.; model 6), indicating full mediation.

For Indian subjects, we cannot test H3 for the impact of negative face attacks, as we already know that there is no main effect of negative face attack on willingness to do business again for Indians. However, results show that positive face attack does increase subjective positive face threat ($\beta = 1.65$, $p < .001$; model 2), which does reduce willingness to do business again ($\beta = -.43$, $p < .05$; model 3). Adding subjective positive face threat to the model1, the impact of positive face attack on willingness to do business again goes from significant negative ($\beta = -1.14$, $p < .05$; model 1) to nonsignificant ($\beta = -.43$, $p =$ n.s.; model 3), indicating full mediation. In sum, H3 was supported.

H4a proposes that, for people from Western cultures, only negative facework has a global effect on subjects' subjective experience of face threat (impacting both subjective positive face and subjective negative face), while H4b proposes that, for those from Asian cultures, only positive facework has a global effect on subjects' subjective experience of face threat (impacting both subjective positive face and subjective negative face). OLS regression models were run to test each of these hypotheses, and the results are included in Table 5. For Americans, we see that negative face attack/support affects subjective negative face threat (model 5) as well as subjective positive face threat (model 8), while positive face attack/support affects subjective positive face threat (model 2), but does not affect subjective negative face threat (model 7). Thus, for Americans, negative

face attack/support has a more global impact on subjective experience of face than does positive face attack/support. Thus H4a is supported.

For Indians, we see that positive face attack/support affects subjective positive face threat (model 2) as well as subjective negative face threat (model 7), while negative face attack/support affects subjective positive face threat (model 8), but does not affect subjective negative face threat (model 5). Thus, for Indians, positive face attack/support has a more global impact on subjective experience of face than does negative face attack/support. However, what was surprising is that negative face support/attack impacts not subjective experience of negative face, but rather subjective experience of positive face. It appears that even when confronted with negative face attacks, these actions are interpreted through the lens of positive face threats rather than negative face threats. This is consistent with the idea that Asians focus more on positive face than negative face. From these results, H4b is partially supported.

For Koreans, positive face attack/support and negative face attack/support all had an impact on both subjective experience of positive and negative face (model 2, 5, 7, and 8). The result of the global impact of positive face is expected, and consistent with what we found in India, but the finding of a global impact of negative face attacks for Koreans was not expected. It appears that Koreans are more reactive to negative face attacks than we expected, and more reactive than Indians. This partially supports H4b. This difference between Indians and Koreans is noteworthy and may be due to some unique characteristics of Korean culture. Koreans are often described as more assertive and individualistic than other Asian groups (Alston, 1989; Chang & Chang, 1994). For example, compared with Japanese, Koreans are more likely to interrupt and issue commands and say ''no'' in negotiations. Also, Korean workers are less loyal to their organizations compared with Japanese (Alston, 1989). These assertive and individualistic characteristics of Koreans may mean that Koreans have a stronger need for negative face than other Asians. Therefore, it is possible that negative facework results in global impact on Koreans' experience of subjective face, even though (as we showed earlier) they do not react as strongly to negative facework as do Americans.

Discussion

In an increasingly global business environment, it is likely that the companies that provide goods or services operate in a different country than recipients of those goods and services. While cross-border commerce is unlikely to be problematic when the transaction unfolds smoothly, we proposed that the successful management of service failures would be affected by individuals' national culture. In particular, we expected that even if the substantive problem could be rectified, how this was accomplished would affect the future relationship differentially based on whether buyers live in a Western or Eastern country. Our results showed this to be the case. Simply by varying how a service recovery was framed, we differentially affected the willingness of Westerners (Americans) and Asians (Koreans and Indians) to do business again with the target company. Our results showed that individuals from Western and Asian cultures responded differently to service recovery attempts that addressed positive versus negative face concerns.

Our culture-specific findings need to be placed within the context of the finding that, independent of participants' culture, face support was a consistently more successful strategy for service recovery than face attack. In our experiment, all participants were provided with the same substantive offer—a 40% discount on the part needed to solve the problem—yet they were much more willing to do business again with the seller if the seller supported the buyer's face rather than attacked the seller's face. Consequently, *how* a company attempts to resolve a dispute matters as much as the substance of the offer, no matter where the customer cultural lives. Style clearly equals—if not trumps—content in dispute resolution in all national cultures.

Positive facework, which emphasizes a sense of belonging and relationship, was an effective service recovery strategy in both Western and Asian cultures. As we described earlier, positive face support increased buyers' willingness to do business again with the seller, whereas positive face attack reduced their willingness to do business again with the seller. Moreover, in all the three countries, the relationship between positive face attack and willingness to do business again with the seller was fully mediated by subjective face attack (H3): not only did the language used by sellers convey disrespect for the service relationship but also that disrespect was *felt* by the buyers. Our analyses showed that when sellers respond to service complaints in a way that is perceived as insensitive, disrespectful, and contemptuous, customers will walk away. A practical implication of this finding is that face support offers a ''safe'' strategy for companies attempting to repair service relationships. This becomes especially important if companies are unable to determine where their customers live or if they lack the confidence to craft culture-specific communications. An added advantage is that if the service failure is public and affects customers in several countries in Asia and the West (such as the Toyota recalls), companies can craft a generic message that will repair customer relationships.

In comparison to positive facework, the effects of negative facework were more nuanced. We found that Westerners reacted more strongly to negative face attack and support than Asians: Americans were far more willing to do business with the company again when the service recovery attempt supported rather than attacked their sense of autonomy. The impact was smaller for Koreans, and there was no impact at all for Indians. This finding is important in light of Wilson's (1992) observation that parties cannot avoid engaging in some type of face-threatening behaviors when they are resolving disputes. It suggests that businesses need to be especially careful about negative face attacks when dealing with customers from Western countries. In these circumstances, service recovery attempts that attack the other party's sense of autonomy are likely to fail. These words can be especially damaging to rebuilding the relationship or continuing to do business with the other party.

Finally, businesses and organizations engaged in service recovery attempts need to recognize the possibility of spillover: attacks on negative face may spillover and affect communal face threat, and vice versa. We showed that this spillover effect is different in Asia and the West, suggesting that businesses have differing degrees of latitude in how they repair service failures in different cultures. Our finding shows that consequences of negative face attacks are more dramatic (increasing both positive and negative face threat) than those of positive face attacks for Americans. This result suggests that

businesses have some latitude in how they express face attacks in West. Businesses may minimize the impact on subjective face threat by engaging in positive face attacks in West. Our findings for both Asian countries show that positive face attacks produce dramatic consequences. However, it also shows that negative face attacks can also produce dramatic consequences (i.e., negative face attacks have a global effects for Koreans, but not for Indians). These results suggest that it may be better for businesses to avoid any type of face attacks when dealing with Asians.

We turn now to limitations of our study. A methodological limitation is the use of a single-item measure for our dependent variable (willingness to do business again). Although we recognize that this is not a norm for many researchers, a single-item measure may suffice if the construct being measured is narrow and clear, such as our dependent variable (willingness to do business again; see Sackett & Larson, 1990; Scarpello & Campbell, 1983).

Another limitation of our study might be a lack of generalizability of the manipulation of face attacks by the seller. Although the scenario may seem unrealistically harsh to some, extreme, insensitive, and threatening comments are more likely to happen in online interactions than in face-to-face interactions (Friedman & Currall, 2003). In an online environment, lack of face-to-face interaction diminishes social accountability (Danet, Ruedenberg-Wright, & Rosenbaum-Tamari, 1997), potentially making people more aggressive and hostile when communicating during disputes. Actually, similar incidents happen in real-life situations as seen in recent news reports (e.g., Segal, 2010) and in data collected for several studies of eBay disputes that were managed by online mediators (Brett et al., 2007; Friedman et al., 2004). However, it is unclear how often face attacks are likely to occur in face-to-face interactions, so our findings may be more relevant for online interactions than face-to-face interactions.

In the experiments, we presented our participants with a very concrete service failure, the purchase of a piece of equipment that did not meet the user's requirements. Consequently, while we can provide recommendations for how businesses should manage service failures in relation to faulty goods, we are yet to test how different service recovery strategies work in other business transactions. Continuing this theme, we are yet to explore how these strategies might work in the context of on-going, longer-term relationships rather than the discrete transaction implied by our scenario. Examining service recovery attempts across a range of business transactions and relationships provide a clear avenue for future research.

In conclusion, there is an emerging consensus about the importance of language in disputes, especially online, where there is little else that the parties have to work with. Not only can language slow or speed dispute settlement, it can also convey emotions that may be experienced by the other party as face attacks or face support (Brett et al., 2007; Friedman et al., 2004). We extend these findings in two ways. First, we demonstrated that the already proven effects of language in disputes can become more dramatic in different cultural settings. Second, we showed that the effects of language evoked an emotional reaction (subjective face threat), and that this reaction accounted for individuals' unwillingness to do business again in the wake of a face attack. Consistent with Markus and Kitayama's (1994) view that culture has important influences on

people's emotions and cognitions, we showed that the relationship between emotion and outcome satisfaction was affected by culture. Based on our findings, we recommend that first and foremost, service recovery attempts be phrased in a way that supports positive face. If some degree of face threat seems inevitable, how this is phrased needs to be tailored to the specific culture in which the dispute originated.

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Appendix 1: Conflict Scenario

You have just bought a dehumidifier online from Global Tech. The company specializes in dehumidifiers and is a major supplier in the United States (Korea/India). When you bought the dehumidifier, you talked extensively with the salesman on the phone about the situation, explaining that you need this for a basement that is 500 square feet. You bought a model that is of high quality and has many controls. One of the key features is the ability to hook up the water drain to a pump that automatically drains the water, rather than needed to manually empty the bucket every time. You were promised that this model allows for a connection to a pump and were told that pumps are standard. However, after getting the dehumidifier (which is heavy and expensive to ship), you found that the standard pumps do not fit. The only pump that does fit is much more expensive than you expected. You have complained to the company, but their initial response was that they had to base their responses on the technical information that the company provided. Their exact words are shown below.

Appendix 2: Manipulations

Community Face Support

We are confident that you provided us with accurate information about your requirements. We should have worked more closely with you to ensure that the humidifier you purchased fit your pump. We all could have been more careful when we first assessed how the pumps work. We would like to work closely with you to rectify the problem. We are confident that we will find a satisfactory solution. We respect that you have been open and honest with us. We can offer to sell you the better pump at 40% discount. I know that this is still more expensive than you expected, but it is much cheaper than you can get elsewhere.

Community Face Attack

We are not at all confident that you provided us with accurate information about your requirements. We do not believe that you were careful enough when assessing your needs. Frankly, we think you were sloppy when making your order. Although we would like to work with you, the ultimate responsibility lies with you to fix this problem. We are a business with many customers—we cannot be responsible when one particular

customer is sloppy. The best option we can offer is to sell you the better pump at 40% discount. I know that this is still more expensive than you expected, but it is much cheaper than you can get elsewhere.

Autonomy Face Support

We are extremely sorry for what has happened. We apologize for any inconvenience this has caused and would like to rectify the situation. You were right to complain. We are passing your concerns onto the manufacturer. We would like to hear from you what you would like us to do. We believe that have the best information about what would make sense in this case. Would the following be acceptable to you? We can offer to sell you the better pump at 40% discount. I know that this is still more expensive than you expected, but it is much cheaper than you can get elsewhere.

Autonomy Face Attack

While the situation is regrettable, you need to accept responsibility for what happened. We endeavor to provide accurate information, but we expect our clients to verify the information if they have special needs. Did you do that? You now need to check all the information with the manufacturer, and then contact us again. To save all of us time, you ought to be much more careful this time. If you do not want to do that, you should accept the following solution. We can offer to sell you the better pump at 40% discount. I know that this is still more expensive than you expected, but it is much cheaper than you can get elsewhere.