

The Lexus or the Olive Tree?

Trading Off Between Global Convergence and Local Divergence

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Abstract

To operate effectively in global markets, marketing managers need to understand that consumer response to globalization may be more complex than is commonly assumed. We examine a proposed conceptual framework to describe consumers' responses to globalization through a cross-national survey on consumer support for a pan-European government policy aimed at countering global convergence by preserving local cultural divergence. We find that consumer support for the policy increases with beliefs about the policy's efficacy in preserving the authenticity of cultural products and protecting their local economic production structures, while it decreases with beliefs about policy-induced price increases. The national cultural values of individualism and masculinity influence this tradeoff between cultural and economic considerations. These findings are further corroborated by secondary data on 22 EU countries.

“It struck me then that the Lexus and the olive tree were actually pretty good symbols of this post-Cold War era. Half the world seemed to be emerging from the Cold War intent on building a better Lexus, dedicated to modernizing, streamlining and privatizing their economies in order to thrive in the system of globalization. And half the world—sometimes half the same country, sometimes half the same person—was still caught up in the fight over who owns which olive tree.” (Friedman, 1999, p. 27)

1. Introduction

As the above citation suggests, consumers seem to either embrace or oppose globalization (Went, 2004). Often, consumers who embrace globalization are typified as individuals who support integrated production structures and systems that promote global convergence to enjoy its attendant economic benefits, as symbolized by the Lexus (Marsh, 2007; Turner, 2003). Those who oppose globalization are characterized as individuals who support indigenous companies, products, brands, and policies that preserve local cultural divergence, as embodied by the olive tree (Herkenrath, Konig, and Scholtz, 2005).

A growing body of literature suggests that consumer response to globalization may be less dichotomous and more varied than previously assumed (Alden et al., 2006; Boli, 2005; Canclini, 1995; Held et al., 1999). Consumers are hybridizing (Holton 2000), glocalizing (Turner 2003), or creolizing (Friedman 1990) global and local cultural influences, which results in unique outcomes in different geographic areas (Ritzer, 2003). It is critical for international marketing managers to understand how consumers trade off between global convergence and local divergence (Cleveland and Laroche, 2007; Roth, 1995). Nevertheless, the predominant approach to studying consumer responses to globalization remains unilateral, without accounting for the possibility that consumers may embrace both the Lexus and the olive tree. Research that has examined this dialectical response has primarily provided qualitative, sociocultural accounts (Wilk, 1999). Systematic, empirical research that provides an overarching framework for describing consumers’ dialectical responses to globalization is scarce (Cleveland and Laroche, 2007).

In an effort to broaden our understanding of this phenomenon, we propose an integrative approach that draws insights from multiple, often opposing theories. We adopt the theoretical lens provided by globalization and modernization theories (Bell, 1996; Ritzer, 1993), and discourses on local divergence (Featherstone, 1991; Giddens, 1991) and global-local hybridization (Boli, 2005; Canclini, 1995; Hannerz, 1990). The outcome is an *integrative* framework that suggests that consumers trade off the cultural *and* economic consequences of supporting local divergence for the economic *and* cultural consequences of promoting global convergence.

Instead of assuming that consumer response to globalization represents a stable personality trait (Alden et al. 2006, Cleveland and Laroche 2007), our framework implies that a consumer may oppose globalization by preserving local divergence in one context and support globalization by promoting global convergence in another. In order to account for potential geographic differences in consumer responses to globalization (Ritzer 2003), we propose that this trade-off may be influenced by national cultural values. Such understanding is critical in determining the focus on the global versus local aspects of branding and advertising strategies for multinationals operating in different geographic markets (Dekimpe and Lehmann, 2004; Gielens and Steenkamp, 2007; Lemmens et al. 2007; Roth, 1995; Zhang and Khare, 2009).

We empirically examine the proposed framework through multiple cross-cultural data sources that include focus group interviews, a survey study, and secondary data compiled by the *Eurobarometer*. We find that consumer support for a pan-European government policy (aimed at countering global convergence by protecting local *cultural products* from large commercial companies) depends on consumers explicitly trading off the economic benefits of opposing the policy (promoting global convergence) against the cultural benefits of supporting it (preserving local divergence). Furthermore, this trade-off is influenced by the national cultural values of individualism and masculinity.

2. Consumer response to globalization

2.1. Preserve local divergence

The process of globalization has often been criticized for its homogenizing influence (Levy Jr., 1966). The appearance of global brands is perceived to threaten cultural boundaries, assimilating tastes and preferences (Alden et al., 2006; Belk, 1996). Furthermore, global brand entries often displace indigenous products, hurting local economies, limiting consumer choices, and reducing cultural diversity and consumer options in preserving their cultural identity (Giddens, 2000). Consumers may support local divergence to preserve their cultural identity and to support the local economy.

Debates on globalization have been focused on the struggles between such forces of convergence and the desires of indigenous cultures to retain their traditional ethnic and religious identities, hence preserving local divergence (Barber, 1995; Friedman, 1999). *Local cultural products* often serve to reactivate declining traditional ties and offer new channels of solidarity and identification among their supporters (Anderson, 1991; Featherstone, 1991). Furthermore, they are often important drivers of local economies (Brouwer, 1991; Van Ittersum et al., 2003).

2.2. Promote global convergence

The very integration of global structures and systems that threatens local divergence also offers economic benefits, such as “cheap transportation and communications, standardized ontologies and values [that allow for and] encourage the flow of people, goods, and information to all parts of the globe” (Boli, 2005, p. 397). Economists, in particular, tend to emphasize and favor the economic benefits associated with globalization (Bell, 1996; Friedman, 1999; Huntington, 1997).

In the context of marketing, globalization contributes to the availability of foreign products and brands that would otherwise not have been available at affordable prices (e.g., Strizhakova, Coulter, and Price, 2008). The increase in foreign competition also stimulates domestic companies

to market their products competitively, thus enabling consumers to purchase and experience both foreign and domestic products at affordable prices (Boli, 2005; Dawar and Frost, 1999; Ger and Belk, 1996). Globalization thus provides economic benefits by assuring affordable prices, but it also yields cultural benefits, as foreign products may enrich the cultural experience of individual consumers (Guillen, 2001; Held et al., 1999), something often ignored in the literature.

2.3. Trading off local divergence and global convergence: An integrative approach

While there is much empirical evidence for the validity of both positions in explaining consumer responses to globalization, there is a growing realization that neither position in and of itself can explain what may best be labeled as “cherry-picking” behavior of consumers (Alden et al., 2006; Boli, 2005; Held et al., 1999). We propose that such responses can best be understood by integrating insights from both positions and by acknowledging the cultural *and* economic consequences associated with each perspective. More specifically, we propose that consumers make purposeful tradeoffs between the cultural and economic consequences of preserving local divergence and promoting global convergence by cherry-picking between mass-produced global products and authentic local cultural products (see Figure 1).

Although discussions about glocalization and hybridization of consumer products are not new, empirical research examining consumers making such tradeoffs remains scarce (see Zhang and Khare, 2009 for an exception). Thus far, extant research tends to view consumers’ responses to globalization as a static trait that can be used to classify consumers (Alden et al., 2006; Strizhakova et al. 2008). Instead, we propose that consumers actively trade off between globalized and localized product offerings, sometimes favoring the global, at other times the local. This approach may also help international marketing managers decide whether to position their brand as a global brand or as part of the local culture in different countries (Alden et al., 1999).

Insert Figure 1 about here

2.4. National cultural values

The cross-cultural nature of the process of globalization makes national cultural values a logical factor for our inquiry. Furthermore, it may help to explain geographic differences in consumer response to globalization (Ritzer 2003). National cultural values, long recognized as key context-specific variables that exert systematic influences on consumer values (Lynn, Zinkhan, and Harris, 1993), have been shown to influence impulsive consumption (Zhang and Shrum, 2009) and customer satisfaction (Van Birgelen et al., 2002). Similarly, we expect that national cultural values also influence cross-country variations in the tradeoffs between the cultural and economic consequences of promoting global convergence and preserving local divergence, and thus influence consumer responses to globalization.

Preserving local divergence needs to be accomplished through the collective, and will only succeed when the goal of doing so is sufficiently valued by society. There is some evidence to suggest that countries are not likely to view the cultural and economic consequences of globalization equally (Friedman, 1999; Tse, Belk, and Zhou, 1989). Italy, for instance, a country that scores high on masculinity, is one of the most protectionist countries in Europe, while the less masculine country of the Netherlands is considered one of the least protectionist countries in Europe (Woolcock, 2005). This may also explain why the two countries differ in their attitudes towards the pan-European policy aimed at protecting cultural products (Brouwer, 1991), which will be discussed in the next section. In light of these differences, it is important to explore how national cultural values influence some countries to be more protective of their cultural identity while leading others to fully embrace globalization.

3. Research context: A pan-European policy for preserving local divergence

We study the proposed framework by examining cross-national differences in consumer support for a pan-European government policy introduced in 1992, aimed at countering global

convergence by protecting *cultural products*, which are defined as products with tight *local geographic connections* and longstanding *traditions*. Products that are protected under this policy may only be produced in the geographic area denoted by their names, thereby ensuring their authenticity attributable to the geographic area of production, in accordance with the production guidelines as specified in the registration—they have a Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) or Protected Geographic Indication (PGI). The policy thus protects indigenous food products from large companies using the same brand name to sell their products, effectively preserving cultural products and protecting local economies, thereby preserving jobs and supporting local constituents (Van der Lans et al., 2001; Van Ittersum et al., 2007). We define consumer support for the policy as the consumers' predisposition to respond to the policy in a consistently favorable or unfavorable manner (cf., Ahluwalia, Burnkrant, and Unnava, 2000).

3.1. Consumer support for the PDO/PGI policy

The producers who apply for a PDO/PGI registration are responsible for the considerable expenses involved with the application and maintenance of the protected status. All else being equal, producers are unlikely to undertake this investment unless they are confident of sufficient consumer demand for authentic, cultural products. Such demand is likely fueled by concerns about the converging effects of globalization on the local cultures (DiMaggio, 1979; Ger, 1999).

A series of focus group interviews, conducted in the Netherlands, France, UK, Italy, and Greece,¹ confirmed that consumer support for the policy indeed is driven by concerns about the converging effects of globalization: “It has to do with the European standardization, which will

¹ For each of 10 cultural food products (Noord-Hollandse Edam cheese, Opperdoezer Ronde potatoes, Cantal cheese, Quercy lamb, Scottish lamb, Jersey Royal potatoes, Parmigiano Reggiano cheese, Parma ham, Feta cheese, and Zagora apples), one group of participants was recruited from the product's geographic area of origin; two other groups were recruited from a medium-sized and large city outside the area, respectively. Each group consisted of about eight people, who were responsible for food purchases in their households. The sessions lasted between 60-90 minutes, and all the sessions were audio-taped and transcribed.

result in an identity loss, the death of our heritage. We must defend the product. From a cultural point of view, having something that belongs to you is important” (a French participant).

The policy is perceived to help counter the converging effects of globalization by preserving the distinct and authentic qualities of cultural products, in contrast to the generic and commodified nature of mass-produced global products and brands: “The PDO protection is great because it protects the characteristics of the product. Without the protection, the specific taste and unique character of these products will disappear. The large, global commercial companies will take over and mass produce cheaper, low quality surrogates” (an Italian participant).

Participants also saw the policy as protecting the small, local producers responsible for the production of these authentic cultural products, thus countering global convergence (Boli, 2005; Ger, 1999): “I think it is great for employment in these regions. It allows them to continue to produce these products without having to be concerned about others [large commercial companies] taking over and putting them out of business” (a French participant).

However, while participants seem supportive of the policy that preserves the authenticity and protects the economic production structures of these cultural products, they are also cognizant of the economic benefits that they are foregoing: “I like the policy a lot as it helps preserve part of our heritage. I do realize though that this might mean that production volumes remain limited. The policy will limit product availability and most likely raise product prices. The policy will also limit the potential future growth of the product” (a British participant). Thus, consumers recognize that the production limitations and specifications that help preserve and protect the authenticity and economic production structures of cultural products also limit production volumes and product availability, and will raise product prices. Consumers would gain economic benefits when anyone can mass-produce and market these products at lower

prices. Such actions would, of course, come at a cultural price; in the loss of authentic cultural products (see Figure 2). Based on the above discussion, we propose the following hypothesis:

H_{1a}. Beliefs that the PDO/PGI policy protects the authenticity of cultural products positively influence consumer attitudes toward the PDO/PGI policy.

H_{1b}. Beliefs that the PDO/PGI policy protects the local economic production structures of cultural products positively influence consumer attitudes toward the PDO/PGI policy.

H_{1c}. Beliefs that the PDO/PGI policy increases the price of cultural products negatively influence consumer attitudes toward the PDO/PGI policy.

 Insert Figure 2 about here

3.2. National cultural values and consumer support for the PDO/PGI policy

In examining the effect of national cultural values on consumers trading off the cultural and economic consequences associated with supporting the policy, we focus on the dimensions of national culture that Hofstede (1991) identifies as most likely to influence consumer attitudes toward globalization: individualism and masculinity. While other national cultural values, such as uncertainty avoidance and power distance, have been shown to influence consumer behavior (Lynn et al., 1993; Roth, 1995), they seem less relevant in the context of this study. For example, the PDO/PGI policy contributes to the consistency of the quality of the protected cultural products (as a result of the required production specifications). While this will be appreciated in high uncertainty avoidance cultures, product quality is outside the scope of this manuscript. As the PDO/PGI policy does not influence social inequality, the relevance of examining the national cultural value of power distance also remains marginal.²

² Furthermore, confronted with the statistical challenges associated with testing four highly correlated national cultural values in our five-country sample (Johnson et al. 2005), we focused on individualism and masculinity as they are most pertinent in this context. Across the five countries, uncertainty avoidance was strongly correlated with power distance ($r=.86$) and individualism ($r=-.92$) and less so with masculinity ($r=.12$). Power distance was strongly correlated with individualism ($r=-.63$) and less so with masculinity ($r=.11$). Finally, individualism is only weakly correlated with masculinity ($r=.10$). Consequently, we selected two of the four cultural values, individualism and masculinity, for the reasons discussed in the main text.

Individualism. Individualism is considered a product of modernity (Hofstede, 1991). Modern political and economic institutions, such as liberal democracies and free market economies, were developed and implemented to protect and to incentivize the individual as opposed to the collective. As a consequence, individualism is an aspect of culture that emphasizes people's tendency to value *personal* time, freedom, and experiences versus in-group priorities. Cultures high in individualism tend to seek variety and hedonistic experiences. It reflects an "I" mentality with an emphasis on the individual pursuit of personal goals, self expressions, and success (Hofstede, 1991, 2001). The opposite of individualism is collectivism, defined as the theory and practice that makes an in-group rather than the individual the fundamental unit of political, social, and economic concern. Collectivistic cultures have a great emphasis on groups and think more in terms of "we." Harmony and loyalty within an in-group is important and should be maintained, while confrontation should be avoided. Because the PDO/PGI policy was introduced to benefit the collective by preserving markers of local culture—cultural products—and protect local economies, we hypothesize that consumer support for the policy will be higher in collectivist as opposed to individualistic societies. More formally, **H₂**. Individualism has a negative effect on consumer attitudes toward the PDO/PGI policy.

Individualism is also proposed to moderate the relationship between consumer beliefs and support for the policy. The moderating effect is dependent on the nature and impact of these beliefs. For instance, the belief that the policy protects the local economic production structures of cultural products is an altruistic belief that impacts the social community, whose effect is hypothesized to be stronger in collectivistic than individualistic societies. The belief that the policy will increase the prices of cultural product is a more selfish belief that impacts individual consumers directly, whose effect is hypothesized to be stronger in individualistic than collectivistic societies. As the policy helps counter the converging effects of globalization by

preserving the distinct and authentic qualities of cultural products, effectively protecting the heterogeneity in unique product offerings, we propose that consumers' beliefs about the policy's ability to protect the authenticity of cultural products will be interpreted as more selfish beliefs. Because of their desire for variety and hedonistic experiences, we expect the relationship between this belief and overall support to be stronger in more individualistic cultures.

H_{3a}. The positive effect of the belief that the PDO/PGI policy protects the authenticity of cultural products on consumer attitudes toward this policy is stronger when individualism is higher.

H_{3b}. The positive effect of the belief that the PDO/PGI policy protects the economic production structures of cultural products on consumer attitudes toward this policy is weaker when individualism is higher.

H_{3c}. The negative effect of the belief that the PDO/PGI policy increases the price of cultural products on consumer attitudes toward this policy is stronger when individualism is higher.

Masculinity. Masculinity has been shown to be predictive of societies' attitudes toward competition and economic performance (Hofstede, 1991). Highly masculine societies have been found to pursue economic success and achievement more aggressively by embracing and utilizing integrated global structures and systems and by supporting economic protectionism (Sanyal, 2005). Feminine cultures, in contrast, consider quality of life and helping others to be very important. In business as well as in private life, they strive for consensus and develop sympathy for people who are in distress. More feminine societies may be concerned about the effects of the policy on those who are unable to capitalize on the opportunity to market similar products. However, these largely apply to foreign imports that may be secondary to the economic interests of their own country. Considering that the policy is largely an economic tool for protecting local cultural products, we expect stronger support for the policy in more masculine than feminine societies due to the congruence between the protectionist nature of the policy and the competitive inclinations of more masculine cultures. Therefore, we hypothesize that

H₄. Masculinity has a positive effect on consumer attitudes toward the PDO/PGI policy.

Masculinity is also proposed to moderate the relationship between consumer beliefs and support for the policy. The moderating effect is dependent on the nature of these beliefs. For instance, the belief that the policy protects local economic production structures of cultural products is an economically protectionist belief that is hypothesized to be more important in masculine societies than in more feminine cultures. However, while more masculine societies are hypothesized to support the policy for its ability to protect local economic production structures, they are also expected to be more concerned about the production guidelines put in place to preserve the authenticity of these products, as these guidelines would restrict future growth. Therefore, the effect of the belief that the policy preserves the authenticity of cultural products is expected to be weaker in more masculine societies. Furthermore, these production guidelines would also limit production, leading to higher prices for cultural products. We hypothesize that the negative impact of price increases will be viewed more negatively in more masculine than feminine cultures, as the latter may be more tolerant as they see it as a necessity to help the producers of these cultural products. Therefore,

H_{5a}. The positive effect of the belief that the PDO/PGI policy protects the authenticity of cultural products on consumer attitudes toward this policy is weaker when masculinity is higher.

H_{5b}. The positive effect of the belief that the PDO/PGI policy protects the local economic production structure of cultural products on consumer attitudes toward this policy is stronger when masculinity is higher.

H_{5c}. The negative effect of the belief that the PDO/PGI policy increases the price of cultural products on consumer attitudes toward this policy is stronger when masculinity is higher.

4. Study 1: Survey findings

In order to examine how consumers trade off the cultural and economic consequences of preserving local divergence and promoting global convergence, we studied the effect of consumer

beliefs about the PDO/PGI policy on their support for the policy. We conducted a survey involving 2,100 adult respondents from the same five EU member countries examined in the focus group interviews: the Netherlands, France, the United Kingdom, Italy, and Greece. We empirically examined the effects of consumer beliefs that the PDO/PGI policy (1) preserves the authenticity of cultural products; (2) protects the local economic production structures of these products; and (3) leads to increases in product prices, on consumer support for the policy. Furthermore, we studied cross-national variations in consumer support for this policy along the national cultural values of individualism and masculinity, thus allowing us to investigate how national cultural values influence the relationships between these beliefs and support for the PDO/PGI policy.

4.1. Method

Subjects and Procedures. The survey questions relevant for this research were part of a larger survey that also assessed consumers' perceptions of and attitudes toward specific PDO/PGI protected products from their own country.³ For each of five EU member countries, two PDO/PGI-protected products were selected (the same products that were examined in the focus group interviews described earlier; see footnote 1). Consumer panels were used to recruit about 200 domestic respondents for each product. These panels were representative of the population in each respective country. Each domestic geographic region was represented in the panel. In order to ensure that respondents had some familiarity with a product protected by the policy, they had to be responsible for most food purchases in their households and to have purchased the product at least once in the past year. The final sample included consumers from every region within each country. The percentage of people from the geographic area of origin of the cultural product was typically less than 10% of the entire sample.

³ The survey included multi-item measures for the antecedents and consequences of consumer attitudes toward specific PDO/PGI protected products, such as familiarity with and attitude toward the product's geographic area of origin, and willingness to pay. The multi-item measures used in this research are independent of cultural product types.

Because the survey was conducted in five different countries, care was taken in developing the questionnaires. First, an English version was developed. This questionnaire was then back-translated into French, Italian, Dutch, and Greek by bilingual personnel in research agencies (Brislin, 1970). All questionnaires were identical except for the name of the product and its geographic area of origin. The questionnaire was pre-tested in each country on 10 respondents and when no problems were encountered, this final version was administered by professional market research agencies in each country.

 Insert Table 1 about here

Measures. We operationalized consumer support for the policy by measuring *consumer attitude toward the PDO/PGI policy* ($Att_{PDO/PGI}$) using three 5-point semantic differential scales (see Table 1). We used statements from the focus group interviews to develop instruments for measuring consumer beliefs about the policy in regards to its ability to protect the authenticity of cultural products and protect the local economic production structures of cultural products, and its effect on the price of cultural products. Consumer beliefs about the policy were measured using a 5-point Likert scale (strongly disagree – strongly agree).⁴ The items were presented in a random order. Using exploratory factor analysis, seven items representing 3 dimensions, which accounted for 54% of the variance, were retained (see Table 1): belief that the PDO/PGI policy protects the authenticity of cultural products ($PDO/PGI_{Culture}$), belief that the PDO/PGI policy protects the local economic production structures of cultural products ($PDO/PGI_{Economy}$), and belief that the PDO/PGI policy causes an increase in the prices of local cultural products (PDO/PGI_{Price}).

We tested the convergent and discriminant validity of the measures across subjects from the Netherlands (N = 402), France (N = 428), Italy (N = 422), the United Kingdom (N = 422) and

⁴ The two items measuring the economic beliefs supporting the PDO policy (from three of the five countries reported here) have been published in a separate publication.

Greece (N = 408) following the confirmatory factor analysis procedure recommended by Anderson and Gerbing (1988). The fit indices were acceptable given the large samples.⁵ In addition, all *t*-values of the factor loadings were significant ($p < .01$), and most measures showed adequate reliabilities with loadings exceeding .60. Furthermore, with the exception of the scales measuring the consumer belief that the policy protects the local economic production structures of cultural products, the composite reliabilities of all measures exceeded .70 (Hofstede, 1991).⁶ The summary statistics and measurement properties for these constructs are presented in Table 2, together with the cultural index scores for individualism and masculinity for each country.

 Insert Table 2 about here

4.2. Analyses

Our conceptual model of the effects of consumer beliefs on support for the PDO/PGI policy involves two levels of aggregation: the individual and the national levels. Given that respondents to the survey are nested within countries, the appropriate procedure for analyzing these data is hierarchical linear modeling (HLM) (Bryk and Raudenbush, 1992). HLM enables the simultaneous estimation of relationships of variables at two levels without the potential bias of the OLS regression applied to the individual-level data pooled across all countries. In this analysis, we followed the procedure outlined in Steenkamp et al. (1999) to examine the effects of consumer beliefs and cultural values on consumer attitudes toward the PDO/PGI protection (see appendix A).

⁵ Netherlands: $\chi^2(30) = 68$, RMSEA = .060, TLI = .97, CFI = .98, AGFI = .93; France: $\chi^2(30) = 27$, RMSEA = .00, TLI = 1.00, CFI = 1.00, AGFI = .98; Italy: $\chi^2(30) = 105$, RMSEA = .077, TLI = .94, CFI = .96, AGFI = .91; United Kingdom: $\chi^2(30) = 106$, RMSEA = .083, TLI = .93, CFI = .96, AGFI = .90; Greece: $\chi^2(30) = 62$, RMSEA = .052, TLI = .97, CFI = .98, AGFI = .95.

⁶ The multigroup cross-cultural measurement equivalence of these measures was established as outlined in Steenkamp and Baumgartner (1998). The baseline model showed configural invariance [$\chi^2(145) = 368$, RMSEA = .061, TLI = .96, CFI = .98, PNFI = .62, CAIC = 1490]. The model also achieved full metric invariance for the Dutch, French, and Italian samples, and partial metric invariance for the Greek and British samples [$\chi^2(167) = 400$, RMSEA = .058, TLI = .97, PNFI = .71, CFI = .98, CAIC = 1331].

We examined the direct influence of two national cultural values—individualism and masculinity—on support for the PDO/PGI policy, and the moderating effects of these values on the relationships between consumer beliefs and support for PDO/PGI using HLM.

Conceptualizing cultures at the national level allows us to explore cross-country differences in consumer attitudes toward the policy at the same level of abstraction. This also seems appropriate considering that the PDO/PGI policy is implemented at the country level (Zhang and Shrum, 2009).

In the analysis, our dependent measure was *consumers' attitudes toward the PDO/PGI policy* ($Att_{PDO/PGI}$) and the independent variables were the three *individual beliefs* (measured at the individual level as level-1 predictors) *about the PDO/PGI policy* ($PDO/PGI_{Culture}$, $PDO/PGI_{Economy}$, PDO/PGI_{Price}). The scores on the national cultural values of individualism and masculinity (IND, MAS) (measured at the country level as level-2 predictors) were included as both predictors and moderators.^{7,8} The level-1 predictors were centered within countries to ensure numerical stability; the level-2 predictors were centered around their corresponding means (Bryk and Raudenbush, 1992). Age, gender, and income (also measured as level-1 predictors) were entered as control variables. The estimation results of the HLM analysis are reported in Table 3.

 Insert Table 3 about here

4.3. Results

⁷ Given that there are only five countries, the results for masculinity and individualism may suffer from omitted variable bias. To check for this, we also ran these same analyses using dummy variables for each country. As the conclusions did not change, we decided to report only the results that are based on our research hypotheses.

⁸ The survey was conducted in 1998. Hofstede's cultural value scores date back to the 70s and 80s. As the cultural tendencies that Hofstede studied are centuries old, these cultural value scores have been found to be robust and stand the test of time (Hofstede, 2001). Recent replications have supported the fact that culture does not change overnight. Drogendijk and Slangen (2006) conclude based on extensive research "that it may be premature to dismiss Hofstede's work as outdated or as inaccurately reflecting national cultures" (p. 362). This also seems consistent with the recent publications that rely on the same cultural value scores (e.g., Cano et al. 2004; Hui, Au, and Fock 2004; Segalla et al. 2006).

As shown in Table 3, beliefs about the ability of the PDO/PGI policy's to preserve the authenticity of cultural products ($\beta_{Culture} = .42, p < .01$) and protect their local economic production structures ($\beta_{Economy} = .12, p < .01$) positively influence consumer attitudes toward the PDO/PGI policy, thereby confirming H_{1a} and H_{1b}. However, consumers' price beliefs negatively influence support for the policy ($\beta_{price} = -.07, p < .01$), in support of H_{1c}.

Consistent with the notion that more collectivist cultures may be more supportive of the policy, we find that individualism negatively influenced consumers' overall support for the policy ($\beta_{Individualism} = -.18, p < .01$), confirming H₂. Individualism had only a directional effect on the relationship between the belief that the policy preserves the authenticity of cultural products and consumer attitudes toward the policy ($\beta_{Individualism \times Culture} = .03, ns$) (H_{3a}). Individualism had no impact on the relationship between the belief that the policy protects local economic production structures and consumer attitudes toward the policy ($\beta_{Individualism \times Economy} = -.00, ns$) (H_{3b}). Individualism also had only a weak directional effect on the relationship between consumer support and the belief that product prices would increase ($\beta_{Individualism \times Price} = -.02, ns$) (H_{3c}).

Consistent with the notion that the PDO/PGI policy is an effective economic tool for protecting local cultural products, insulating local companies from foreign competition and giving local companies an economic advantage, we find that masculinity leads to more favorable consumer attitudes toward the policy ($\beta_{Masculinity} = .15, p < .01$), confirming H₄.

Consistent with H_{5a}, masculinity exerts a negative moderating influence between consumer attitudes toward the policy and the belief that the policy preserves the authenticity of the cultural product ($\beta_{Masculinity \times Culture} = -.06, p < .01$). We attribute this effect to the fact that more masculine cultures believe that while production limitations will provide cultural benefits, they will also negatively impact future growth potential. Masculinity has no impact on the

relationship between the belief that the policy protects local economic production structures and consumer attitudes toward the policy ($\beta_{Masculinity \times Economy} = -.00, ns$) (H_{5b}). Consistent with the increased focus on economic consequences, we find that masculinity strengthens the negative relationship between the price belief and consumer attitudes towards the policy ($\beta_{Masculinity \times Price} = -.03, p < .02$), thereby supporting H_{5c}.

4.4. Discussion

Collectively, the results show that consumers trade off cultural and economic consequences in assessing their support for the PDO/PGI policy. More specifically, beliefs that the policy will preserve the authenticity of cultural products and protect their local economic production structures increase consumer support for the policy. However, consumers also acknowledge the potential economic consequence of policy-induced price increases, which negatively influences their support for the policy. These results confirm our main thesis that consumers trade off the cultural and economic consequences of preserving local divergence (in supporting the policy) and promoting global convergence (in opposing the policy). Interestingly, the results suggest that the cultural consequences carry more weight than the economic ones, although this trade-off varies by individuals.

The effects of individualism and masculinity further suggest that national cultural values influence these tradeoffs, such that individualistic cultures may attach more weight to the cultural consequences of the policy, while masculine cultures may place more emphasis on the economic consequences. Together, these results suggest that consumer responses to globalization may be less dichotomous and more complex than was previously thought. However, individualism does not seem to enhance the positive effects of the policy on the preservation of cultural products or weaken the positive effect of the preservation of economic structures or the negative effect of price increases, even though it has a significantly negative direct effect. Empirically, this could

be due to the drawback of using national cultural value scores by country, which simply might not capture the individual variations in such tradeoffs. Theoretically, it is also possible that the collective desires to preserve the economic structures outweigh the individualistic tendencies toward product authenticity and prices. On the other hand, masculinity does weaken the positive effects of the policy on the preservations of cultural products and strengthen the negative effect of price increases as hypothesized.

Consistent with the notion that people, individually and collectively, use their shopping choices consciously to press for societal change (Micheletti and Follesdal, 2007; Thompson and Coskuner-Balli, 2007), we anticipate that consumer support for preserving local divergence also has a corresponding effect on market demand, which translates into a higher number of protected cultural products within each country. To examine this hypothesis and to add robustness and realism to our survey findings (Winer, 1999), we next examined secondary data from 22 EU member countries on the number of PDO/PGI protected cultural products in each country.

5. Study 2a: Secondary data findings

In order to investigate the extent to which consumer support for the PDO/PGI policy actually results in preserving local divergence, we collated secondary data on the number of protected cultural products in 22 EU member countries and examined the relationship between the number of PDO/PGI registrations and domestic measures of concerns about the effects of globalization on local cultures and economies. All else being equal, we expected that concerns about the cultural and economic consequences of globalization should be positively related to the number of protected cultural products in a country. Following the rationales from our earlier discussion on the direct effects of individualism and masculinity on consumer attitudes toward the policy, we expected that more individualistic countries have a lower number of protected cultural products while more masculine countries have a higher number of such products. We further

expected to find a stronger positive relationship between cultural concerns and the number of protected cultural products in more individualistic cultures, as they are more concerned about countering the converging effects of globalization by preserving the distinct and authentic qualities of cultural products, effectively protecting the heterogeneity in unique product offerings. On the other hand, the belief that the policy protects local economic production structures of cultural products is an economically protectionist belief that is hypothesized to be more important in masculine societies than in feminine cultures. Therefore, we would expect a stronger positive relationship between economic concerns and the number of protected cultural products in more masculine cultures.

5.1. Method

Of the 27 EU member states, 22 countries were included in this analysis because cultural value scores were unavailable for three countries (Cyprus, Latvia, and Slovenia), and two countries (Bulgaria and Romania) joined the EU as recently as 2007. For each country, we identified the number of cultural products registered under the European PDO/PGI legislation (<http://ec.europa.eu>, accessed October 1, 2007). Next, we collated public opinion polls reported in the *Eurobarometer* on beliefs about the effects of globalization on the cultural identity and the local economy (European, 2007a, 2007b) (<http://europa.eu.int>). We used the percentage of respondents in each country who indicated that they were worried about the loss of their cultural identity in becoming part of the EU to operationalize consumer concerns about the effect of globalization on their local culture. Although this question is about becoming part of the EU, the formation of the EU is a direct response to globalization (Porter, 1998). Similarly, we identified the percentage of respondents who indicated that they believed globalization has a negative effect on the economic growth of their country to operationalize their concerns about the implications of globalization for local economic production structures.

We included the Hofstede scores for individualism and masculinity for each European country, and the scores for Lithuania were based on the work of Mockaitis (2004). In addition, we collected country-specific information for three covariates. First, we accounted for the size of each country (in square kilometers) as larger countries may produce more cultural products than smaller countries. Second, we accounted for agricultural output (millions of Euros) as more agricultural countries may produce more cultural (food) products. Finally, we accounted for the number of years each country has been a member of the EU, as older members have had more time to apply for PDO/PGI protection than more recent members. Correlation analysis indicated that all three covariates are highly correlated with the number of PDO/PGI protected cultural products: $r_{\text{country size}} = .51, p < .01$, $r_{\text{agricultural output}} = .76, p < .01$, $r_{\text{membership duration}} = .59, p < .01$). Regressing the number of PDO/PGI protected cultural products on these three covariates yielded an adjusted R-squared of .57, which again suggests that these three covariates are highly relevant in explaining the number of PDO/PGI registrations in a country.

5.2. Analyses

Considering that our data set consists of almost the entire population (over 80 percent of EU members), all differences represent actual differences, without the need for inferential statistics. This also ameliorates the potential concern of overfitting, as the number of independent variables relative to the number of observations is quite high. Nevertheless, in order to provide a sense of the robustness of our findings, we decided to (1) run analysis of variance by dichotomizing the independent variables, and (2) run multivariate OLS regression analysis using the continuous independent variables and the log transformed, normalized number of PDO/PGI protected products as the dependent variable. The results are presented in Table 4.

 Insert Table 4 about here

5.3. Results

Consistent with expectations, we find that countries that are relatively more concerned about the effect of globalization on their cultural identity have 375.4% more PDO/PGI registrations than their less concerned counterparts (56.1 vs. 11.8; $F(1, 10) = 5.6, p < .05$). Multivariate OLS regression analysis ($\beta_{Culture} = .32, p < .05$) confirmed this relationship. The same holds for countries that are relatively more concerned about the economic consequences of globalization (56.3 vs. 11.6; $F(1, 10) = 10.3, p < .05$), a relationship that was also confirmed by multivariate OLS regression analysis ($\beta_{Economy} = .26, p = .05$).

Next, consistent with expectations, we find that more individualistic cultures have 20.3% fewer PDO/PGI registrations than more collectivistic cultures (31.1 vs. 39.1; $F(1, 10) = 7.0, p < .05$) ($\beta_{Individualism} = -.51, p < .01$). Furthermore, the results suggest that individualism moderates the effect of cultural concerns on the number of protected cultural products ($F(1, 10) = 11.3, p < .01$). More individualistic cultures respond more favorably to the policy (29.5 more PDO/PGI registrations when cultural concerns are higher than lower) than less individualistic countries (25.9 fewer PDO/PGI registrations when cultural concerns are higher than lower) as a result of their cultural concerns ($\beta_{Individualism \times Culture} = .23, p < .05$). Individualism does not moderate the relationship between economic concerns and the number of protected products ($F(1, 10) = 3.2, ns$; $\beta_{Individualism \times Economy} = .17, ns$).

We find that masculinity does not relate significantly to the number of protected cultural products in a country (32.8 vs. 35.1; $F(1, 10) = 2.9, ns$). Multivariate OLS regression analysis ($\beta_{Masculinity} = -.21, ns$) produced the same result. Masculinity does strengthen the positive relationship between economic concerns and the number of registrations in a country ($F(1, 10) = 3.7, p < .10$). More masculine cultures respond more favorably to the policy (56.1 more registrations when economic concerns are higher than lower) than less masculine countries (34.3 more registrations when economic concerns are higher than lower) as a result of their economic

concerns ($\beta_{\text{Masculinity} \times \text{Economy}} = .24, p < .05$). Masculinity does not moderate the relationship between cultural concerns and the number of registrations ($F(1, 10) = 1.0, ns$; $\beta_{\text{Masculinity} \times \text{Culture}} = .11, ns$).

5.4. Discussion

Despite the limitations of the analyses, the results of study 2a largely support the HLM findings from the survey study. These findings add to the thesis that attitudinal support for the policy would lead to the preservation of local divergence—they stimulate producers of cultural products to register their products for protection. While it is plausible that the number of PDO/PGI registrations in a country may lead to increased domestic media attention that inflates public support for the policy, producers are still unlikely to register their cultural products in the first place without being confident of such support. Second, an EU-wide communication campaign was conducted during the introduction of the PDO/PGI policy to ensure uniform understanding of the policy among its citizens. Therefore, it is doubtful that cross-country variations in the number of product registrations are driven by domestic media attention alone.

6. Study 2b: Secondary data findings

In order to connect the results of study 1 and study 2a more directly, we decided to explore whether the number of PDO/PGI protected products in the five countries examined in study 1 relates to those countries' beliefs about and attitudes toward the PDO/PGI policy. To accomplish this, we added the cultural value scores and the number of PDO/PGI products in each country to each of the individual respondent's scores and examined the correlations between the different variables. While the limited number of country-level observations for national cultures and the number of protected cultural products prevented us from testing the entire model presented in study 1, the results of the correlation analysis provided further support for our survey findings in study 1.

We found that the number of cultural products protected by the PDO/PGI policy is positively associated with consumer attitudes toward the PDO/PGI policy ($r = .21, p = .00$). More specifically, we found that consumers' belief that the PDO/PGI policy protects the authenticity of cultural products positively correlates with the number of PDO/PGI protected products ($r = .28, p = .00$). Likewise, a significant positive relationship was found between consumers' belief that the PDO/PGI policy protects the local economic production structures responsible for producing the cultural products and the number of protected products ($r = .06, p = .00$). Only a directional, negative effect was found between the number of registrations and concerns about the effect of the policy on product prices. These results strengthen the HLM results that we obtained from study 1 and show that consumer attitudes toward the PDO/PGI policy are predictive of actual behavior—the actual number of PDO/PGI protected cultural products in each country. The results also dispel potential concerns about common method variance, as they are supported both longitudinally and via a secondary source of information (Podsakoff et al., 2003).

7. General discussion

Different academic disciplines have explored the impacts of globalization from their respective vantage points. While economists tend to emphasize and favor the economic benefits associated with globalization, which are largely described in the globalization theory on global convergence (Bell, 1996; Friedman, 1999; Huntington, 1997); sociologists have focused on the transformations of social lives due to globalization, and often highlight the negative consequences of globalization on local identities, as summarized in modernization theory (Friedman, 1990; Giddens, 1991; Sklair, 1995). As a result, multiple, often opposing theories about the effects of globalization on societies and their individual members have emerged. By integrating components

of the globalization, modernization, and hybridization theories, our research has illustrated the multifaceted and often dialectical aspects of consumer responses to globalization (Hannerz, 1990).

Consistent with the proposed theoretical foundation, our empirical results suggest that consumers weigh the cultural and economic consequences of preserving local divergence and promoting global convergence in deciding whether or not to support a pan-European policy aimed at preserving local divergence. Furthermore, cultural individualism and masculinity influence this tradeoff. It is important to note that these results do not imply that less individualistic and more masculine cultures are more likely to oppose all outcomes associated with globalization. On the contrary, consumers approach this question in a varied manner, sometimes favoring the local, at other times favoring the global. The proposed theoretical integration offers a foundation for a more comprehensive approach to studying consumer responses to globalization in future research.

7.1. Implications

The proposed integrative approach that acknowledges the tradeoff between cultural and economic considerations may be beneficial in examining responses to globalization in a variety of contexts. In the context of this research, it may help marketers to better position PDO/PGI protected products in the market place, focusing on cultural benefits in more individualistic cultures, while highlighting the economic benefits of supporting the policy by purchasing these products in more masculine cultures. Likewise, policymakers, in promoting the policy to producers of cultural products (push) and their customers (pull) can benefit by developing customized communication messages that emphasize the benefits that are most salient to each constituency. The findings may also explain the differences in opinions between supporters and opponents of the policy; the former focus on the cultural benefits, while the latter emphasize the

economic consequences and consider the policy to be economic protectionism. While an increased understanding may not necessarily resolve these differences, it will facilitate discussion.

More generally, the proposed integrative approach could also address some of the questions relevant for marketing managers operating in global markets (Cleveland and Laroche, 2007; Roth 1995; Stremersch and Tellis, 2004). As one case in point, the proposed framework may help answer questions related to global and local appeals in advertising (Zhou and Belk, 2004, p. 63): "...despite the considerable puzzling about whether global advertising or local advertising is better, there have been only a handful of publications on consumer acceptance or rejection of global and local appeals in advertising". Because consumer responses to global brands making local appeals are qualitatively different from their responses to local brands making global appeals, Zhou and Belk (2004) speculate on whether consumer preference for global versus local appeals in advertising is context-specific. It appears that consumers may weigh the cultural and economic consequences associated with supporting global versus local brands differently. Understanding this context-specific tradeoff and how it varies between cultures based on national cultural values will have important implications for advertising strategies for both global and local brands (Alden et al., 1999).

This finding also provides managerial insight on whether to develop and promote the global versus local aspects of global brands. For some countries, it may be beneficial to produce a global brand locally and communicate this to consumers, while in other countries it may be more beneficial to highlight the economic benefits of having the global brand produced abroad (Zhang and Khare, 2009). While the increasing deterritorialization (detachment of social and cultural practices from physical places, Tomlinson 1999) of global brands provides unprecedented opportunities for brand building (Cayla and Eckhardt, 2008), it is not always clear what aspects of

the brand should be emphasized. An understanding of how consumers trade off local divergence and global convergence could guide global brand development strategies.

The renewal of interest in local cultural products in our studies can also be seen as an example of consumers' responses to the seeming internationalization of their local cuisine. Turkey is a case in point; it has tried to modernize its cuisine through standardization of ingredients and processes in order to take ownership of Turkish regional dishes at the global market (global convergence). However, at the same time, it struggles to preserve the cuisine's authenticity (local divergence) (Karaosmanoglu, 2007). As Wilk (1999, p. 248) describes, "the contrast of seductive globalism and authentic localism is an extremely potent drama because it has no solution—it is an eternal struggle, where each pole defines its opposite, where every value carries its own negation." The proposed integrative framework may shed light on this tradeoff between cultural and economic considerations in response to globalization.

7.2. Limitations and directions for future research

A potential limitation of the current research is our inability to explore the role of personal values in making the tradeoff between cultural and economic consequences. Alden et al. (2006) find that materialism exerts a positive influence on global consumption orientation, while susceptibility to normative influence has a negative influence. Furthermore, ethnocentrism mediates the relationships between global consumption orientation and global brand attitudes (Alden et al., 2006). Strizhakova, Coulter, and Price (2008a) show that cultural openness and ethnocentrism positively influence belief in global citizenship. While we believe that dispositional personal values such as materialism, cultural openness, and ethnocentrism will likely influence consumers' tradeoff between the cultural and economic consequences of local divergence versus global convergence, this question is beyond the scope of our current research.

It will be important for future research to determine the strength and directionality of such influence.

Because the international market penetration of most of the products studied is low, our model was only estimated for domestic consumers of these products. Our results thus may have been influenced by domestic biases. It would be interesting to see whether foreign consumers who support PDO/PGI policies in their home country also support similar policies adopted in other countries. If so, would the extent of their support also vary as a function of national cultural values?

In addition, we tested our model among consumers of the cultural products—people that purchased the product at least once during the year prior to the research in order to ensure sufficient familiarity with these products. However, this may have biased our results in surveying people who were favorably disposed toward the PDO/PGI policy to begin with. It would be interesting to see if people without experience with cultural products may be enticed to try these products due to their PDO/PGI protected status (institutionalized cultural capital) (DiMaggio, 1979) or be turned away due to their premium price, irrespective of their protected status.

Finally, while it would be useful to examine cultural values at the individual level (e.g., independent vs. interdependent self-construals) (Markus and Kitayama, 1991; Patterson et al. 2006), the use of national cultural value scores was more congruent with our research focus on a pan-regional policy and societal level values such as cultural and economic concerns about globalization. Further, the use of HLM analysis allows us to differentiate between individual-level and country-level effects.

8. Conclusion

In the context of food production in the EU, globalization demands an expansion of markets and a drive for efficiency to meet competition (the Lexus). In maintaining and

preserving local food production systems, the PDO/PGI policy helps to preserve cultural identities defined by local social systems of meaning and non-market social relationships (the olive tree). Finding a balance between the economic benefits of promoting global convergence and the cultural benefits of preserving local divergence represents the struggle posed by Friedman's metaphor in the title, which exists in every country and every citizen around the globe (O'Hara and Biesecker, 2003; Witkowski, 2005).

Appendix A: Hierarchical Linear Model in Study 1

We use hierarchical linear modeling (HLM) to estimate the parameters that are specified at different levels simultaneously. This allows us to obtain unbiased and efficient estimates of the effects of the variables at both levels, as well as the proper standard error estimates, regardless of the degree of within-country dependence between the consumers.

The level 1 (individual-level) and level 2 (country-level) models for testing the effects of consumer beliefs about the PDO/PGI policy and national cultural values on their support for the policy are formulated as follows:

Level 1:

$$\text{PDO/PGI}_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}\text{CULTURE}_{ij} + \beta_{2j}\text{ECON}_{ij} + \beta_{3j}\text{PRICE}_{ij} + \beta_{4j}\text{INC}_{ij} + \beta_{5j}\text{AGE}_{ij} + \beta_{6j}\text{GENDER}_{ij} + r_{ij}$$

Level 2:

$$\begin{aligned} \beta_{0j} &= \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}\text{IND}_j + \gamma_{02}\text{MAS}_j + \mu_{0j} \\ \beta_{1j} &= \gamma_{10} + \gamma_{11}\text{IND}_j + \gamma_{12}\text{MAS}_j + \mu_{1j} \\ \beta_{2j} &= \gamma_{20} + \gamma_{21}\text{IND}_j + \gamma_{22}\text{MAS}_j + \mu_{2j} \\ \beta_{3j} &= \gamma_{30} + \gamma_{31}\text{IND}_j + \gamma_{32}\text{MAS}_j + \mu_{3j} \\ \beta_{4j} &= \gamma_{40} + \mu_{4j} \\ \beta_{5j} &= \gamma_{50} + \mu_{5j} \\ \beta_{6j} &= \gamma_{60} + \mu_{6j} \end{aligned}$$

Overall HLM Model:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{PDO/PGI}_{ij} = & \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{10}\text{CULTURE}_{ij} + \gamma_{20}\text{ECON}_{ij} + \gamma_{30}\text{PRICE}_{ij} + \gamma_{01}\text{IND}_j + \gamma_{02}\text{MAS}_j \\ & + \gamma_{11}\text{IND}_j \times \text{CULTURE}_{ij} + \gamma_{12}\text{MAS}_j \times \text{CULTURE}_{ij} \\ & + \gamma_{21}\text{IND}_j \times \text{ECON}_{ij} + \gamma_{22}\text{MAS}_j \times \text{ECON}_{ij} \\ & + \gamma_{31}\text{IND}_j \times \text{PRICE}_{ij} + \gamma_{32}\text{MAS}_j \times \text{PRICE}_{ij} \\ & + \gamma_{40}\text{INC}_{ij} + \gamma_{50}\text{AGE}_{ij} + \gamma_{60}\text{GENDER}_{ij} + \text{error term.} \end{aligned}$$

PDO/PGI_{ij}	= attitude of Individual i in Country j toward the PDO/PGI policy
CULTURE_{ij}	= belief of Individual i in Country j that PDO/PGI protects the authenticity of the cultural product
ECON_{ij}	= belief of Individual i in Country j that PDO/PGI protects the local economic production structure of the cultural product
PRICE_{ij}	= belief of Individual i in Country j that PDO/PGI causes an increase in the price of the cultural product
INC_{ij}	= income of Individual i in Country j
AGE_{ij}	= age of Individual i in Country j
GENDER_{ij}	= gender of Individual i in Country j
IND_j	= individualism score for Country j
MAS_j	= masculinity score for Country j

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Table 1
Scale items used in study 1

Measures	Items	Response Format	
<i>Consumer support for PDO/PGI</i>			
Attitude toward PDO/PGI	How attractive do you find the idea of the PDO/PGI-protection?	1. Very Unattractive	5. Very Attractive
	How do you feel about the idea of the PDO/PGI-protection?	1. Really Dislike it	5. Really Like it
	What is your overall opinion about the idea of the PDO/PGI-protection?	1. Very Bad	5. Very Good
<i>Beliefs about the PDO/PGI policy</i>			
Protects the authenticity of cultural products	The PDO/PGI-protection will...		
	• Protect the authenticity of the product	1. Totally Disagree	5. Totally Agree
	• Fully guarantee the geographic area of origin of the product		
Protects the local economic production structure of cultural products	• Guarantee that the product is produced in a traditional way		
	• Guarantee a hand crafted product		
Causes an increase in the price of the cultural products	• Lead to higher employment in the geographic area of origin		
	• Lead to higher farmer incomes		
	• Lead to higher product prices		

Table 2
Descriptive statistics of study 1

Measures	# of Items	Italy	CR	Greece	CR	United Kingdom	CR	France	CR	Netherlands	CR
<i>Consumer support for PDO/PGI</i>											
Attitude toward PDO/PGI (Att _{PDO/PGI})	3	4.45 (.57)	.84	4.56 (.63)	.91	3.94 (.73)	.92	4.08 (.86)	.87	3.90 (.79)	.89
<i>Beliefs about the PDO/PGI policy</i>											
Protects the authenticity of cultural products (PDO/PGI _{Culture})	5	4.43 (.61)	.77	4.41 (.57)	.76	3.74 (.66)	.69	4.17 (.80)	.81	3.95 (.73)	.80
Protects the local economic production structure of cultural products (PDO/PGI _{Economy})	2	3.90 (.88)	.65	4.18 (.82)	.67	3.44 (.83)	.65	2.91 (1.14)	.68	3.19 (.91)	.55
Causes an increase in the price of the cultural products (PDO/PGI _{Price})	1	3.72 (1.22)	NA	3.85 (1.10)	NA	3.69 (.93)	NA	3.83 (1.18)	NA	3.59 (1.10)	NA
<i>National Cultural Values</i>											
Individualism (IND)	1	76	NA	35	NA	89	NA	71	NA	80	NA
Masculinity (MAS)	1	70	NA	57	NA	66	NA	43	NA	14	NA
<i>Covariates</i>											
Income	1	45.3 (46.6)	NA	42.1 (44.2)	NA	5.86 (2.55)	NA	22.8 (36.8)	NA	19.9 (24.6)	NA
Age (category)	1	5.51 (.85)	NA	5.18 (.92)	NA	6.38 (2.00)	NA	5.65 (1.05)	NA	5.74 (1.00)	NA
Gender	1	1.99 (.10)	NA	1.91 (.28)	NA	1.67 (.47)	NA	1.90 (.30)	NA	1.79 (.41)	NA
Sample Size		422		408		451		428		402	

Table 3
Effects of beliefs and national cultural values on attitudes toward the PDO/PGI policy ($Att_{PDO/PGI}$)

Variables	Hypothesized Effect	Unstandardized Coefficients	<i>t</i> -value	<i>p</i>
Main effects: Individual Level				
Intercept		4.20***	37.7	<.01
PDO/PGI _{Culture}	+	.42***	18.3	<.01
PDO/PGI _{Economy}	+	.12***	7.7	<.01
PDO/PGI _{Price}	-	-.07***	5.3	<.01
Main effects: National Cultural Values				
Individualism (IND)	-	-.18***	12.2	<.01
Masculinity (MAS)	+	.15***	8.3	<.01
Cross-level Interactions				
IND X PDO/PGI _{Culture}	+	.03	1.1	n.s.
IND X PDO/PGI _{Economy}	-	-.00	.1	n.s.
IND X PDO/PGI _{price}	-	-.02	1.6	n.s.
MAS X PDO/PGI _{Culture}	-	-.06***	2.7	<.01
MAS X PDO/PGI _{Economy}	+	-.00	.2	n.s.
MAS X PDO/PGI _{Price}	-	-.03**	2.4	<.02
Main effects of covariates				
Age		-.03	2.1	<.05
Income		.00	1.6	n.s.
Gender (1 = male, 2 = female)		.04	1.0	n.s.
N		2068		
R ²		.30		
Explained Variance (%)				
Individual-level		37.8		
Country-level		20.9		
Total		58.7		

The test of significance is based on the one-tailed test.

Table 4
 Numbers of PDO/PGI protected cultural products as functions of concerns about loss of culture and economies and national cultural values (n = 22)

Variables	Hypothesized Effect	ANOVA		Multivariate OLS		
		F-value	p	Standardized Coefficients	t-value	p
Main effects: Concerns						
Concerns about loss of cultural identity	+	5.6	<.05	.32**	2.6	<.05
Concerns about local economy	+	10.3	<.01	.26**	1.9	=.05
Main effects: National Cultural Values						
Individualism (IND)	-	7.0	<.05	-.51***	3.9	<.01
Masculinity (MAS)	+	2.9	ns	-.21	1.3	ns
Cross-level Interactions						
IND X Cultural concerns	+	11.3	<.01	.23**	2.0	<.05
IND X Economic concerns	-	3.2	ns	.17	1.1	ns
MAS X Cultural concerns	-	1.0	ns	.11	.9	ns
MAS X Economic concerns	+	3.7	<.10	.24**	1.9	<.05
Main effects of covariates						
Agricultural Output - Millions of euros		11.1	<.01	.50**	2.9	<.01
Size of the Country (square km)		.5	ns	.04	.2	ns
Number of years member of EU		.1	ns	.42**	2.9	<.01
R²				.92		
Adjusted R²				.83		
F-value				10.39**		

The test of significance is based on the one-tailed test.

Figure 1
Integrative approach to consumer responses to globalization

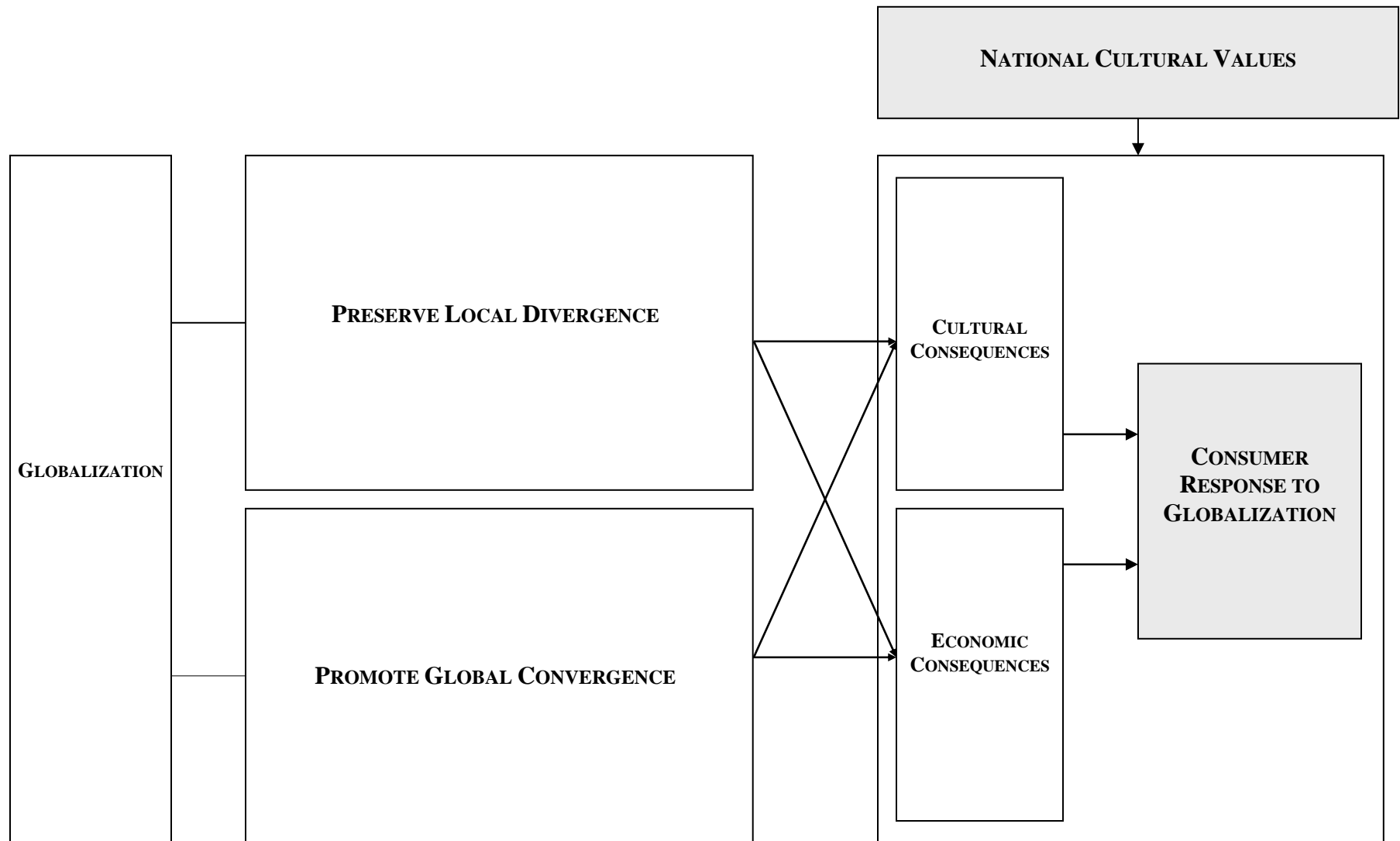


Figure 2
Examination of consumer responses to PDO/PGI policy in the context of the EU

