Countries and Their Products: A Cognitive Structure Perspective

Terence A. Shimp

University of South Carolina

Saeed Samiee

University of Tulsa

Thomas J. Madden

University of South Carolina

This research reports on consumers' cognitive structures for countries and their products. In-depth personal interviews identified respondents' knowledge, beliefs, myths, and other relevant cognitions related to a diverse set of 11 countries and their products. Derived cognitive dimensions were analyzed via correspondence analysis, and the 11 countries were subsequently grouped into five sets, or cognitive categories. In addition to the empirical findings, the article introduces the concept of country equity as a new way of thinking about global brands and discusses managerial implications related thereto.

Increasing numbers of studies in marketing and international business are examining country image factors (cf. Ozsomer and Cavusgil 1991; Papadopoulos, Heslop, Graby, and Avlonitis 1987). Such research is easily justified inasmuch as a product's country of origin is a potentially important information cue for both marketing practitioners and consumers. Although early studies in this tradition suffered from theoretical and methodological shortcomings (cf. Bilkey and Nes 1982; Kaynak and Cavusgil 1983; Papadopoulos et al. 1987), recent sophisticated efforts have illuminated country image and its impact on consumer choice behavior (e.g., Han 1989; Erickson, Johansson, and Chao

Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science Volume 21, Number 4, pages 323-330. Copyright © 1993 by Academy of Marketing Science. All rights of reproduction in any form reserved. ISSN 0092-0703. 1984; Johansson, Douglas, and Nonaka 1985; Johansson and Nebenzahl 1986). It would be overstating the case, however, to suggest that recent country-of-origin studies are flawless (cf. Ozsomer and Cavusgil 1991).

The present research adds to the growing literature on country-image effects by exploring consumers' cognitive structures regarding products from a select sample of countries. The term cognitive structure connotes consumers' encoded representations of information in memory, which, in the present usage, refers to what consumers know/believe about products made in different countries (Kanwar, Olson, and Sims 1981). The study also provides insight into the cognitive categories consumers hold for countries and their associated products. That is, consumers, like people in all aspects of life, divide the world of objects into categories in order to achieve efficient understanding and processing of their environments (Cohen 1982; Mervis and Rosch 1981; Rosch and Mervis 1975; Sujan 1985). Categories enable consumers to effortlessly evaluate a new stimulus (e.g., a new product) that is identified with a particular category (such as a country). To understand how consumers categorize countries is to understand how they are likely to respond to products associated with those countries.

To elaborate, the issue is similar to research showing that nonevaluative attitudinal dimensions (e.g., attitude confidence and accessibility) are important moderators of attitude-behavior consistency (Berger and Mitchell 1989; Fazio, Powell, and Williams 1989). That is, not all attitudes accurately predict behavior, just those that are held confidently and are readily accessible. In analogous fashion, consumers' mere knowledge of a product's country of origin is an insufficient indicator of whether they will purchase products made in that country. This is because the objective

fact of where a product is produced may be based on limited information about a country and its products. The consumer's attitude, or country image, would not, therefore, be held confidently nor would it be highly accessible. On the other hand, a country image having a rich cognitive basis would be expected to be held with greater confidence and be more accessible, both occurrences leading to enhanced attitude-behavior consistency.

Interviews were conducted to investigate the content of consumers' cognitive structures regarding the products made in various nations. The objective of these interviews was to identify thought categories that consumers draw on when thinking about products made in the sampled countries. These thought categories, in turn, provided the input for analytically determining (via correspondence analysis) which nations cluster together in consumers' mental representations of countries and products.

METHOD

In-depth interviews of the long-interview variety were conducted (see McCracken 1988). The interviews focused on 11 countries: France, Germany, Great Britain, India, Iran, Japan, Korea, Russia, Switzerland, United States, and Yugoslavia. Selection of these diverse countries was guided in part by prior studies that had identified salient country attributes such as level of economic development (Kaynak and Cavusgil 1983; Wang and Lamb 1980, 1983) and political ideology (Bannister and Saunders 1978; Schooler 1971; Wang 1978; Wang and Lamb 1980, 1983). In addition, given the nature of the project, it was important that approximately half of the countries be active in international trade, particularly in the production and export of consumer goods.

Interviews were conducted by a doctoral student with training in ethnographic research methods. The interviews lasted on average 45 minutes and were audiotaped. Following initial rapport establishment (McCracken 1988), the interviewer proceeded to encourage respondents to talk freely about each country and reveal the depth of their cognitive structures (i.e., their beliefs, myths, images, etc.) regarding the products associated with those countries. The interviewer asked: "What comes to mind when you think of products made in [name of country]?" With the exception of this general question and probes, the interviews were not otherwise structured or directed. The objective was to provide an atmosphere in which respondents would feel free to talk and thereby expose the depths of their thoughts regarding the commercial output from each country. The order of countries was rotated across respondents to avoid order bias.

Sample

To obtain a heterogeneous sample in terms of socioeconomic status, parishioners were recruited from two churches located in a major metropolitan city in the Southeast. Members from one church are largely from working class backgrounds, whereas the congregation from the other spans the middle classes. Recruitment was encouraged by making financial donations in the respondent's name to his or her church. Overall, 64 individuals were interviewed. Respondents were roughly evenly divided based on gender (52% female, 48% male); they represented all adult age groups, albeit skewed toward middle-aged and older (33.4% 18-34, 21% 35-54, and 45.6% 55 and over); and they spanned all educational levels (30.4% high school education or less, 19.6% some college, 32.1% college graduate, and 17.9% graduate or professional degree).

This sample obviously was not representative of any specific population; however, given the research emphasis on discovery rather than justification (see Hunt 1991), a small, geographically restricted sample does not mitigate the value of this undertaking. Rather, the potential contribution is obtained from the original ideas which in future research can be exposed to justification-oriented research strategies.

Preliminary Analysis

Interview tapes were transcribed, and then a subsample of 10 interviews was selected at random for the purpose of providing a data pool from which to develop a set of mutually exclusive and exhaustive content categories. Fifteen thought-content categories were delineated. However, as it turned out, only six of the 15 original categories were used regularly by the coders. In fact, 89 percent of the 1,045 thoughts evinced by the 64 interviewees came from just these six categories. Accordingly, subsequent discussion is restricted to the six frequently appearing thought categories.

When asked to comment about products made in a particular country, respondents typically provided general thoughts about specific **products and/or brands** (category 1) associated with the country (e.g., "When I think of France, I think of its wines"; "Rolex watches are made in Switzerland"). Coders were instructed to assign thoughts to this category only in those instances where the respondent simply made an association between a country and a product but offered no additional commentary or evaluations.

Many responses went beyond the mere association of countries and their products/brands and provided evaluations in terms of general **positive- or negative-quality** appraisals (categories 2 and 3). Thoughts were assigned to either of the two quality categories when respondents provided specific, quality-based evaluations. For example, statements such as "Swiss watches are masterpieces" or "French wines are superb" were assigned to the positive-quality category (category 2) rather than to the more general product/brand category (category 1).

Two additional categories involve thoughts about product prices, either as perceptions of **high or low prices** (categories 4 and 5). Price evaluations were treated separately from the more general positive- and negative-quality ascriptions in that high (low) price perceptions may represent positive (negative) evaluations in some instances but negative (positive) evaluations in others. Statements such as "Swiss watches are high priced" and "Korean electronics are inexpensive" were assigned to categories 4 and 5, respectively.

A final category of cognitive reactions includes perceptions about the degree of **fashion**, **styling**, **or craftsmanship** (category 6) associated with the products made in particular countries. Illustrative statements include "French

clothing is fashionable" and "Persian (Iranian) carpets are hand-made by experts." It will be noted that the emphasis in these examples is on fashion and craftsmanship, respectively, rather than merely reflecting positive overall evaluations as in category 2.

Coding and Reliability Assessment

Two graduate students (other than the interviewer) independently coded all 64 sets of transcribed interviews. They were carefully trained in the use of the categories and received sufficient time to perform the coding. Intercoder agreement for the six primary categories ranged from 67 to 93 percent and averaged 90 percent over the 933 coding decisions involving these six major categories. The overall reliability was .92 based on Perreault and Leigh's (1989) index.

Several weeks after making individual coding decisions, the two coders coalesced their separate coding judgments into a single set of consensus codes. This process provided each coder the opportunity to reevaluate the original decision and, on occasion, to be persuaded by the other coder's position. These negotiated settlements led to a single set of consensus decisions.

RESULTS

The 933 consensus codings of respondents' thoughts across the 11 countries and 64 respondents produced an average of slightly more than 14.5 total thoughts per respondent, or approximately 1.33 thoughts per country per respondent. The coding results are shown in Table 1.

It is apparent that the number of thoughts varied substantially by country, revealing varying degrees of cognitive structure development. As might be expected, cognitive structures were most developed (as indicated by the total number of thoughts) for the United States and countries from which substantial consumer products are imported, and were least developed for countries not typically identified as heavy exporters of consumer products to the United States. Whereas respondents collectively expressed over

100 thoughts each about Japan, the United States, Germany, Switzerland, and France, they evinced fewer than 50 thoughts each for Iran, Russia, and Yugoslavia. Between 50 and 100 thoughts were registered each for Great Britain, India, and Korea.

Categorization Via Correspondence Analysis

A simple (versus multiple) correspondence analysis (Carrol, Green, and Schaffer 1986; Hoffman and Franke 1986) was performed to identify underlying dimensions that could be used to cluster countries into common cognitive categories. Correspondence analysis accepts contingency table data as input and plots both the row and column totals in the same reduced dimensional space. The contingency table data used in this analysis (see Table 1) contained six types of product-related thoughts and 11 countries constituting the rows and columns, respectively. The cell counts reflect the number of times a particular thought is associated with a given country. To allow for a joint-space comparison (i.e., the identification of which countries locate close to which product-related thoughts), a scaling algorithm based on Carrol, Green, and Schaffer (1986) option II was used.²

The analysis uncovered two dimensions that account for a significant percentage (73.3%) of the original variance. The first and dominant dimension (54% of variance) has low price and negative quality at one extreme and high price and positive quality at the other. The important role of product quality in our results is generally consistent with findings in the country-of-origin literature (e.g., Han and Qualls 1982; Han and Terpstra 1988; White and Cundiff 1978), although Gaedeke (1973) found that country-of-origin information did not significantly affect opinions regarding the quality of branded products. It also is evident from our results that price is very much a part of consumers' cognitive structures when thinking of products made in other countries.

The next step was to group countries that share similar product-thought profiles using the SPAD statistical package (Lebart and Morineau 1982). The SPAD package performs a hierarchical clustering of the column totals, or in this case countries, using Ward's criterion on all their principal coordinates. We examined four-, five-, and six-cluster solutions.

TABLE 1 Country-Product Thoughts												
Product Thoughts	FRa	GB	GE	IN	IR	JA	КО	RU	SW	US	YU	Row Totals ^d
Product/brand	50.5b	47.5	51.7	52.2	65.7	46.7	40.4	41.0	42.2	38.1	41.1	431
Positive quality	23.7	33.7	30.9	10.2	8.6	31.8	11.3	25.0	38.2	26.2	13.6	237
Negative quality	2.9	1.2	.8	13.0	14.3	5.2	23.6	28.0	1.0	14.3	20.4	84
High price	12.9	6.3	8.4	2.9	0	1.5	1.1	3.0	10.7	15.1	0	64
Low price	0.9	3.8	0	8.7	5.7	13.3	22.5	0	0	5.5	20.4	66
FSC ^c	8.9	7.5	8.4	13.0	5.7	1.5	1.1	3.0	7.9	0.8	4.5	51
Column totals ^d	101	80	120	69	35	135	89	32	102	126	44	933

[&]quot;Country abbreviations are FR = France, GB = Great Britain, GE = Germany, IN = India, IR = Iran, JA = Japan, KO = Korea, RU = Russia, SW = Switzerland, YU = Yugoslavia.

^bColumn percentages are presented, e.g., 50.5 percent of comments about products made in France were in reference to specific products or brands associated with that country.

^{&#}x27;Fashion, styling, craftsmanship.

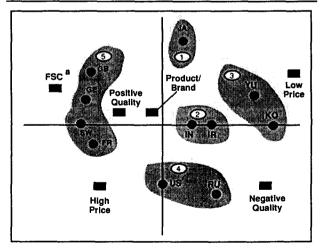
dObserved frequencies, column and row totals.

The five-cluster solution appeared to best represent the data in Table 1. The resulting clusters are shaded in Figure 1, which portrays the country clusters in proximity to the six product thoughts (shown as rectangular blocks).

Cluster 1 contains Japan by itself. Japan was perceived at an intermediate point with respect to price level and as producing high-quality products. It can be seen from the data in Table 1 that consumers have rich cognitive structures for Japanese products; indeed, the 135 total thoughts exceed the number of mentions for all other countries, including even the United States. Nearly 80 percent of the elicited thoughts were product/brand impressions or positive quality ascriptions. A closer examination of the Japanese column reveals that respondents perceived Japan mostly in positive terms. Moreover, unlike other countries that are associated with high-quality products (especially Switzerland, Germany, and Great Britain), only Japan received more lowthan high-price mentions. It is apparent that Japan occupies the enviable position of being simultaneously perceived as a producer of high-quality and low-priced goods.

Cluster 2 is comprised of India and Iran. Although respondents had nearly twice as many total thoughts about Indian products as compared to Iran, cognitive structures reveal a similar pattern for each (see Table 1). Notice that the majority of recollections pertaining to these countries were product/brand thoughts; i.e., each country was typically viewed in terms of a single product (viz., India with garments and Iran with Persian carpets). The other thoughts pertaining to India and Iran were almost equally divided among positive quality, negative quality, and low price.

FIGURE 1 Product Thoughts and Country Clusters



GB = Great Britain GE = Germany FR = France IR = Iran JA = Japan KO = Korea BU = Russia

SW = Switzerland US = United States YU = Yugoslavia Neither country was thought of as having particularly high or low prices nor as producing especially negative-or positive-quality products. A possible implication of the near-equidistant position of this cluster from positive and negative price and quality attributes is that a well-orchestrated plan might make it easier to enhance the image of the countries contained in this cluster compared to, say, a country with a mismanaged reputation like Yugoslavia.³

Cluster 3 includes Yugoslavia and Korea and locates closest to perceptions of low price and negative quality. In Table 1 it can be seen that 45 percent of all thoughts registered for Korea involved perceptions of low quality (23.1%) and low prices (22%). Similarly, 39 percent of the Yugoslavian-directed thoughts involved negative-quality (19.6%) and low-price perceptions (also 19.6%).

The United States and Russia are peculiar partners comprising cluster 4. However, the rationale for this unexpected combination is clearcut. Perusal of Table 1 reveals that consumers' cognitive structures for Russia involved thoughts of specific products (e.g., vodka and caviar) and favorable perceptions of the quality of those products. The perception of low quality (for all products other than vodka and caviar) was the only other notable thought registration. Moreover, although Russia shares an association with Yugoslavia and Korea (cluster 3) with respect to negative quality, it, unlike Korea and Yugoslavia, which received high percentages of low-price perceptions, was not frequently perceived in lowprice terms. This probably is because most American consumers have virtually no direct experience with Russian products other than possibly vodka. Hence, Russia's uniqueness with respect to the data in Table 1 is the frequency of negative-quality perceptions (20.5%) absent of corresponding low-price thoughts (zero percent).4

The United States and Russia join in this two-dimensional space because a disproportionately high percentage of U.S.directed thoughts (vis-a-vis other industrialized countries) also involved negative-quality perceptions. Indeed, approximately one of every eight thoughts (12.4%) about U.S. products were ascriptions of low quality. Moreover, of the 84 negative-quality thoughts generated across all 11 countries, 21.5 percent occurred in response to products from the United States; this percentage is exceeded only by Korea and greatly exceeds the percentage for all other major industrial countries. It also can be noted from the data in Table 1 and the corresponding portrayal in Figure 1 that the United States, but not Russia, received a disproportionately high percentage of high-price impressions (15.1%). The only countries close to this percentage are France (12.9%) and Switzerland (10.7%), but they group in a different cluster because they, unlike the United States, are rarely perceived in negative-quality terms. In other words, the value of U.S.made products is perceived as inferior to that of some of its major trading partners.

The final cluster, cluster 5, contains four western European countries: France, Germany, Great Britain, and Switzerland. In every instance approximately 80 percent of consumers' total thoughts toward these countries were directed at impressions of the specific products and brands produced along with positive thoughts of product quality and positive views regarding the fashion, styling, or craftsmanship of products made in these countries. Rarely

a Positive fashion, styling, or craftsmanship ascriptions

were any of these countries perceived as producing shoddy products or charging low prices.

IMPLICATIONS

This study reveals that consumers use relatively few types of thoughts when discussing products made in various countries and that the depth of consumers' cognitive structures varies greatly from country to country. Furthermore, the study shows that cognitive categories of countries are identifiable in relation to the memory-based representations consumers have when thinking about the products made in these countries. Implications for marketing practice and scholarship follow.

Country Positioning Strategies

Due to space constraints, the following discussion is restricted to American, Japanese, German/Swiss, and Korean/Yugoslavian positions and their implications for possible marketing action.

American Position

Implications for American firms can clearly be seen when the position of the United States in the correspondence analysis (Figure 1) is contrasted with the positions of some of its major global competitors. It is clear that U.S. products, in an overall sense, are perceived less favorably by the sample of American respondents than are the products from Western Europe and Japan. Whereas these other countries are in close vicinity to ascriptions of high quality and positive fashion, styling, and craftsmanship, the United States stands in stark contrast in its proximity to negative-quality and high-price attributions. What makes this finding all the more dramatic is the fact that it comes from respondents who are located in a geographic region known for being more patriotic and ethnocentric than many other areas of the United States (see Shimp and Sharma 1987).

Japanese Position

Products from Japan hold a position of uniqueness in the respondents' collective cognitive structures. Japan is not closest to any single positive or negative ascription; it is not known for any particular product; it is not thought of as a universal producer of high-quality products, or just for low prices. Rather, it is identified with a variety of products, considered favorably with respect to quality and prices, and rarely seen in negative-quality or high-price terms. Japan's successes have fostered a consumer psychology that virtually guarantees acceptance (at least on a trial basis) of most any product Japanese companies might introduce to the United States. This is consistent with the findings of Papadopoulos et al. (1987) and Wall and Heslop (1986), who have documented widespread positive attitudes toward Japanese products.

German and Swiss Positions

The products of Germany and Switzerland are perceived in similarly positive terms; indeed, both countries are virtually equidistant in Figure 1 from positive quality and positive fashion, styling, and craftsmanship perceptions. Previous research has demonstrated the high-quality perception of German products by consumers (Howard 1990) as well as by industrial purchasing agents (Cattin, Jolibert, and Lohnes 1982; Hallen and Johanson 1985). It would appear that a postive quality perception, such as that enjoyed by countries in cluster 5, is shared across both product categories and market segments.

Switzerland is an especially interesting country. Not only are its products viewed extremely favorably, but the nation itself is seen as physically beautiful and economically efficient and vibrant. (These comments are based on results from a further aspect of the interviews—not otherwise discussed in this paper—that were directed at identifying general, noncommercial thoughts about countries.) Many of the respondents perceived Switzerland in idyllic terms and stereotyped that country with a little-old-clockmaker mind-set. Korean and Yugoslavian Positions

Negative product-quality attributions were especially evident for Korea and Yugoslavia, which is consistent with previous research that has reported a general bias towards products manufactured in developing nations (Gaedeke 1973; Kaynak and Cavusgil 1983; Khanna 1986; Lumpkin and Crawford 1985; Wang and Lamb 1980, 1983).

Our respondents most closely identify Yugoslavia with a single, low-quality product—the Yugo automobile. Han's (1989) advice regarding the need for countries to establish quality control standards at the industry level is especially pertinent in this case, because it is evident that the respondents abstracted brand perceptions toward the Yugo into country image. Respondents' (il)logic chain apparently operates along these lines: the Yugo is low quality; Yugoslavian automobiles are low quality; ergo, all Yugoslavian products are of low quality. Juxtaposed against the positive sterotype of Switzerland as a beautiful little country of clockmakers, it seems that the sample of American consumers perceived Yugoslavia as a country that produces inefficient and shoddy merchandise. This image will likely create psychological entry barriers for Yugoslavian products that will take years to overcome. Hence, whereas a country like Switzerland is able to leverage its positive country image from one product to another, Yugoslavia suffers from negative country equity that mitigates the success potential of its future products marketed to the United States and possibly elsewhere.

The Country-Equity Concept

Past research has shown that the country of origin stimulates consumer interest in promoted products and leads to greater elaboration in thinking about product information and its evaluative implications (Hong and Wyer 1989). Research also suggests that country image operates as a halo construct to influence consumers' evaluations of product attributes (though not their overall evaluations of products), especially when consumers have limited familiarity with a country's products (Erickson, Johansson, and Chao 1984; Han 1989; Johansson, Douglas, and Nonaka 1985; Ofir and Lehmann 1986). When consumers possess more familiarity with a country's products, country image has been shown to operate more as a summary construct that both encapsulates consumers' product-specific beliefs and directly affects their attitudes (Han 1989).

We propose the term country equity as a more precise

way of thinking about country image in its role either as a halo construct or as a summary construct. This is not simply a change in terminology. Rather, the idea of country equity provides added precision and serves to disentangle the equity contained in a brand (the conventional notion of brand equity) from that contained in the country with which the brand is associated. In other words, new brands can leverage off the equity furnished by preexisting brands marketed by the same company or off the equity endowed by the country with which the new brand is identified. The presence of country equity is implied in the findings of Johansson and Nebenzahl (1986), who found that although U.S. consumers' average (unweighted) ratings of Japanese-and U.S.-made Honda cars were about the same, their ratings of German-made Hondas were somewhat higher.

To further demonstrate the country-equity concept, consider the cases of Germany and Yugoslavia. Whereas a German manufacturer, regardless of the actual quality of its products, benefits from the global perception of high quality associated with German products, a Yugoslav manufacturer of high-quality products will have great difficulty in capturing the same position in consumers' minds.

Combining the traditional brand equity concept with the new concept of country equity provides an interesting and potentially valuable way of thinking about global brands. In Figure 2, each form of equity is conceptualized as either positive or negative and then the two are cross-classified to yield four forms of joint brand and country equities.

Highly leverageable brands are new market entries from companies with current winners in their product portfolios that are identified with countries whose commercial output is positively evaluated by consumers in the importing country. A case in point is the highly successful entry into the United States of Japanese luxury cars (e.g., Acura, Lexus, and Infiniti). Past successes of Honda, Toyota, and Nissan and Japan's reputation as a producer of high-quality automobiles paved the way for their entry into the upscale car market. It is not surprising that these brands rapidly stole large market shares from the established European luxury cars.

FIGURE 2 Leveraging Brand and Country Equities

	Country Equity						
Brand Equity	Positive	Negative					
Positive	Highly Leverageable Brands	Country-Deficit Brands					
Negative	Company-Deficit Brands	Nonleverageable Brands					

Anchoring the other end of the continuum are non-leverageable brands marketed by companies finding themselves in a negative brand equity position and which are aligned with countries also in a negative position. In our research, Korean and Yugoslavian products exemplify this unenviable situation.

Perhaps the more interesting possibilities are the offdiagonal cases in Figure 2, the company- and countrydeficit brands. From an attribution-theory perspective, company-deficit brands would seem to have weaker leveraging potential than would country-deficit brands. In particular, Kelley's (1967) covariation theory of attributions would suggest in the case of company-deficit brands that consumers would strongly attribute poor past performance to a company that has a distinctively poor reputation visa-vis other producers of the same product in the same country. Similarly, in the case of country-deficit brands, consumers would attribute strong past performance to the company and not the country inasmuch as the country has a poor reputation with respect to the product category or products in general. Because attributions often are resistant to change (Folkes 1988), it may take years of notable successes before consumers can be expected to change their beliefs regarding the products from companies and countries that have negative equities.

Viewing the associations formed toward products manufactured in specific countries as country equity opens many avenues for future research. For example, based on their empirical findings, Aaker and Keller (1990) propose a number of implications and research directions for studying brand extensions. Each of these directions is clearly consistent with the notion of country equity and extensions of products either associated or not typically associated with a country. However, country equity is more complicated than brand equity because brands are produced within countries and the brands themselves may have positive equity but the country may have negative equity or vice versa. Future research would likely be most productive in those cases where brand and country equities conflict, that is, the offdiagonal cases in Figure 2. It is easy to envision the possibility of laboratory or field experiments that simultaneously manipulate both product and country equities and test whether Aaker and Keller's (1990) propositions extend to this broadened context.

Research Limitations

Two noteworthy limitations qualify our exploratory findings. First, the sample is restricted to a single metropolitan area located in the Southeastern United States. One can only speculate as to the extent to which these results might generalize to other locales. It would be particularly enlightening for future research to examine whether consumers from other countries use the same thought categories as Americans in thinking about global products.

A second limitation extends from the fact that the data for this study were collected during a two-month period in 1989. This was a period of calm in comparison to the ensuing world situation that witnessed historic developments such as the virtual collapse of communism, the realignment of nation states in Eastern Europe, the outbreak of brief warfare in the Persian Gulf, an increase in Japan bashing, and the onset of near-worldwide recession. Again, one can only conjecture as to what impact these dramatic changes may have on consumer perceptions of other countries' products. It might be expected that perceptions of products from Japan, Russia, and Yugoslavia would be different today from when the data were collected. Also, recessionary pressures would be expected to increase consumer thought production regarding prices of other countries' products.

As with most studies, generalizability is circumscribed. The dynamic nature of the world political economy demands that cross-sectional studies of global products and marketplaces be replicated so as to compare results in different epochs and to determine the temporal and historical factors that perform moderating roles.

NOTES

- Although the data were collected prior to the dissolution of the U.S.S.R., the interviewer nonetheless used the more-common label, Russia, when querying respondents. It is of further note that the study was conducted prior to the recent ethnic unrest in Yugoslavia.
- 2. There exists some controversy concerning the interpretation of between-set distances (cf. Carroll, Green, and Schaffer 1986). Although we used the scaling algorithm advocated by Carroll, Green, and Schaffer (1986), our interest is not in using exact distances between countries and thoughts, but rather the general proximity of countries to each other and to the thoughts listed about the countries. To avoid any possible misinterpretations, we support conclusions regarding the between-set distances by referencing the original data shown in Table 1.
- 3. We appreciate this suggestion from an anonymous reviewer.
- 4. It is noteworthy that data for this study were collected prior to the dissolution of the Soviet Union. This raises the issue of what image or perceptions have been transferred to the various republics following their separation from Russia. Our position is that the general public is unlikely to automatically transfer the Russian image to any of the offshoot republics because American consumers know so little about these "new" countries. This may represent a marketing opportunity for these emerging countries of the old Soviet Union inasmuch as concerted efforts by individual governments can lead to positive results at the outset.

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Terence A. Shimp is Professor of marketing at the University of South Carolina and 1993 President of the Association for Consumer Research. He has published in the *Journal of Consumer Research*, *Journal of Marketing Research*, *Journal of Marketing*, and elsewhere.

Saeed Samiee is Professor of marketing and Director of the International Management Center at the University of Tulsa. His articles have appeared in the Journal of Marketing, Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science, Journal of International Business Studies, California Management Review, and others.

Thomas J. Madden is Associate Professor of marketing at the University of South Carolina. He is the coauthor of two marketing research textbooks and has published in leading marketing and social psychological journals.