Culture, Gender, and Self:
A Perspective From Individualism–Collectivism Research

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Individualism and collectivism are often equated with independent vs. interdependent, agentic vs. communal, and separate vs. relational self-construals. Although these same concepts have been used to characterize both cultural and gender differences, a perspective of cultural evolution suggests it is unlikely. A division of labor within society may produce gender differences, but this cannot explain cultural differences. A study of self-construal involving 5 cultures (Australia, the United States, Hawaii, Japan, and Korea) shows that differences between these cultures are captured mostly by the extent to which people see themselves as acting as independent agents, whereas gender differences are best summarized by the extent to which people regard themselves as emotionally related to others.

The current literature proposes that people construe the self in two divergent ways. One type of construal is described by such concepts as individualist, independent, autonomous, agentic, and separate, and the other by their antonyms such as collectivist, interdependent, ensembled, communal, and relational (Bakan, 1966; Gilligan, 1982; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Sampson, 1989; Triandis, 1989). The first set is often attributed to men and people in the Western individualist cultures (e.g., Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1994), and the second set to women and people in the Eastern collectivist cultures. Does this mean cultural and gender differences in self-construal can be characterized by the same set of psychological dimensions?

Despite these discourses on the self, contemporary theorists have distinguished three, rather than two, dimensions of the self (Breckler & Greenwald, 1986; Greenwald & Breckler, 1985;

Triandis, 1989). The first is the *individualistic* dimension of the self,[1] captured by such concepts as independent, autonomous, agentic, and separate. Geertz (1974/1984) summarized this image of the person as "a bounded, unique, more or less integrated motivational and cognitive universe, a dynamic center of awareness, emotion, judgment, and action organized into a distinctive whole and set contrastively both against other such wholes and against its social and natural background (p. 126)."

The other two dimensions can be best defined in contrast to this dominant conception. One contrast concerns the relationship between the individual and the collective, which we call a *collective* dimension of the self. As stated by Triandis (1989, p. 509), individualists "give priority to personal goals over the goals of collectives; collectivists either make no distinctions between personal and collective goals, or if they do make such distinctions, they subordinate their personal goals to the collective goals". A similar view has been expressed by other theorists as well (e.g., Hofstede, 1980; Shweder & Bourne, 1982; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988).

The other contrast has to do with the relationship between the individual and other individuals, that is, whether the self is construed to be related with other selves. Gilligan (1982) voiced her criticism that the separate self is predominantly a male perspective, whereas women's conception is one of self-in-relationship. Many theorists have echoed this view (e.g., Belenky,

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[1] Although ideocentrism and allocentrism have been proposed as the individual-level description of individualism and collectivism (Triandis et al., 1988), we use this terminology to clarify the relationship between the cultural and individual levels of analysis.

Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986; Chodorow, 1978; Miller, 1986). We will call this a *relational* dimension.

The present research aims to clarify the relationships among the individualistic, relational, and collective dimensions of the self, and to examine cultural and gender differences on these dimensions.

Cultural and Gender Differences in Self-Construal

The current theories are unclear about the nature of cultural and gender differences in self-construal. Although most theorists agree that women are more relational than men (e.g., Gilligan, 1982; Miller, 1986), theorists disagree about cultural differences in self-construal. Triandis (1989) argued that individualistic, collective, and relational self-construals are present in peoples in all cultures, but differentially accessed in different cultural contexts, which are defined most notably by individualism and collectivism (Trafimow, Triandis, & Goto, 1991; Hofstede, 1980). However, the nature of individualism and collectivism is unclear and open to debate (see Kim, Triandis, Kagitcibasi, Choi, & Yoon, 1994; Schwartz, 1990, 1992). For instance, while Kâgitçibaşi (1990) and Hamaguchi (1977) have characterized this dimension in relational terms, Hofstede (1980) and Triandis et al. (1988) emphasized the individualistic and collective dimensions of the self.

Culture, Gender, and Cultural Evolution

From a cultural evolutionary perspective (e.g., Sahlins & Service, 1960), cultural and gender differences are unlikely to be characterized by the same dimensions of the self. According to this view, symbolic culture develops in part as a means of adaptation to the social and natural environment. It is conceivable that gender-related social roles emerge as constellations of behaviors that are differentially desirable for men and women due to a gender-based division of labor (e.g., Eagly, 1987). In many traditional societies, men's primary task is to obtain the means of sustenance, whereas women's is to raise the offspring.

By contrast, cultural differences are unlikely to stem from such a division of labor between cultures and may reflect different peoples' attempts to adjust to different ecological systems (e.g., Berry, 1979; Triandis, 1972; Whiting, 1964). Although cultures of industrialized societies are unlikely to be easily swayed by the current ecological environment, they are likely to have kept some significant elements from the more traditional past. To put it succinctly, a gender difference has emerged within a particular ecosystem, whereas a cultural difference has emerged between different ecosystems.[2]

Empirical Evidence on Cultural and Gender Differences

There is some evidence to suggest that cultural and gender differences may be characterized by different psychological dimensions. Specifically, the relational dimension characterizes gender differences in self-construal, whereas the individualistic and collective dimensions describe cultural differences.

Much of the evidence regarding gender difference, though mainly obtained in North America, suggests women are more relational than men. Despite the earlier mixed results (Lyons, 1983; but see Lykes, 1985; Pratt, Golding, Hunter, & Sampson,

1988; Pratt, Pancer, Hunsberger, & Manchester, 1990), more recent studies by Josephs, Markus, and Tafarodi (1992) using cognitive methods, and by Clancy and Dollinger (1993) using Ziller's method of examining photographs (1990), have consistently supported the contention that women's self construal is more relational than men's. Nonetheless, it is still unclear whether this gender difference holds across cultures.[3]

Cultural differences in self-construal have been well established by early studies (e.g., Bond & Cheung, 1983; Cousins, 1989; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis et al., 1993); however, the results are not quite amenable to an unambiguous interpretation based on the distinction among the individualistic, collective, and relational dimensions. More recent studies imply that cultures may differ mostly on the individualistic and collective dimensions, rather than on the relational dimension, of the self. Singelis and his colleagues (Singelis, 1994; Singelis & Brown, in press) developed a measure that taps the individualistic and collective dimensions of the self, and found in Hawaii that participants from an Asian background were both more collective and less individualistic relative to those with a European background. Bochner (1994) further compared Malaysian, Australian, and British participants' open-ended self-descriptions in terms compatible with the individualistic, relational, and collective dimensions of the self. Consistent with Singelis's research, he found that Malaysian self-construals were more collective and less individualistic than Australian and British self-construals; however, he found no cultural difference on the relational dimension.

When interpreted in light of these studies, the findings from related areas of cross-cultural inquiry are informative. In examining morality, Miller (1994) argued that cultural and gender differences have little overlap. Miller and her colleagues have identified a fundamental difference between the Indian and American morality largely regardless of gender: the Indians hold the duty-based morality which is different from both the morality of justice and that of caring, which the American men and women are said to hold (Miller & Bersoff, 1992; Miller, Bersoff, & Harwood, 1990; Miller & Luthar, 1989). If Gilligan and Miller are right about the theoretical link between morality and the self, by implication, the dimension of self-construal that differentiates cultures may be independent of the dimension that differentiates men and women.

Cross-cultural value research also provides suggestive data.

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[2] We thank Harry Triandis for this suggestion.

[3] Different theoretical explanations about the relational self have somewhat different implications for the universality of gender differences in self-construals. For instance, some theorists emphasized the biological difference between the genders (e.g., Bakan, 1966) whereas others have stressed the universal human conditions surrounding the ontogenetic development of men and women (e.g., Gilligan, 1982). These theories imply the universality of gender differences in self-construal (Miller, 1994). Still some other explanations allow for some room for cultural variations in gender-based self-construals, such as those which cite sex roles as social structural constraints on men's and women's behaviors (e.g., Eagly, 1987). However, in so far as many cultures provide a gender-based sex role differentiation and expectations based on gender stereotypes (Williams & Best, 1982), the sex role based account may also predict a near universality of gender differences in self-construal.

Bond (1988) found gender and culture differences on different value dimensions, using the results of the Chinese Value Survey (The Chinese Culture Connection, 1987) and Rokeach's Value Survey (1973) adopted by Ng et al. (1982). Relatively large gender effects were found on the dimensions which may be conceptually related to the relational dimension of the self. These dimensions include competence versus security (closely related to self-direction versus security of Schwartz and Bilsky, 1987, 1990) and personal morality versus success (overlapping with Schwartz and Bilsky's prosocial morality as opposed to social power and achievement). By contrast, large effects for culture were found on the dimensions that may be somewhat related to the collective dimension of the self. These include social integration versus cultural inwardness (conceptually overlapping with Schwartz and Bilsky's prosocial and maturity as opposed to restrictive conformity) and reputation versus social morality (the latter being conceptually related to Schwartz and Bilsky's maturity and restrictive conformity); the latter dimension correlated highly negatively ($r = -.99$) across cultures with social reliability versus beauty (social reliability tapping Schwartz and Bilsky's restrictive conformity).

In summary, although previous research implies that different dimensions of the self may characterize cultural and gender differences, no empirical work has directly addressed this question. The results of the previous research may be reinterpreted post hoc, such that the relational dimension may characterize the gender difference in self-construal, whereas the individualistic and collective dimensions may describe the cultural differences. However, we need to examine more directly the effects of culture and gender on self-construal.[4]

Method

We have developed paper-and-pencil measures of the individualistic, relational, and collective dimensions of the self-construal in Japan, translated them into Korean and English, and administered them in the participants' native language in five cultures: two individualist (mainland United States and Australia), two collectivist (Japan and Korea), and one culture which is arguably in between the two (Hawaii).

We establish the construct validity of our measures by two methods. First, we examine correlations of our measures with some of the measures that have been used in the past to examine individualism and collectivism. Second, measures relevant to individualism and collectivism should be able to rank order the five cultures so that mainland USA and Australia are at its one end, Japan and Korea at the other end, and Hawaii in between the two extremes.

We examine cultural and gender differences using three different data-analytic techniques to increase what Cook and Campbell (1979) called statistical conclusion validity: by reaching the same conclusion using different analytical techniques, we can enhance the validity of our conclusion. This caution is especially needed as cultural comparisons tend to involve transformations of data and occasional violations of statistical assumptions. We first conducted a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) on the individualistic, collective, and relational dimensions with culture and gender as independent variables. We then used a discriminant functional analysis to differentiate men and women from five cultures using the same questionnaire items as in the MANOVA. This method enabled us to extract directly the dimensions that characterize cultural and gender differences. Finally, we used MDS to examine similarities and differences among men and women from the five cultures.

Participants

All participants were volunteers from introductory psychology courses of universities in Australia, mainland USA, Hawaii, Japan, and Korea. In Australia, 158 students (36 men and 122 women; average age, 21.2 yrs) at La Trobe University, Melbourne, participated in the study. In mainland USA, 134 students (70 men and 64 women; average age, 18.4 yrs) at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, participated in the study. Participants with Asian background were removed from the final sample from Australia and mainland USA. The Hawaiian sample came from the University of Hawaii, Honolulu: 209 participants (68 men & 141 women; average age 22.8 yrs). Although there were many participants from the Asian and Pacific Island background in the sample, they were retained as this is likely to reflect the culture of Hawaii, which includes a majority group of people with East Asian background. In Japan, the participants were 256 students (124 men and 132 women; average age, 18.9 yrs) at Kanagawa University, which is in the Tokyo metropolitan area. Finally, in Korea, participants were 254 students (79 men and 175 women; average age 21.3 yrs) at Chung-Ang University, Seoul. The Japanese and Korean participants came from the respective country.

Although there are some statistically reliable age differences across samples, we report the results without controlling for age, as our preliminary analyses showed that the statistical control of age did not alter our conclusions. One point to note is that one individualist (mainland USA) and one collectivist sample (Japan) have about the same mean age, whereas the rest have about the same age though somewhat higher than the other two. Any cultural differences on individualism and collectivism are unlikely to be confounded by age.

Measures

Five questionnaires were used in the present study. The first questionnaire asked for background information including nationality, gender, age, and self-perceived ethnic background. The format was somewhat different across cultures to meet the requirements of each specific culture. The other four questionnaires contained scales discussed below. The order of the questionnaires was randomized for each participant.

Collectivism scale. One questionnaire contained 28 items of Yamaguchi's Collectivism scale (1994; Yamaguchi, Kuhlman, & Sugimori, in press). Yamaguchi conceptualized individualism and collectivism along the individualistic and collective dimensions of self-construal. The items generally described situations that involved a conflict between personal and group (friendship group) goals. Some items favored the choice of the personal goal, whereas others supported the group goal. Participants were asked to judge the extent to which each item described themselves on a 5-point scale anchored by *describes me very well* and *does not describe me at all.* Yamaguchi defined collectivism as the tendency to place the group goal above the personal goal.

In Japan, his early version with 10 items (Yamaguchi, 1994) was found to correlate positively with sensitivity to rejection and affiliative tendency (Mehrabian & Ksionzky, 1974; a Japanese translation), positively with public self-consciousness but not significantly with private self-consciousness (Fenigstein, Scheier, & Buss, 1975; a Japanese translation), positively with self-monitoring (Snyder, 1974; a Japanese translation), and negatively with need for uniqueness (Snyder & Fromkin, 1977; a Japanese translation). His extended 14-item scale correlated positively with sensitivity to rejection and affiliative tendency and

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[4] Although Williams and Best (1990) conducted an extensive cross-cultural examination of the relationship between gender and self, their research was not directly relevant to the dimensions of our interest, such as the individualistic, relational, and collective dimensions of self-construal.

negatively with need for uniqueness in Japan, Korea, and the United States (Yamaguchi et al., in press). In this study, the U.S. sample used the original English version of the scales and a translation of Yamaguchi's scale, whereas the Korean sample responded to Korean translations of these scales.

In the present version, in addition to the 14 items, we included 14 other items that tap the collective dimension, as well as items that tap the expression of opinions in the group setting. This is in line with the finding that Japanese are believed to curtail their expression of opinions relative to Australians (Kashima, Siegal, Tanaka, & Kashima, 1992). The scale included two filler items, making the total of 30 items. Sample items are reported in Table 1. The Japanese version was translated into Korean and English by bilinguals, and their equivalence was checked by backtranslation.

Kanjin-shugi scale. Hamaguchi (1987) developed a set of items designed to tap what Hamaguchi (1977) called Kanjin-shugi. This Japanese concept can be literally translated as "between-people-ism" and Hamaguchi (1985) translated it as contextualism. According to Hamaguchi, the cultural difference between Japan and Western cultures including the United States is best characterized as one of general conceptions of the self as a relational being. This scale taps the relational dimension by design; the content generally emphasizes the emotional relatedness of the self with other individuals. Kakimoto (1989) reported item analyses of this scale, and concluded that the items form a single dimension. We selected 12 items that loaded most highly on his factor analysis and that showed the highest item-total correlations. This scale included two filler items, making the total of 14 items. The participants were asked to express the extent to which they agree with the items on a 5-point scale anchored by *strongly agree* and *strongly disagree*. Sample items are reported in Table 1. The original items were translated into

Korean and English by bilinguals, and their equivalence was checked by backtranslation.

Allocentrism scale. This scale was developed by Sinha and used by Triandis et al. (1993) to tap allocentrism, the individual-level construct that corresponds to collectivism at the cultural level. Items emphasize the self's relationships with people from different groups—family, friends, etc. Participants are asked to judge the veracity of each of the 22 statements as a description of "the type of person you are" on a 9-point scale anchored by *true* and *false*. Sample items for parents are as follows with "I" for ideocentric and "A" for allocentric items: "ask your old parents to live with you (A)", "live far from your parents (I)", "place your parents in an old peoples' home or nursing home (I)". Sample items for friends are "call your friends every time before visiting them (I)", "call on a friend, socially, without giving prior warning (A)", "stay with friends, rather than in a hotel, when you go to another town (A)", and "prefer to stay in a hotel rather than with distant friends when visiting another town (I)".

Friendship questionnaire. This was designed to tap cohesiveness of a respondent's friendship group and to obtain a measure of self–other similarity that was used to measure allocentrism in the past (Triandis et al., 1986, 1988). This asked a respondent to list five best friends and indicate whether they are friends to each other. The number of friendship ties among the best friends was used to measure the extent to which the friendship group was cohesive (network density; Knoke & Kuklinski, 1982). A higher number indicated that the respondent's friends formed a close-knit group, which is an indication of collectivism (Triandis, 1989). This was an attempt to develop a measure without cultural response sets. Furthermore, the respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which each of their friends and they were similar on a 9-point scale anchored by *extremely similar* and *extremely different*. To avoid

Table 1
Collectivism and Kanjin-shugi Scale Items That Had Loadings Greater Than .35

Collectivism Scale: (3 factors, 21.1%)

Factor 1 (12.9%): Collectivism
    I would rather leave my group if I have to sacrifice my self interest for the group (−.63).
    I am prepared to do things for my group at any time, even though I have to sacrifice my own interest
       (.59).
    I don't sacrifice self interest for my group (−.56).
    I stick with my group even through difficulties (.42).
    I think it is more important to give priority to group interests rather than to personal ones (.39).
    I respect decisions made by my group (.37).
    I don't support my group when they are wrong (−.35).
Factor 2 (5.7%): Agency
    I stick to my opinions even when others in my group don't support me (.51).
    I do things in my way regardless of what my group members expect me to do (.47).
    I don't think it necessary to act as fellow group members would prefer (.47).
    I base my actions more upon my own judgments than upon the decisions of my group (.44).
    I don't change my opinions in conformity with those of the majority (.41).
    I feel uneasy when my opinions are different from those of members of my group (−.37).
    I think it is desirable for the members of my group to have the same opinions (−.35).
Factor 3 (2.6%): Assertiveness
    I don't say anything even when I am dissatisfied with a decision made by my group (−.49).
    I often pretend to agree with the majority opinion in my group (−.46).
    I state my opinions in my group only when I am confident that they are those which are endorsed by
       everyone (−.46).
    I assert my opposition when I disagree strongly with the members of my group (.42).
    I don't want to stand out in my group (−.35).

Kanjin-shugi Scale: Relatedness (1 factor, 11.4%)

I feel like doing something for people in trouble because I can almost feel their pains (.48).
I often do what I feel like doing without paying attention to others' feelings (−.47).
I am not too concerned about other people's worries (−.47).
I am not interested in other people's business (−.42).

the asymmetry of self–other similarity rating between individualist and collectivist cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), the question was phrased to ask for a similarity rating between the self and other. The five self-other similarity judgments were averaged to index allocentrism. A greater similarity between self and other indicates a higher level of allocentrism. The questionnaire was originally developed in English, and translated to Korean and Japanese by bilinguals, and their equivalence was checked by backtranslation.

Results

Pancultural Factor Analysis

To examine the factor structure of questionnaire items across cultures, we adopted the double standardization method (Bond, 1988; Leung & Bond, 1989). This method first standardizes participants' responses within each participant to remove response sets such as tendencies to use extreme ends of response scales. The mean and standard deviation of each participant's responses to a given questionnaire are computed and used to transform raw scores into standard scores. Subsequently, to control for cultural differences in means and standard deviations of those questionnaire items, within-subject standardized scores are standardized within each culture (deculturing). This retains the correlation matrix within each culture but removes the potential confound of cultural mean differences. The double standardized scores were submitted to factor analyses to extract pancultural dimensions of individual-level variations.

Collectivism scale. We double standardized the 28 items of the Collectivism Scale, and submitted it to an exploratory principal-axis factor analysis followed by varimax rotation. A scree test suggested that two to four factor solutions were possible. After examining each solution, we chose a three- factor solution for the clarity of its factor loadings: very few items had loadings of greater than .3 on two or more factors. Table 1 lists items that loaded on each of the factors with the factor loading greater than .35.[5]

After examining the item content, we named the first factor Collectivism as the positively loaded items express a positive attitude toward the friendship group and negatively loaded items highlight the option of leaving the group. This factor included most of the original 14 items of the scale validated in Japan, tapping the collective dimension of the self-construal. The second factor was called Agency and appears to tap an individualist dimension. Positively loaded items emphasize the independence of action and opinion, and negatively loaded items stress the importance of conformity to the group. The third factor was called Assertiveness as it exemplifies the expression of opinions, again tapping an individualist dimension. The main difference between Agency and Assertiveness is that the former emphasizes *doing* whereas the latter stresses *saying*. Perhaps at the individual level the self-construal about doing and saying constitutes separable dimensions (see Kashima, Gallois, & McCamish, 1992, for a discussion about doing and saying in social decision making).

Kanjin-shugi scale. We double standardized the Kanjin-shugi items separately, and submitted them to an exploratory factor analysis. Consistent with Kakimoto's earlier report, we found the 12 items to form a single factor. The items that loaded greater than .35 are reported in Table 1. Although the percentage of variance explained by this factor may seem relatively

small (11%), one wishes to look for universal dimensions that are stable across cultures in pancultural factor analyses, resulting in relatively few dimensions (Bond, 1988). We decided to rename this factor as Relatedness for the ease of communication in English. Clearly, this factor taps the relational dimension of the self.

Relationships between collectivism, agency, assertiveness, and relatedness. To construct the measures of the four factors that were extracted in the pancultural factor analyses, we linearly combined the within-subjects standardized (but not decultured) scores using the factor score coefficients estimated using the regression method. This procedure is necessary to estimate factor scores while retaining cultural differences.

To examine pancultural relationships between these factors, the factor scores were decultured. Table 2 reports correlations between these scores. Although some correlations were significant at .005 level (we chose a low alpha value because of the large sample size), their sizes were relatively small. Consistent with expectation, the collective (Collectivism) and relational (Relatedness) dimensions correlated positively with each other, and negatively with an individualism dimension (Agency). The other individualism dimension (Assertiveness) did not correlate with the collective and relational dimensions of the self-construal.[6]

To establish further the orthogonality of the four dimensions (Collectivism, Relatedness, Agency, and Assertiveness), we conducted an additional pancultural factor analysis with decultured scores of the items from the Collectivism and Kanjin-shugi Scales in a single analysis. This yielded four factors, and after varimax rotation, factor scores were estimated. Each factor appears to correspond well with one of the four previously extracted dimensions: Factor 1 = Collectivism ($r = .77$), Factor 2 = Assertiveness ($r = .85$), Factor 3 = Agency ($r = .94$), and Factor 4 = Relatedness ($r = .94$).

Allocentrism, cohesiveness, and self-other similarity. We have examined the correlations of the four dimensions with the other measures to obtain concurrent validity. In constructing the measure of Allocentrism, we double standardized raw scores of the 22 items and added them after reflecting ideocentric items. This was because the scale was highly heterogeneous (as expected from the item content), and we concluded that separating many factors would not be useful as a way of obtaining concurrent validation. In fact, heterogeneous scales tend to correlate with external criteria better than homogeneous scales (Cronbach & Gleser, 1965). This property of heterogeneous scales makes Allocentrism Scale a good criterion for concurrent validation. Cohesiveness and Self-Other Similarity were com-

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[5] We conducted the same analysis with an equal number of participants from each culture (120) to equalize the weight given to each culture. As this did not change the results appreciably, we are not reporting them.

[6] The correlations between the estimated factor scores were not zero despite the use of varimax rotation probably because the factor scores were computed using the coefficients obtained from the factor analyses conducted with decultured scores on non-decultured scores. It should also be noted that factor scores are only estimates, so that they can yield statistically reliable correlations between factors that are supposed to be orthogonal.

Table 2

Correlations Between Decultured Scores of Collectivism, Agency, Assertiveness, Relatedness, Allocentrism, Cohesiveness, and Self–Other Similarity

Measures	Ag	As	Rel	GC	Sim	Al
Collectivism	−.20	.00	.24	.11	.13	.22
Agency		.09	−.21	−.11	−.16	−.16
Assertiveness			−.07	.02	.04	−.01
Relatedness				−.04	.14	.23
Group Cohesiveness					.14	.13
S–O Similarity						.18
Allocentrism						

Note. Ag = Agency; As = Assertiveness; Rel = Relatedness; GC = Group cohesiveness; Sim = Self–other similarity; Al = Allocentrism; S–O = Self–Other. Underlined correlations are significant at .005 level.

puted without within-subject standardization, and then decultured. These three measures were then correlated with each other, and with the four dimensions of self-construal (Table 2).

Allocentrism, Cohesiveness, and Self-Other Similarity correlated positively with each other, suggesting some overlap in construct. However, it is clear that the overlap is very small. Consistent with expectation, these measures correlated positively with Collectivism and Relatedness, but negatively with Agency. Apparently, these characteristics form only loosely connected syndromes at the individual level. Interestingly, Assertiveness correlated with none of the other measures.

MANOVA

The seven measures that have been developed so far were used as dependent variables to examine the effects of culture and gender on self-construal. As the range of possible values varied greatly from one measure to another, we standardized all the measures across the entire sample. Means are reported in Table 3, and effect sizes and F-values are reported in Table 4.

The culture and gender main effects and their interaction effect were all significant, at the .005 level. However, the multi-

variate effect size suggested that the interaction effect was very small. Univariate F-tests showed that a Culture × Gender interaction effect was significant only for Allocentrism, and its effect size was rather small. An examination of the means of Allocentrism (Table 3) revealed that the pattern of the interaction was nonsystematic: women were higher than men on Allocentrism in Australia, the United States, and Korea, but the trend was reversed in Japan and Hawaii. This interaction effect is difficult to interpret. In the following section, we will turn to univariate analyses and concentrate on the main effects on each of the measures.

Dimensions of self-construal. On Collectivism, we found only cultural differences. Consistent with the expectation, Koreans and Japanese (.22 and .21, respectively) were higher than Australians and mainland Americans (−.35 and −.22, respectively), and Hawaiians were in between (−.11). A gender effect was very small and nonsignificant.

On Agency and Assertiveness, effects for culture were substantial, but almost no gender effect was found. As expected, Australian and mainland American culture means (.71 and .43 on Agency; .63 and .61 on Assertiveness) were higher than Korean and Japanese means (−.36 and −.54 on Agency, and −.47 and −.17 on Assertiveness), and Hawaiian means were in between (.27 on Agency and −.13 on Assertiveness).

On Relatedness, both culture and gender effects were significant. The culture effect was twice as large as the gender effect. However, it should be remembered that the culture effect had four degrees of freedom whereas the gender effect had only one. Correcting for this, the effect size per degree of freedom is .014 for culture and .025 for gender. On the relational dimension, gender appears to have a greater effect than culture.

This view was reinforced by an examination of the means on Table 3. Mainland American women scored highest on Relatedness, and were followed by Australian women, Korean women, Hawaiian women, Korean men, Hawaiian men, Australian men, and mainland American men. Probably most unexpectedly, men and women in Japan scored the lowest. Even there, however, women scored relatively higher than men. The gender difference on this measure was significant at the .05 level in Australia, mainland United States, and Japan; in Hawaii and

Table 3

Means of Collectivism, Agency, Assertiveness, Relatedness, Allocentrism, Cohesiveness, and Self-Other Similarity of Men and Women in Australia, Mainland United States, Hawaii, Japan, and Korea

Measures	Aust M	Aust F	USA M	USA F	Hawaii M	Hawaii F	Japan M	Japan F	Korea M	Korea F
Collectivism	−.33	−.36	−.10	−.34	−.06	−.13	.14	.27	.44	.11
Agency	.60	.74	.42	.45	.04	.39	−.39	−.67	−.28	−.39
Assertiveness	.63	.63	.50	.72	−.23	−.08	−.12	−.23	−.38	−.51
Relatedness	−.21	.26	−.27	.41	−.03	.18	−.59	−.23	.17	.20
Allocentrism	.18	.28	−.05	.30	.32	.01	−.63	−.47	.39	.15
Cohesiveness	.23	−.10	.32	−.00	.66	−.05	.29	−.14	.04	−.47
S–O Similarity	.17	.18	.35	.39	.47	.35	−.61	−.30	−.17	−.18

Note. Standardized scores across cultures; Aust = Australia; USA = United States of America; S–O Similarity = Self-Other Similarity; M = males; F = females. N varies somewhat due to missing values.

Table 4

Univariate and Multivariate Effect Sizes and F-Statistics Associated With Culture, Gender, and Culture × Gender Interaction on Collectivism, Agency, Assertiveness, Relatedness, Allocentrism, Cohesiveness, and Self-Other Similarity

Measures	Culture		Gender		Culture × Gender		
	η^2	F	η^2	F	η^2	F	N_a
Collectivism	.051	13.52*	.002	2.18	.007	1.88	1011
Agency	.222	72.42*	.000	.05	.011	3.71	1011
Assertiveness	.177	54.28*	.000	.00	.004	1.31	1011
Relatedness	.058	15.95*	.021	23.19*	.010	2.76	1008
Allocentrism	.107	29.56*	.000	.02	.014	3.76*	987
Cohesiveness	.036	9.72*	.050	54.21*	.004	1.06	992
S–O Similarity	.112	31.38*	.000	1.12	.006	1.56	998
Multivariate	.148	22.34*ᵦ	.086	12.06*	.016	2.05*ᵦ	
(Pillais)		.592		.086		.063	
df		(28, 3600)		(7, 897)		(28, 3600)	

Note. a = N varies somewhat due to missing values; b = Approximate F; S–O Similarity = Self–Other Similarity.
* p < .005.

Korea, the difference was in the expected direction though nonsignificant.

Allocentrism, cohesiveness, and self–other similarity. There is a sizable culture effect on Allocentrism, somewhat qualified by a minor interaction effect due to culture and gender. Although tapping collectivism at the individual level (recall its correlations with other relevant dimensions), this measure does not show an expected pattern at the cultural level: cultures line up in the descending order from Australia (.26), Korea (.23), mainland America (.12), Hawaii (.11), to Japan (−.55).

A main source of variation on Cohesiveness is gender, though there is some effect for culture. After correcting for the difference in degree of freedom (effect size divided by degrees of freedom), the gender effect is .49, whereas the culture effect is .008. Men's friendship groups were more cohesive than women's: this effect held within each of the five cultures at .05 level. Somewhat unexpectedly, the lowest score on this came from Korea (−.31), whereas mainland American and Hawaiian samples had relatively high means (.17 and .18, respectively).

Self–Other Similarity is clearly relevant to a cultural difference, but not to a gender difference. Furthermore, mean differences between cultures suggested that this aspect of the self-construal may not be relevant to individualism and collectivism at the cultural level. Hawaiian and mainland American samples (.39 and .37) scored highest on this measure, followed by Australians (.18), and Koreans and Japanese (−.18 and −.44). This result may reflect a context effect on similarity judgments (Roberts & Wedell, 1994). In highly heterogeneous societies such as the United States (both Hawaii and mainland) and Australia, one's close friends may be perceived to be similar to the self; however, in homogeneous societies like Korea and Japan, the self–friend similarity may not be as pronounced as in heterogeneous societies.

Discriminant Functional Analysis

In this analysis, we used the within-subject standardized (but not decultured) scores of the 40 items from the Collectivism

and Kanjin-shugi Scales to discriminate men and women of the five cultures (2 × 5 = 10 groups). The discriminant functional analysis extracts linear composites of the items so that the groups are maximally different on the composite scores. Because this method deals with the aggregate level of the conjunction of gender and culture, it could extract dimensions that describe cultural and gender differences which are orthogonal to each other. To the extent that a discriminant function differentiates the five cultural groups, it may be interpreted as a cultural-level dimension though its meaning may not be completely coextensive with dimensions derived from ecological factor analyses (see Hofstede, 1980; Leung & Bond, 1989; cf. Ostroff, 1993).

Four of the nine functions were significant at the .005 level: after removing the fourth function, Wilks's lambda became large (.810) to make the chi-square test nonsignificant, 203.42 (df = 175), p > .06. Table 5 lists the group centroids and percentages of variance explained by each function.

The first discriminant function is clearly the most important discriminator: it differentiates the individualist cultures (Australia and mainland USA) from the collectivist cultures (Korea and Japan). The Hawaiian means are set in between the two poles. It seems safe to interpret this function as individualism–collectivism at the cultural level (Hofstede, 1980). To interpret this function further, we computed its correlations with the individual-level variables of Collectivism, Agency, Assertiveness, and Relatedness (see Table 5). The results were generally consistent with the MANOVA results. The individualist dimensions of self-construal, Agency and Assertiveness, correlated most strongly with this function. The collective dimension of Collectivism correlated moderately negatively with it. The relational dimension, Relatedness, correlated positively with the first function, contrary to expectation.

The second function discriminated between the Japanese and the Koreans: the Japanese men and women had highly positive means whereas the Korean men and women had negative means. All other means had relatively small absolute values.

Table 5

Discriminant Functions Evaluated at Group Means (Group Centroids) for Men and Women in Australia, Mainland United States, Hawaii, Japan, and Korea

Cultures	Discriminant functions			
	1	2	3	4
Percent variance explained	70	15	5	4
	Group centroids			
Australian				
M	1.56	−.28	−.37	−.27
F	2.01	.01	−.55	.21
USA				
M	1.56	−.21	.17	−.99
F	2.07	.07	−.57	−.19
Hawaii				
M	.99	.23	1.16	−.01
F	1.43	.08	.39	.53
Japan				
M	−1.39	−1.07	.20	−.16
F	−1.60	−1.03	−.23	.20
Korea				
M	−1.38	1.07	−.03	−.47
F	−1.65	1.01	−.12	.14
	Correlations with individual-level variables			
Cohesiveness	−.25*	.01	.10*	−.09*
Agency	.54*	.11*	−.14*	−.02
Assertiveness	.41*	−.19*	−.42*	−.29*
Relatedness	.14*	.37*	−.22*	.30*

Note. M = males; F = females; USA = United States of America.
* $p < .005$.

The strong positive correlation between this function and Relatedness suggests that the relational dimension of the self discriminated between Japanese and Koreans: the Koreans were more relational than the Japanese. Interestingly, its correlations with Agency and Assertiveness had opposite signs: the Korean sample is more Agentic, but less Assertive, than the Japanese. Finally, both Koreans and Japanese are equally collectivistic, as shown by the absence of a significant correlation between this function and the individual-level Collectivism. This pattern is again consistent with the results of the MANOVA: the Koreans are higher than the Japanese on Relatedness and Agency, but lower on Assertiveness.

The third function discriminated the Hawaiians from the other individualist cultures. A large positive mean of the Hawaiian men and a somewhat positive mean of Hawaiian women are distinguished from negative means of Australian men and women, and mainland American women. The correlations of this function with the individual-level variables suggest that a lack of Assertiveness differentiated Hawaiians from the other individualist cultures.

The fourth function discriminated men from women: men in one culture had a higher mean than women in the same culture. This function correlated positively with Relatedness and negatively with Assertiveness, suggesting that individual-level variables that differentiate men from women are mostly Assertive-

ness and a lack of Relatedness. According to the MANOVA results, however, a gender main effect was significant only on Relatedness. This slight difference probably stems from the fact that the fourth function not only distinguishes men from women, but also mainland American women from women of the other cultures. Note that only mainland American women had a negative mean in the female sample. This may have somewhat confounded culture and gender effects.

Multidimensional Scaling Analysis

Finally, we used ALSCAL to examine visually the geometric locations of the 10 groups of men and women from the five cultures. We measured the distance between a pair of groups by computing the Euclidean distance between the centroids of the groups on the seven measures listed in Table 3. A metric Euclidean distance model was fit to the distance matrix. A two-dimensional solution was selected as it fitted the data adequately: Kruskal's formula 1 stress = .097, and the squared correlation was .953. The configuration is displayed in Figure 1.

One striking feature is that men and women from the same culture tend to be close together with the exception of Australian and mainland American men and women. The same gender group from Australia and mainland United States are closer together than their counterparts from the same culture. Overall, it seems safe to conclude that with the exception of Australia and mainland United States men and women from the same culture are more similar to each other than people of the same gender from other cultures.

Discussion

Gender and cultural differences do not have a great deal of overlap. Women are not like Asians. Cultural differences are most pronounced on the individualist dimensions of the self, the extent to which people see themselves to act and express opinions on their own. By contrast, gender differences emerged most clearly on the relational dimension of the self, the extent to which people regard themselves as emotionally related to others. The collective dimension of the self was somewhat relevant to the cultural difference, but not to the gender difference.

Regarding the dimensions of self-construal, we now have relatively firm evidence that the individualistic, collective, and relational dimensions are empirically separable. Four measures that tap the three dimensions of the self were identified, and shown to be relatively orthogonal to each other. Although the individualistic dimension of the self was found to have at least two facets, this seems in line with the semantic diversity of individualistic concepts. In an MDS study, Gelfand, Chan, and Triandis (in press) found that semantic meanings of concepts related to individualism are more diverse than those of collectivism. Some concurrent validity for these measures was obtained by showing that they correlated with Allocentrism, Cohesiveness, and Self–Other Similarity in the expected manner.

The three different methods of analyses were used to examine cultural and gender differences, and yielded essentially the same results, while highlighting different aspects of the data. In the MANOVA, the individualistic dimensions of Agency and Assertiveness showed the largest effects of culture in the expected di-
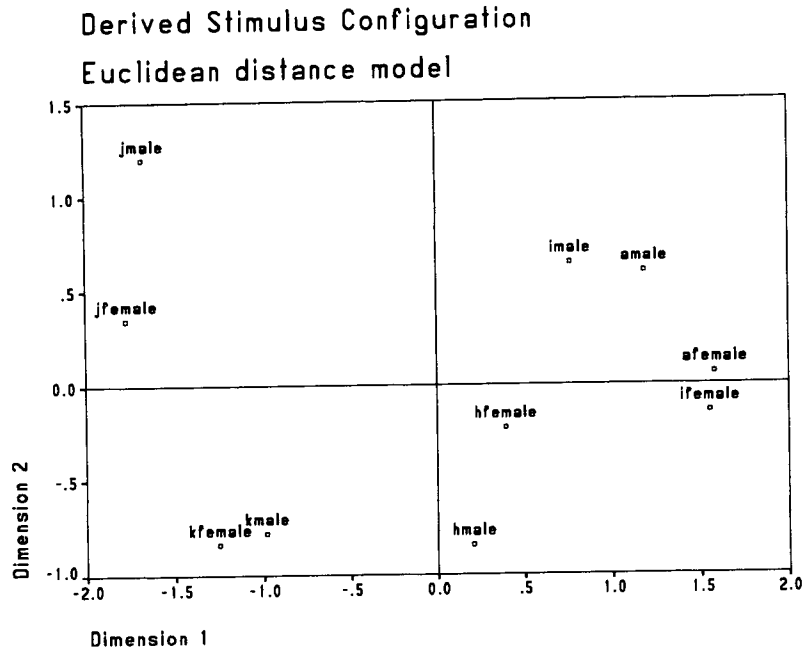
Derived Stimulus Configuration
Euclidean distance model

Figure 1. Euclidean distance model solution. a = Australia; i = Illinois; h = Hawaii; k = Korea; and j = Japan; amale = Australian men; afemale = Australian women; imale = mainland United States (Illinois) men; ifemale = mainland United States (Illinois) men; hmale = Hawaiian men; hfemale = Hawaiian women; kmale = Korean men; kfemale = Korean women; jmale = Japanese men; and jfemale = Japanese women.

rection, and a culture effect on the collective dimension of Collectivism was present but minor. Furthermore, the relational dimension was more relevant to gender differences than to cultural differences. The results of the discriminant functional analysis generally converged with the MANOVA results. In addition, we showed that the dimension that distinguishes individualist and collectivist cultures incorporates the two variables that are almost orthogonal at the individual level (Agency and Assertiveness), and also includes the individual-level Collectivism as a component. A function discriminating genders was also extracted, which was largely orthogonal to the dimensions differentiating cultures. The MDS result graphically displayed that culture and gender are quite different types of grouping. Men and women from a given culture are quite similar to each other in the context of the diverse cultures (with the exception of mainland Americans and Australians).

One word of caution, however, is that our sample of cultures is somewhat limited. Our individualist cultures are both mainly Anglo-Saxon, and our collectivist cultures are both East Asian. Hawaiian culture includes a Polynesian element, but other types of individualist and collectivist cultures (e.g., France and Venezuela) are not represented. The present finding that the most significant discriminator between cultures is the individualist dimension of the self may not hold when other world cultures are included. A similar consideration applies to our measures as well. With different measures of self-construal, relative importance of gender and cultural effects may be different.

One intriguing finding is that the two orthogonal individualistic dimensions of the self, Agency and Assertiveness, collapsed

into a single dimension that strongly differentiated individualist and collectivist cultures. This suggests that two cultural groups show a zero correlation between the two dimensions, but Culture A (individualist) has somewhat more positive means than Culture B (collectivist) on both the dimensions (see Figure 2). This situation produces zero correlations between Dimensions 1 and 2 at the individual level, but a positive correlation at the cultural level. Why should this happen?

People construct their self-conceptions based on what is available in a culture. Public discourse, including narratives and metaphors, provides the cultural basis of self-construal (Bruner, 1990; Kashima, 1987, 1994; Smith 1985/1991). Perhaps at the individual level, when systematic cultural constraints are controlled (i.e., within a single culture or by a deculturing procedure), we can observe an effect of the acquisition of one type of self-construal on that of another. For example, the self-construal about doing (i.e., Agency) does not preclude any self-construal about saying (Assertiveness). However, at the cultural level, institutional and symbolic constraints in a given culture may constrain the process of self-construal. In the United States and Australia, narratives and metaphors abound with the theme of independence and individuality (e.g., Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985). People in such cultures are bound to fall back on this meaning system that is culture to construct their own conception of themselves (Smith, 1985/1991). Given the prevalence of cultural symbols of individuality, people in Australia and the United States are more likely to acquire a greater number of individualistic selves than those in Japan or Korea.
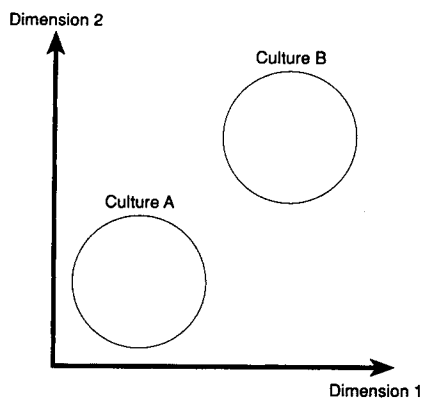
Figure 2. Hypothetical distributions of responses on two dimensions that show no correlation at the individual level, but a positive correlation at the cultural level.

Gender Differences

Consistent with previous research in the United States (e.g., Stokes & Levin, 1986, Study 2), men's friendship groups were found to be more cohesive than women's in the five cultures we examined. This finding may seem somewhat counter intuitive, as one might expect that relational selves would have more cohesive groups. Our results suggest that this is true at the individual level: Relatedness and Cohesiveness correlate positively. However, at the level of gender, Relatedness and Cohesiveness act quite differently. Women's friends tend not to be friends to each other while men's friends tend to be so; however, women see themselves to be more relational than men.

This finding is nonetheless consistent with the literature on gender differences in friendship patterns. Developmental studies suggest that girls tend to interact in dyads whereas boys tend to interact more in larger groups (e.g., Eder & Hallinan, 1978; Laosa & Brophy, 1972; Waldrop & Halverson, 1975). Bell (1981) also reported that women overwhelmingly form dyadic relationships, whereas men tend to include three or more people.

This culture-general gender difference may be explained by Tiger's (1969) provocative account of male bonding in cooperative task-oriented groups in the hunting society. Men had to coordinate complex tasks in hunting for large game, while women's task was largely one of raising their offspring. According to Tiger, this environment made it more likely that men would retain genetic tendencies to act in groups. However, an equally strong case can be made for the view that such a division of labor produced a social institution of male task-oriented groups. It may be this social institution, and associated gender roles, that are responsible for this gender difference.

Cultural Differences

Despite the predominance of the individualism–collectivism dimension at the cultural level, there are other dimensions that differentiate collectivist cultures from each other (second discriminant function) and individualist cultures from each other (third discriminant function). In doing so, the same set of individual-level variables were configured differently: the major di-

mension that distinguished Korea from Japan was Relatedness, but that which discriminated Hawaii from mainland United States and Australia was predominantly a lack of Assertiveness in Hawaiians.

Probably what is most significant is the finding that there is some difference between specific East Asian cultures such as Korea and Japan. The high level of relatedness of Korean selves may be explained by the importance of emotional relatedness in Korea, as signified by culturally specific concepts such as *cheong* (affection) and *woori* (we; Choi, Kim, & Choi, 1993). Choi (1994) recently summarized the Korean indigenous psychology in terms of *shimjung* (sentiments with strong affective connotation). Koreans place importance on the mutual understanding of true sentiments and feelings, and many Korean behaviors can be interpreted in terms of this motive.

In addition, the historical circumstances may have amplified the difference between the two cultures at present. Although both Korean and Japanese self-construals may have been relational in the past (see Hamaguchi, 1977), World War II may have served as a watershed in affecting subsequent changes in the two countries. The Japanese occupation of Korea since 1910 ended with Japan's defeat in 1945. On the one hand, Korean people were able to reaffirm their cultural heritage after regaining their independence. Furthermore, the division of the country between the North and the South may have contributed to the sense of nationalism especially among Korean university students.

On the other hand, after the war, the Japanese abandoned the traditional values of interpersonal obligations as they were seen to be too closely linked with the ultranationalism of the pre-war government (Doi, 1973). Perhaps, Japanese university students today deliberately and explicitly disavow the relational self that Hamaguchi (1977) called Kanjin-shugi, or "between-people-ism". Recall that the Japanese were the lowest of the five cultures on Allocentrism, Relatedness, and Self–Other Similarity: this convergence is striking.

These findings may seem contrary to those reported by previous studies (Cousins, 1989; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). However, the difference may reflect the type of measures used in the present study. We used self-report measures that explicitly asked people to describe themselves, whereas the measures used in the previous studies were designed to observe the effects of self-representations that may not be explicitly acknowledged by the participants. Our measures may reflect what the participants want to think they are, whereas the measures used in the previous studies may reveal more implicit aspects of the self-representation. These measures appear to be akin to implicit memory tasks that exhibit properties different from other explicit memory tasks such as recall and recognition (Roediger, 1990; Schacter, 1987).

Concluding Remarks

The research on self-construal across cultures has primarily originated in Western Europe or North America (Hofstede, 1980; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989). Measurement instruments and experimental methods were mainly developed in the United States and taken to other cultures for cross-cultural comparisons. The past research has clearly shown the existence of major cultural differences in self-con-

strual. Yet, as Bond and his colleagues (Bond, 1988; the Chinese Culture Connection, 1987) have reminded us most forcefully, research originating from a different cultural background can increase one's confidence in theory and data when it converges with research originated in other cultures and may shed new light on the domain of inquiry. It is a case of bringing divergent perspectives on a question so as to extend the basis of triangulation and to expand the scope for new discovery.

In the present research, we attempted to do just this, affording us a unique opportunity to examine the current theories of self processes. Although theorists have claimed that cultural dimensions such as individualism and collectivism may capture both cultural and gender differences, this study has shown that there is little overlap between cultural and gender differences. The overlap exists only in the eyes of the beholder.

It is instructive to be reminded of Geertz's description of the Western conception of the person. A "bounded, unique, more or less integrated motivational and cognitive universe, a dynamic center of awareness, emotion, judgment, and action organized into a distinctive whole" (Geertz, 1974/1984, p. 126) is the dominant conception of the person in the West, including the United States and Australia. However, this is not the only person type that is available in the West. There is the other type, which can be characterized by such adjectives as collectivist, interdependent, ensembled, communal, and relational. It appears that depending on a particular intergroup context, the dominant person type was attributed to either men or Westerners; women and East Asians were both relegated to the "other" person type. The contrasting person types that the theorists have relied on in characterizing cultural and gender differences may be themselves a reflection of cultural models of the person (Quinn & Holland, 1987). Perhaps one way to combat such tendencies is to bring different cultural perspectives on the enquiry of self-processes.

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