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Aligning inside and outside perspectives of the self: A cross-cultural difference in self-perception

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Past research shows that European Americans tend to take a first-person perspective to understand the self and are unlikely to align the inside look with the outside gaze, whereas Asians tend to take a third-person perspective and are likely to shift their inside look in the direction of the outside gaze. In three experiments, we compared Asians and European Americans' self-perceptions when the presence of their parents in the background of self-perception was primed or otherwise. Without the priming, both European Americans and Asians viewed themselves more positively from their own perspective than from their parents' perspective. With the priming, only Asians lowered the positivity of their self-perceptions to match the perceived positivity of the self in the parents' perspective. These results suggest that Asians do not have a static, passive tendency to assimilate their self-views into the perceived external assessments of the self. Rather, their self-views are fluid and flexible.

Key words: Asian Americans, cross-cultural differences, parents, positive self-regard, priming, self-perceptions.

A classic issue in social psychology is whether people construct their self-concept through observing their own behaviours (Bem, 1967, 1972), or through observing others' reactions to the self (Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934). Put differently, people's perceptions of the self can be based on their reflections on their behaviours (inside look) or reflections of the self in relevant others' eyes (outside gaze). Cross-cultural studies (Kim & Cohen, 2010; Kim, Cohen & Au, 2010; Markus & Kitayama, 1991) have found that cultures vary in the extent to which the individuals would align their self-views (inside look) with how they *perceive* relevant others would see the self (outside gaze). One robust difference is that European Americans tend to take a first-person perspective to understanding the self and are relatively unlikely to align the inside look with the outside gaze. In comparison, Asians tend to take a third-person perspective to understanding the self and are more likely to shift their inside look in the direction of the outside gaze (Kim, Chiu, Peng, Cai & Tov, 2010). This cross-cultural difference, nonetheless, does not mean that European Americans are simply ignorant of others' assessments of the self and that Asians are passive recipients of others' judgements of the self. In the current investigation, we contend that individuals from Asian cultures are active cultural agents, choosing to align the inside view of the self with the outside gaze of relevant others only at the assumed presence of the relevant others in the self-perception context.

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Perspective taking and incorporating others' views

In Western cultures, where independence, autonomy, and liberty are promoted and practised (Fiske, Kitayama, Markus & Nisbett, 1998; Kim & Cohen, 2010; Kim *et al.*, 2010; Markus & Kitayama, 1991), individuals tend to take a first-person perspective (inside look); they see the self through their own eyes and dislike being judged by others (Cohen & Gunz, 2002; Cohen, Hoshino-Browne & Leung, 2007; Kim & Cohen, 2010; Leung & Cohen, 2007). As a result of taking a first-person perspective, others' judgements are not fully incorporated into self-views (Baumeister, 1998). Accordingly, in the West, there is a weak association between how people view themselves and how others see them (Shrauger & Shoeneman, 1979). Furthermore, in Western cultures, the dissociation of self-views from external evaluations is considered to be a hallmark of psychological autonomy and has been linked to various mental health benefits (e.g. less depression, less prone to stress) (Linville, 1987; Marcia, 1966; Seginer, 1983).

In contrast, in East Asian cultures, where interdependence, relatedness, and harmony are valued and practised (Fiske *et al.*, 1998; Markus & Kitayama, 1991), people tend to take a third-person perspective and see the self through the eyes of others (Cohen & Gunz, 2002; Kim & Cohen, 2010; Kim *et al.*, 2010). This third-person perspective increases congruence between the inside look and the outside gaze of the self. Consistent with this idea, compared to European Americans, Asians are more likely to describe the self as being embedded in interpersonal and social contexts (Markus, Mullally & Kitayama, 1997), and experience

themselves as others see them (Cohen & Gunz, 2002). Moreover, Asians tend to align the inside look with the outside gaze of the self. For example, a recent study by Kim *et al.* (2010) found that when Asians were induced to believe that others viewed them as unknowledgeable (vs. knowledgeable) in a certain domain of knowledge, they viewed themselves as less knowledgeable in that domain, although they had evidence to the contrary. As some researchers (see Heine, 2005; Ho, 1976; Kim & Cohen, 2010; Kim *et al.*, 2010 for discussions on Asian cultures as face cultures) have noted, taking a third-person perspective in self-perception may serve important social functions in Asian cultures, where one's achievements and morality in the eyes of relevant others is a major determinant of one's self-worth.

Fluidity of self-perceptions among Asians

Although the inside look is more aligned with the outside gaze of the self among Asians than European Americans, this cultural difference does not entail that Asians do not differentiate their self-views from the projected perception of the self from relevant others' perspective. Instead, Asians may be aware of the differences between the inside look and the outside gaze of the self. Yet, because of the social relevance of external assessments of the self in the Asian context (Heine, 2005; Ho, 1976), compared to European Americans, Asians may be more inclined to align their self-views with the perceived external views of the self from the perspective of relevant others, particularly when these pertinent others are assumed to be present in the background. Thus, we contend that, like European Americans, Asians are aware of the discrepancy between the inside look and the outside gaze of the self. However, Asians are more willing than European Americans to align the inside look with the outside gaze of relevant others only when the relevant others are assumed to be present in the context. This contention is consistent with previous studies that find (Cousins, 1989; Kanagawa, Cross & Markus, 2001; Markus & Kunda, 1986; Suh, 2002) that Asians' self-concepts are context-dependent. For example, Kanagawa *et al.* (2001) show that Japanese students' self-descriptions are different depending on whom (e.g. a peer, a faculty member) is present during their self-description task. Also, Kitayama and Uchida (2003) show that a typical Japanese pattern of self-evaluation disappeared once placed in a context of no emotional interdependence (for more information about fluidity of culture-specific behaviours, see Yamagishi, Hashimoto and Schug (2008) on 'institutional approach', Oyserman, Sorensen, Reber and Chen (2009) on 'culture-as-situated-cognition model', Hong and Chiu (2001) on 'dynamic constructivist approach', and Chiu, Gelfand,

Yamagishi, Shteynberg and Wan (2010) on 'intersubjective consensus approach').

According to our contention, when a certain relevant other (e.g. one's parent) is absent, both European Americans and Asians would report a sizeable discrepancy between how they view themselves and how they perceive the relevant other sees them. However, when a certain relevant other is present, only Asians would align their self-views with the outside gaze of the relevant other. This hypothesis implies that Asians do not have a fixed, passive tendency to assimilate their self-views into the perceived external assessments of the self. Rather, Asians' self-views are fluid and flexible; Asians have personal views of the self that are different from the perceived external perceptions of the self, but will align their inside look of the self with the outside gaze when the situation signals the presence of others in the context.

Overview of studies

We tested our hypotheses in three experiments. We recruited Asian American and East Asian college students living in the United States as our participants. European American college students were also included as a comparison group. We asked the participants to select from a list of positive attributes those that characterized them – from both their own and their parents' perspectives. Parents' perspective was chosen as the outside perspective because parents have significant influence in the construction of the self-concept among both European Americans and Asians (Grotevant & Cooper, 1988; Miller, Wang, Sandel & Cho, 2002; Wang, Wiley & Chiu, 2008).

In Study 1, we provided participants with a list of positive qualities and asked them to select: (i) the qualities that they thought they possessed; (ii) those that their father would think they possessed; and (iii) those that their mother would think they possessed. The goal of Study 1 was to show that both Asians and European Americans can distinguish the self as seen through their own eyes and the self that is seen through their parents' eyes. To achieve this goal, we compared the number of positive qualities attributed to the self from the participants' own and the parents' perspectives. We hypothesized that both European Americans and Asians would attribute more positive attributes to the self when they viewed the self from their own perspective than when they did so from their parents' perspective, due to self-serving biases prevalent in both cultures (Brown & Kobayashi, 2002; Cai, Brown, Deng & Oakes, 2007; Chiu, Wan, Cheng, Kim & Yang, 2011; Kim, Chiu, Peng, Cai & Tov, 2010; Kim, Peng & Chiu, 2008; Leung, Kim, Zhang, Tam & Chiu, 2012; Sedikides, Gaertner & Toguchi, 2003). However, we expected the difference to be greater among Asians (vs. European Americans) due to cultural divergence in parenting practices, with greater emphasis on

self-criticism and self-improvement in Asian parenting (Kriger & Kross, 1972; Lin & Fu, 1990; Wu *et al.*, 2002) and greater emphasis on establishing positive self-views and high self-esteem in American parenting (Chao, 1995; Wang *et al.*, 2008).

To further verify our assumption that both Asians and European Americans can distinguish between the inside look and the outside gaze of the self, we measured the amount of overlap in the qualities attributed to the self from the participants' own perspective and those from the parents' perspective. If both European Americans and Asians attributed markedly different qualities to the self when they appraised the self from their own and the outside perspectives, this result would suggest that both Asians and European Americans can differentiate the inside look and the outside gaze of the self.

In Studies 2 and 3, to determine whether participants would align the inside look with the outside gaze of the self in the presence of relevant others, we primed half of the participants with parents-related cues before they responded to the self-perception task in Study 1. The remaining participants were not exposed to the parents-related cues. The objective of the parents priming manipulation was to signal subtly to the participants the presence of their parents at the background of self-perception. We hypothesized that for Asians, parents priming (relative to no priming) would increase the extent of alignment of self-perceptions with the perceived appraisal of the self from the parents' perspective. That is, Asian participants following parents priming (vs. no priming) would reduce the number of positive qualities they attributed to the self to match the lower number of positive qualities they expected their parents to attribute to the self. In contrast, the parents priming manipulation would have no effect on European Americans' perceptions of the self.

Study 1

Method

Participants. Forty-eight participants (30 males) were recruited from an introductory psychology class at a public university in the United States. According to our inclusion criteria for cultural background, 17 participants who self-identified as East Asian or Asian American were designated as Asians, and 31 participants who self-identified as white or Caucasian were designated as European Americans. We combined East Asian and Asian American populations for data analysis because whether Asian participants were East Asian international students or Asian American students did not interact with any of the independent variables on the dependent variable in Studies 1, 2, and 3, $F_s < 1.00$, $p > 0.05$. In addition, the term 'Asians' was used throughout

the paper to refer to both East Asian international students and Asian American students. The age of participants ranged from 18 to 22 years. Participants received \$6.00 for their participation.

Procedure. Upon consenting to participate in the study, participants were provided with a list of 13 positive attributes (e.g. intelligent, self-assured, kind and affectionate, understanding) from the Interpersonal Qualities Scale (Murray, Holmes & Griffin, 1996), and asked to select the attributes that they thought (i) they possessed; (ii) their father would think that they possessed; and (iii) their mother would think that they possessed. Upon completion, they were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

Results and discussion

First, we used the number of attributes selected from each perspective to form a measure of positive perception from that perspective. A Perspective (within-subjects factor: own, father, or mother) \times Culture (between-subjects factor: Asian or European American) mixed design analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed on the three positive perception measures. As expected, we found a significant interaction of perspective and culture, $F(2, 45) = 3.98$, $p < 0.05$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.15$. To understand the nature of this interaction, we examined the simple main effect of perspective for each culture. For Asians, the simple main effect of perspective was reliable, $F(2, 15) = 11.18$, $p < 0.05$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.60$. As shown in Figure 1, the number of attributes selected from the participants' perspective ($M = 8.12$, $SD = 2.00$) was larger than the number of attributes selected from the father's perspective

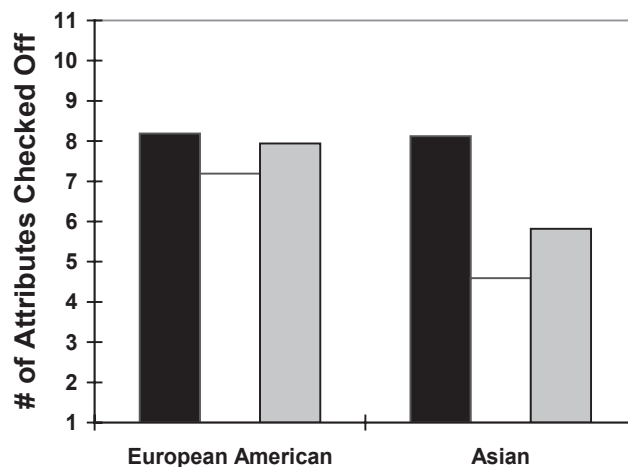


Figure 1 The number of positive attributes selected as a function of culture (European American or Asian) and perspective (own, father or mother). ■, their own; □, father; ▨, mother.

($M = 4.59$, $SD = 3.37$), $F(1, 16) = 18.39$, $p < 0.05$, and from the mother's perspective ($M = 5.82$, $SD = 3.23$), $F(1, 16) = 5.98$, $p < 0.05$. In addition, the number of attributes selected from the mother's perspective was larger than the number of attributes selected from the father's perspective, $F(1, 16) = 6.38$, $p < 0.05$.

For European Americans, the simple main effect of perspective was not statistically significant, $F(2, 29) = 2.31$, $p > 0.05$. However, the results were in the predicted direction ($p = 0.10$, $\eta^2_p = 0.07$). In detail, the number of attributes selected from the participants' perspective ($M = 8.19$, $SD = 2.58$) was larger than the number of attributes selected from the father's perspective ($M = 7.19$, $SD = 3.19$), $F(1, 30) = 4.59$, $p < 0.05$, but did not differ from the number of attributes selected from the mother's perspective ($M = 7.94$, $SD = 2.97$), $F(1, 30) < 1$, $p > 0.05$.

Next, we examined the extent of overlap in the attributes that the participants claimed for themselves and the attributes that were supposedly assigned to the self from the parents' perspectives. On average, Asians perceived that they possessed 8.12 positive attributes ($SD = 2.00$), and about half of them were attributes the participants believed that their parents would use to characterize the participants ($M = 3.58$, $SD = 2.57$ for the number of attributes that were selected from both the perspectives of self and the father, and $M = 4.56$, $SD = 2.37$ for the number of attributes that were selected from both the perspectives of the self and the mother).

On average, European Americans perceived that they possessed 8.19 positive attributes ($SD = 2.58$). In addition, European Americans perceived that many but not all of the attributes they possessed were also attributes the participants believed that their parents would use to characterize the participants ($M = 5.84$, $SD = 3.16$ for the number of attributes that were selected from both the perspectives of self and the father, and $M = 6.29$, $SD = 2.62$ for the number of attributes that were selected from both the perspectives of self and the mother).

In summary, both Asians and European Americans perceive themselves differently from how they perceive their parents to view them. Both groups perceive themselves more positively ($M = 8.13$, $SD = 2.37$) than the perceptions of the self from the perspective of the mother ($M = 7.19$, $SD = 3.19$), $F(1, 47) = 4.56$, $p < 0.05$, and the father ($M = 6.29$, $SD = 3.45$), $F(1, 47) = 8.34$, $p < 0.05$. Further, the significant interaction of perspective and culture indicates that this effect is stronger among Asians, compared to European Americans.

Study 2

Study 1 shows that both European Americans and Asians perceive a difference between how they view themselves

and how they think their parents would view them. In Study 2, we sought to test the hypothesis that when the presence of one's parents in the background is made salient, only Asians would change their self-views to align with what they believe to be how the self is perceived in their parents' eyes.

Method

Ninety-two participants (53 females) were recruited at a mid-west university in the United States. There were 44 Asians and 48 European Americans. The age of participants ranged from 18 to 25 years. Participants received \$6.00 for their participation. Half of the participants, randomly selected, were presented with two (slightly sad) cartoon-type human faces printed on a piece of paper and given 5 minutes to describe any occasions where their parents had shown the emotions that appeared on the faces (the parents priming condition). Next, they completed the self-perception task, which was the same as in Study 1. The remaining participants (the no priming condition) were not given this priming task; they proceeded directly to the self-perception task.

Results and discussion

As in Study 1, we used the number of attributes selected from each perspective to form a measure of positive perception from that perspective. A Perspective (within-subjects factor: own, father, or mother) \times Culture (between-subjects factor: Asian or European American) \times Priming (parents priming or no priming) mixed design analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed on the three positive perception measures. The predicted 3-way interaction was significant, $F(2, 87) = 3.17$, $p < 0.05$, $\eta^2_p = 0.07$. To understand the nature of the interaction, we examined the interaction of priming and perspective for each culture.

For Asians, the interaction of priming and perspective was significant, $F(2, 41) = 4.49$, $p < 0.05$, $\eta^2_p = 0.07$. As illustrated in Figure 2, in the no priming condition, replicating the findings from Study 1, the number of attributes selected from the participants' perspective was larger ($M = 10.05$, $SD = 2.15$) than that selected from the father's perspective ($M = 7.00$, $SD = 3.87$), $F(1, 18) = 15.24$, $p < 0.05$, and that selected from the mother's perspective ($M = 7.05$, $SD = 4.10$), $F(1, 18) = 13.27$, $p < 0.05$. However, in the parents priming condition, participants selected fewer attributes from their own perspective ($M = 6.32$, $SD = 3.30$), and the differences between the three perspectives were not significant ($M_{Father} = 5.56$, $SD_{Father} = 3.39$; $M_{Mother} = 6.42$, $SD_{Mother} = 3.75$), $F_s < 1.5$, $p > 0.05$. This result indicated that following parents priming, Asians lowered the perceived positivity of the self to match the perceived positivity of the self in the perspective of their parents.

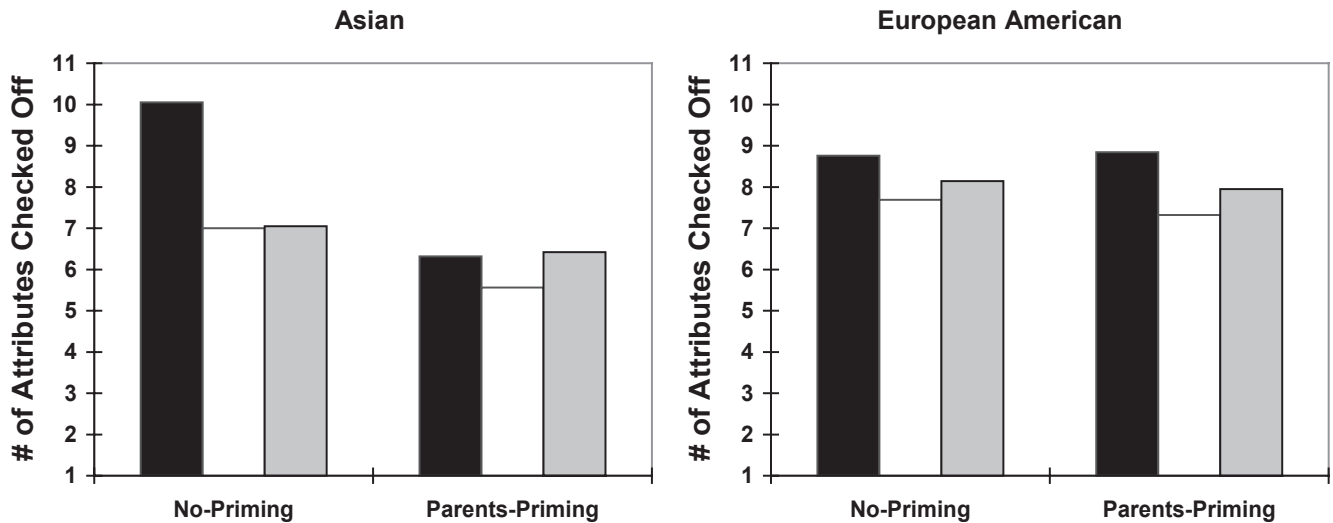


Figure 2 The number of positive attributes selected as a function of culture (European American or Asian), priming (parents priming, no priming), and perspective (own, father, or mother). ■, their own; □, father; ▒, mother.

For European Americans, the interaction of priming and perspective was not significant, $F(2, 45) = 0.25, p > 0.05$. Instead, there was a significant main effect of perspective, $F(2, 46) = 9.37, p < 0.05$. European Americans selected a larger number of attributes from their perspective ($M = 8.70, SD = 2.24$) than from the father's perspective ($M = 7.48, SD = 3.36$), $F(1, 47) = 13.67, p < 0.05$, and the mother's perspective ($M = 8.10, SD = 3.15$), $F(1, 47) = 4.34, p < 0.05$. Also, the number of attributes selected from the mother's perspective was larger than the number of attributes selected from the father's perspective, $F(1, 47) = 10.98, p < 0.05$.

In summary, replicating the findings from Study 1, in the no priming condition, both Asians and European Americans could differentiate the inside look of self from the outside gaze; their self-perceptions were more positive from their own perspective than from their parents' perspective. However, in the parents priming condition, in which participants were subtly reminded of the parents' background presence, Asians lowered the perceived positivity of the self to match the lower level of perceived positivity of the self in the parents' perspective. In contrast, European Americans did not change how they viewed themselves as a consequence of the parents priming condition. That is, increasing the salience of one's parents did not affect the way European Americans see themselves.

Study 3

In Study 3, we aimed to replicate the findings from Study 2 in three different ways. First, instead of the Interpersonal Qualities Scale, we used Brown and Kobayashi's (2002)

eight positive attributes (e.g. competent, persistent, responsible, friendly) that have been validated in the cross-cultural studies on positive self-perceptions. Second, instead of asking participants about their parents' perspective separately for their fathers and mothers, we asked them how they thought *their parents* would view them. Third, the stimuli used to prime parents in Study 2 (slightly sad cartoon faces) might have led the participants to think of their parents unfavorably. Thus, the results from Study 2 might result from stronger reaction to negative affect among Asian versus European American participants (see Wirtz, Chiu, Diener & Oishi, 2009). To address this issue, we replaced the priming stimuli used in Study 2 with one cartoon-type human face that wore a neutral expression. Besides these three modifications, the rest of the priming and self-perception task procedures remained the same as in Study 2. That is, participants in the parents priming condition were asked to describe any occasions where their parents had shown the emotions that appeared on the stimulus face. During the self-perception task, all participants were asked to select attributes they thought they possessed along with attributes they thought their parents would think they possessed, regardless of the experimental conditions.

Method

Sixty-two European Americans and 31 Asians were recruited at a mid-western university in the United States. The age of participants ranged from 18 to 23 years. Participants received \$6.00 for their participation. Half of the participants (parents priming condition), randomly selected, were primed with their parents using the new

stimulus face and the same procedures as in Study 2. Next, they completed the self-perception task: they were given the list of 8 attributes and were asked to select: (i) those they thought they possessed and; (ii) those their parents would think they possessed. The participants in the no priming condition completed the self-perception task without going through the parents priming procedure.

Results and discussion

Again, we used the number of attributes selected from each perspective to form a measure of positive perception from that perspective. A Perspective (within-subjects factor: own, parents) \times Culture (between-subjects factor: Asian or European American) \times Priming (parents priming or no priming) mixed design analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed on the two positive perception measures.

Although the 3-way interaction effect did not reach significance at the 0.05 level, there was a trend for Asians (vs. European Americans) to be more likely to align the inside look with the outside gaze of the self when they were primed with their parents, $F(1, 89) = 3.39, p = 0.06, \eta^2_p = 0.12$ (see Figure 3). For Asians, in the no priming condition, the number of attributes selected from their own perspective ($M = 5.94, SD = 1.89$) was larger than the number of attributes selected from the parents' perspective ($M = 3.75, SD = 2.91$), $F(1, 15) = 15.85, p < 0.05$. However, in the parents priming condition, the number of adjectives selected from their own perspective ($M = 3.60, SD = 3.13$) was smaller, and did not differ from the number of attributes selected from the parents' perspective ($M = 3.13, SD = 2.35$), $F(1, 14) = 0.45, p > 0.05$.

For European Americans, the interaction of priming and perspective was not significant, $F(1, 60) = 0.32, p > 0.05$, suggesting that the priming did not affect European Americans' self-views. Again, the main effect of perspective was significant, $F(1, 60) = 4.84, p < 0.05$; participants selected a larger number of attributes from their own perspective ($M = 6.89, SD = 1.25$) than from the parents' perspective ($M = 6.51, SD = 1.71$).

Follow-up study

One alternative explanation of the null effect of parent priming among European Americans is that European Americans are not sensitive to the experimental manipulation. Another alternative hypothesis is that Asians associate 'parents' with fewer positive emotions than do European Americans. We ruled out these alternative explanations by showing, in a follow-up study, that European Americans reported decreased positive emotions after being primed with their parents.

In this study, half of the 106 participants (33 Asian Americans) were primed with their parents using the stimulus face used in Study 3, whereas the remaining participants were not. Next, participants rated the extent to which they experienced two positive emotions (happiness and joy) on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much). The two emotion ratings were highly correlated ($r = 0.65$). Therefore, we performed a Culture \times Priming ANOVA on the mean of the two emotion ratings.

As expected, only the main effect of perspective was significant, $F(1, 102) = 6.59, p < 0.05, \eta^2_p = 0.06$, and the

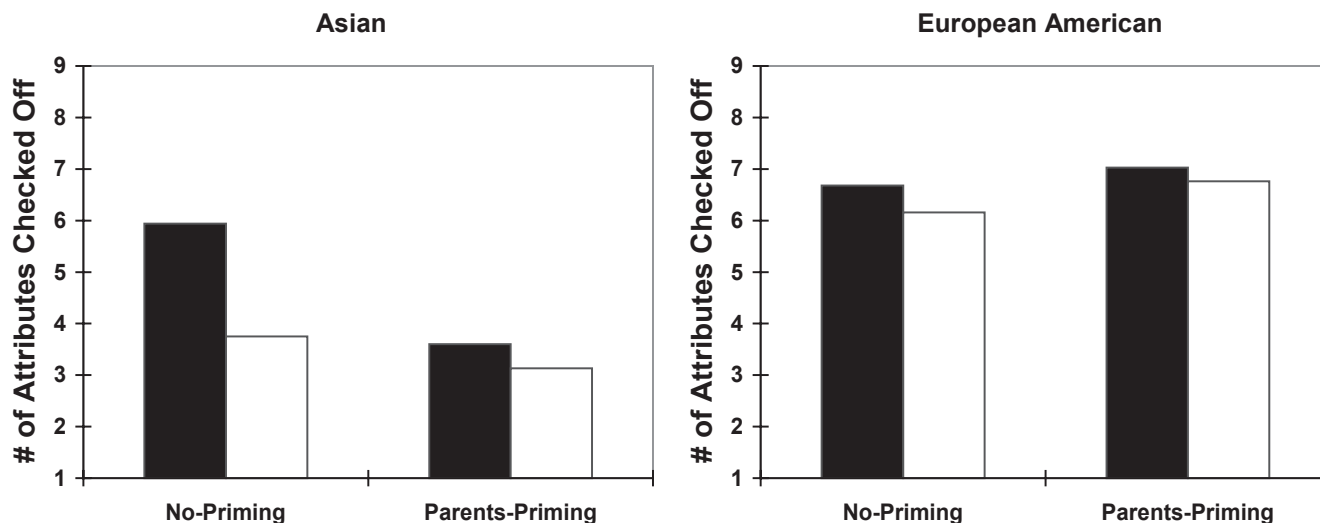


Figure 3 The number of positive attributes selected as a function of culture (European American or Asian), priming (parents priming or no priming), and perspective (own or parents). ■, their own; □, parents.

interaction of perspective and culture was not, $F(1, 102) < 1.00$, $p > 0.05$. European Americans experienced less positive emotions in the parents priming condition ($M = 3.07$, $SD = 1.49$) than in the no priming condition ($M = 3.86$, $SD = 1.13$), $F(1, 71) = 6.50$, $p < 0.05$, $\eta^2_p = 0.08$. A similar pattern was observed among Asians (M Priming = 4.25, $SD = 1.45$; M No-Priming = 4.87, $SD = 1.05$), $F(1, 31) = 2.02$, $p > 0.05$, $\eta^2_p = 0.06$. These results indicated that European Americans also responded to the parents priming manipulation.

Summary and conclusion

People construct their understanding of the self from both reflecting on their personal experiences (Bem, 1972) and looking at the reflections of the self in others' opinions of the self (Cooley, 1902). Asians have been found to have a greater tendency than do European Americans to which the inside look of the self is assimilated into the outside gaze (Kim *et al.*, 2010).

Results from the present investigation extend and modify this conclusion. In three studies, we show that Asians do not habitually assimilate their self-views into the outside perspective of the self, but would do when there are situational cues that signal the presence of relevant others in the background of self-perceptions. In Asian contexts, evaluations of the self from the perspective of relevant others could have a strong impact on the perceived social worth of the individuals (Lalwani, Shrum & Chiu, 2009). Thus, when the presence of relevant others in the context of self-perceptions is rendered salient, Asians are particularly motivated to align their self-perceptions with the perceptions of the self in the relevant other's perspective. Because parenting practices in Asia emphasize self-improvement and humility, Asian children grow up with relatively more frequent encounters of criticism than praise (Chiu, Dweck, Tong & Fu, 1997). As a result, as shown in Study 1, Asians expect their parents to have relatively negative views of the self. Moreover, as shown in Studies 2 and 3, when reminded

of the presence of their parents in the background of self-perception, Asians lower the positivity of their self-views to match the perceived positivity of the self in the perspective of the parents.

However, Asians do not fully internalize the perceived negative views of the self in their parents' perspective. When the presence of relevant others in the context of self-perceptions is not salient, Asians also maintain a different view of the self, which is more positive than the perceived view of the self from the parents' perspective (Studies 1–3). That is, Asians view themselves as they believe their parents view them only when situational cues signal the presence of the parents in the background of self-perception.

In contrast, parents priming does not affect European Americans self-views. European Americans have more favourable perceptions of the self from their own perspective than from their parents' perspectives, regardless of whether the presence of their parents is salient in the background of self-perception. This pattern of results reflects American culture's emphasis on self-consistency, psychological autonomy and high self-esteem – individuals in America are expected to maintain positive self-esteem consistently across situations and independent of how others perceive the self (Chiu & Hong, 2006; Chiu *et al.*, 2011). That is, European Americans try to protect their sovereignty and autonomy by ignoring other people's judgements about them (Kim *et al.*, 2010; Kim & Cohen, 2010). Thus, the cultural emphasis on independence and autonomy may have led European Americans not to be affected by parents priming.

In sum, we have explored how Asians incorporate others' views into their self-views. Asians are aware of the difference between how their parents see them and how they see themselves. However, Asians, relative to European Americans, display a higher readiness to alter their views of themselves, depending on the situation, in such a way that they start viewing themselves as they believe their parents view them. These findings suggest that Asians' self-concepts are fluid and sensitive to the demands of the context.

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