

University of Windsor

Scholarship at UWindor

Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Theses, Dissertations, and Major Papers

2001

The nature of independent and interdependent self-construals: A focus on psychological relatedness.

Sherry Lynn Grace
University of Windsor

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholar.uwindsor.ca/etd>

Recommended Citation

Grace, Sherry Lynn, "The nature of independent and interdependent self-construals: A focus on psychological relatedness." (2001). *Electronic Theses and Dissertations*. 4115.
<https://scholar.uwindsor.ca/etd/4115>

This online database contains the full-text of PhD dissertations and Masters' theses of University of Windsor students from 1954 forward. These documents are made available for personal study and research purposes only, in accordance with the Canadian Copyright Act and the Creative Commons license—CC BY-NC-ND (Attribution, Non-Commercial, No Derivative Works). Under this license, works must always be attributed to the copyright holder (original author), cannot be used for any commercial purposes, and may not be altered. Any other use would require the permission of the copyright holder. Students may inquire about withdrawing their dissertation and/or thesis from this database. For additional inquiries, please contact the repository administrator via email (scholarship@uwindsor.ca) or by telephone at 519-253-3000ext. 3208.

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

**Bell & Howell Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600**

UMI[®]

**THE NATURE OF INDEPENDENT AND INTERDEPENDENT
SELF-CONSTRUALS:
A FOCUS ON PSYCHOLOGICAL RELATEDNESS**

by

Sherry L. Grace

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

through the Department of Psychology

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the

University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

2001

© 2001 Sherry Grace



**National Library
of Canada**

**Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services**

**395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada**

**Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada**

**Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques**

**395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada**

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-67672-2

Canada

952204


APPROVED BY:



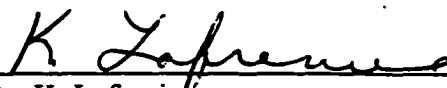
**Dr. R. Tafarodi, External Examiner
University of Toronto**



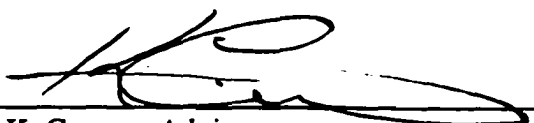
**Dr. L. Phillips
Department of Sociology & Anthropology**



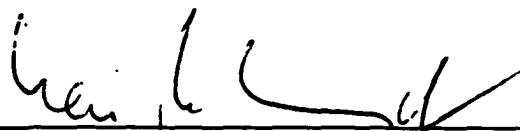
Dr. S. Towson



Dr. K. Lafreniere



Dr. K. Cramer, Advisor



**Dr. K. Hildebrandt
Associate Dean, Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences
Chair of Defense**

Abstract

Through the socialization of modes of thinking and behaving, ethnocultural background and gender can shape different orientations in one's sense of self. These self-construals are conceptualized as independence (i.e., priority to the individual, stresses autonomy) and interdependence (i.e., priority to an in-group, stresses conformity; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Singelis, 1994). Within these self-construals, connectedness with others is also possible. The psychology of relatedness was examined in the present study, operationalized as romanticism (orientation toward the welfare of one's romantic relationship), and familism (orientation toward the welfare of one's immediate and extended family). The study examined the relationships among these factors in a sample of 324 male and female undergraduate psychology students of diverse ethnocultural backgrounds. Participants completed measures of independent and interdependent self-construal (Singelis, 1994), familism (Gaines, Marelich et al., 1997), romantic beliefs (Sprecher & Metts, 1989), and an open-ended measure of self (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954). It was predicted that European Canadian males would have significantly higher independent selves than non-European Canadian males and females and European Canadian females, and that non-European Canadian females will score significantly higher on interdependent self-construal than non-European Canadian males and European Canadian males and females. It was also predicted that independent self-construal would be significantly and positively related to romanticism, and that interdependent self-construal would be significantly and positively related to familism. Results showed that none of the measures reliably differentiated between respondents of European versus non-European ethnocultural background. However, women did respond with more allocentric

and small group responses than did men, and men did respond with more idiocentric responses than did women when describing their self. Both familism and romanticism were significantly and positively related to an interdependent self-construal. These results call into question ethnocultural differences in self that are so often reported in the literature, and also call for future investigation of gender differences in relationality.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the support, guidance, and feedback of Dr. Ken Cramer. His statistical support was greatly appreciated. I would also like to acknowledge the creative ideas and feedback of Dr. Shelagh Towson, Dr. Kathryn Lafreniere, Dr. Lynne Phillips, and Dr. Romin Tafarodi each in their areas of expertise.

Finally, I would like to thank my family and friends for their continued support, encouragement, and love throughout all of my personal and academic pursuits. Special mention must go to my mother for her crisis management, unconditional love, and support throughout this long research process.

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	iii
List of Tables	vii
 The Nature of Independent and Interdependent Self-Construals: A Focus on	
Psychological Relatedness	1
Theory of Self	7
Unity versus multiplicity of self.	8
Cultural Level: Individualism and Collectivism	9
Mixed evidence	13
I-C as bipolar or orthogonal	16
Individual Level: Idiocentrism and Allocentrism	18
Independent and Interdependent Self-Construal	19
Orthogonality of self-construal.	21
Conceptual criticisms of self-construal.	24
From Ethnocultural Group and Gender to Self	27
How do social and demographic factors affect the nature of self?	27
Ethnocultural group and self.	29
Gender and self.	30
Interactions of Ethnocultural Group and Gender	33
The Psychology of Relatedness	37
Is relationality different from an interdependent self-construal?	42
Familial Self-Orientation	45
Ethnocultural group and familism.	48
Gender and familism.	50
Romantic Self-Orientation	51
Ethnocultural group and romanticism	53
Gender and romanticism.	55
Rationale for the Present Study	56
Hypotheses	60

Method	61
Participants	61
Measures	63
Independent and interdependent self-construal.....	65
Familism.....	66
Romanticism.....	66
The Twenty Statements Test (TST).....	67
Procedure	69
Results.....	70
The Twenty Statements Test	71
Independent and Interdependent Self-Construal	75
Familism and Romanticism	81
Post-Hoc Analyses.....	82
Discussion	88
Hypothesis One.....	88
Differences in Self Based on Ethnocultural Background.	89
Differences in Self Based on Gender	95
Hypotheses Two and Three	97
Relationality.....	97
Familism.....	97
Romanticism.....	99
Strengths and Limitations.....	101
SCS.....	103
TST.....	105
TST vs. SCS.....	107
Directions for Future Research.....	109
Implications	111
Conclusions	112
References.....	114
Appendix A: Sociodemographic Questionnaire	146
Appendix B: Self-Construal Scale.....	148
Appendix C: Familism Scale.....	150

Appendix D: Romantic Beliefs Scale	151
Appendix E: Twenty Statements Test.....	153
Appendix F: Informed Consent.....	154
Appendix G: Experimental Feedback.....	156
Appendix H: Self-Construal Items with Factor Loadings Greater Than .30	157
VITA AUCTORIS	159

List of Tables

Table

1	Summary of Key Differences Between an Independent and an Interdependent Construal of Self.....	4
2	Gender and Self-Identified Ethnocultural Composition of Sample	62
3	Means, Standard Deviations, and Ranges of Self-Construals, Romanticism, and Familism, by Ethnocultural Group and Gender	72
4	Means and Standard Deviations of TST Responses by Ethnocultural Group and Gender	74
5	Pearson Correlations between Percentage TST Responses, and Likert Measures of Self-Construal, Familism, and Romanticism	76
6	Two Analyses of Variance for Significant Differences in Independent or Interdependent Self-Construal based on Gender or Ethnocultural Group	77
7	Summary of Stepwise Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Familism.....	85
8	Summary of Stepwise Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Romanticism	86

The Nature of Independent and Interdependent Self-Construals:

A Focus on Psychological Relatedness

Around the globe, immigration, communication, and ease of travel have contributed to a multicultural milieu that is unmatched in the history of the world. Because many people live their lives in a multi-ethnic environment, the study of diverse orientations toward self is a timely one. This recognition of diverse orientations toward self has also been applied to gender (Chodorow, 1978; Cross & Madson, 1997; Markus & Oyserman, 1989; Miller, 1986). Self is important to consider because the need for individuals to relate in some way to other people in their environment, and the manner in which they integrate these relationships into a sense of self is integral to many social psychological phenomena such as information processing (Deaux, 1993; Newman, Duff, Schnopp-Wyatt, Brock, & Hoffman, 1997), group behaviour (Hinkle & Brown, 1990; Tajfel, Flament, Billig, & Bundy, 1971), stereotyping (Mackie, 1980), self and group serving biases (Deaux, 1996; Hinkle & Brown, 1990; Newman et al., 1997), emotion (Cross & Madson, 1997; Markus & Kitayama, 1991), motivation (Cross & Madson, 1997; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Sheldon, Elliot, Kim, & Kasser, 2001), communication (Cross & Madson, 1997), intergroup relations (Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1993; Lalonde, Taylor, & Moghaddam, 1992; Sanchez-Burks, Nisbett, & Ybarra, 2000; Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1985; Taylor, 1981), and self-esteem (Josephs, Markus, & Tafarodi, 1992; Mackie, 1983; Tafarodi, Lang, & Smith, 1999; Tafarodi & Swann, 1996; Tafarodi & Walters, 1999).

There is considerable research denoting two different orientations toward self across culture and gender: one which defines self based on one's relationships and group

memberships and on the importance of one's pursuit of harmony with others, and the other which defines self based on one's unique abilities or attributes and on the importance of distinguishing oneself from others (Cross & Madson, 1997; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Sanchez-Burks et al., 2000; Singelis, 1994; Triandis, 1995). Orientation toward the self has implications for behaviour in many domains such as interaction in organizations, international travel, and interpersonal relationships (see Smith & Bond, 1999). Developing the skill of seeing the self in the same way as people with a different orientation toward self do, and being able to modify behaviour, cognition, and emotion appropriately and successfully when interacting with diverse groups, will allow for more inclusive and full living in our age of diversity (Cross & Madson, 1997; Sanchez-Burks et al., 2000; Singelis, 1994; Yamada & Singelis, 1999).

Social and demographic factors such as gender and ethnocultural group can transmute into differences in one's sense of self (Hofstede, 1994; Kagitcibasi, 1994; Singelis, 2000). Some researchers (Kashima et al., 1995; Markus & Kitayama, 1991) have reported that White males have higher independent and lower interdependent self than White females and non-White males and females. For example, South Asian males and females have been conceptualized to have a more interdependent, sociocentric, allocentric, or relational self than White males (Cross & Madson, 1997; Kashima et al., 1995; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Misra & Giri, 1995).

An individual's self-construal (i.e., "a constellation of thoughts, feelings, and actions concerning the relation of the self to others and the self as distinct from others"; Singelis, Bond, Sharkey, & Yui Lai, 1999, p. 316) is shaped largely by the norms embraced by the social groups with which individuals identify. These orientations have

been conceptualized as an individualism and collectivism (I-C) continuum at the cultural level (Triandis, 1995), and as an independent and interdependent continuum at the individual level (see Table 1; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Individualists, or those whose self-construal falls toward the independent end of the continuum, perceive a clear boundary that separates the self from others, and they give higher priority to personal rather than group goals. Collectivists, or those whose self-construal falls toward the interdependent end of the continuum, define themselves in terms of relationships to others, and they give higher priority to group rather than personal goals (Hofstede, 1994; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1995).

In the present study, culture is defined as:

patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; cultural systems may on the one hand be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952, p. 181).

This particular definition of culture was based on a review of 164 definitions of culture. This definition is relevant to the current research because Singelis (2000) used this definition in a discussion of future directions for cross-cultural psychology, and because of the focus on (a) culture as a system that perpetuates itself, and (b) cultures as systems of shared meanings. There are several broad terms used to refer to 'North American

Table 1

Summary of Key Differences Between an Independent and an Interdependent Construal of Self

Feature Compared	Independent	Interdependent
Definition	Separate from social context	Connected with social context
Structure	Bounded, unitary, stable	Flexible, variable
Important Features	Internal, private (abilities, thoughts, feelings)	External, public (statuses, roles, relationships)
Tasks	Be unique Express self Realize internal attributes Promote own goals Be direct; "say what's on your mind"	Belong, fit in Occupy one's proper place Engage in appropriate action Promote others' goals Be indirect; "read others' mind"
Role of others	Self-evaluation: others important for social comparison, reflected appraisal	Self-definition: relationships with others in specific contexts define the self
Basis of self-esteem	Ability to express self, validate internal attributes	Ability to adjust, restrain self, maintain Harmony with social context

Note. From "Culture and the Self: Implications for Cognition, Emotion, and Motivation," by H. R. Markus, and S. Kitayama, 1991, *Psychological Review*, 98, p. 230. Copyright 1991 by the American Psychological Association.

/White / European / Caucasian¹ cultural groups, but these labels are compromised by the complexity and diversity that exists today. Generally speaking, even though there is evidence that European cultures vary in terms of their I-C, by and large they tend to be more individualistic than collectivistic. However, use of vague nomenclature to refer to particular cultural groups can obscure important distinctions between individuals from different regions, or different ethnic heritages. For these reasons, this literature review attempts to use the language of individual researchers when summarizing previous literature, but will use the hyphenated term “European-Canadian” to refer to those participants in the current study who self-identify as “White”, and of North Western European descent.

The Northern European or Anglo-American mode of thinking about the self as bounded and separate may be expanded and enhanced by the inclusion of a greater focus on the ‘self-in-relation-to-other’ (Cross & Madson, 1997; Hinkley & Andersen, 1996; Kagitcibasi; 1994; Markus & Cross, 1990; Markus & Kitayama, 1994; Ogilvie & Ashmore, 1991; Sanchez-Burks et al., 2000). Singelis (2000) defines relationality as “a self-definition that is associated with ties to specific others and the quality of relationships with them” (p. 79). Psychologists have long contended that people internalize their relationships with significant others, a process which in turn influences their sense of self (Baldwin, 1992; Cooley, 1902; James; 1890; Markus, 1977; Mead, 1934). Here, the relationality of self, over and above differences in I-C or independence-

¹ The term “Caucasian” was coined by the German comparative anatomist Johann Blumenbach in the early 19th century. Blumenbach used “Caucasian” to refer to the “White” race, a group he believed had originated in the Caucasus region (i.e., where Asia and Europe meet). Blumenbach’s classification system based on cranial comparisons has long been discredited, however scientists and the lay public often use this term as a regional reference.

interdependence, is integral (Kashima et al., 1995). Singelis (2000) calls for more research in the area of relationality for the future of cross-cultural social psychology, and the present study examines relatedness with family and romantic partner in conjunction with self.

Much research in the area of ethnocultural group and self has pointed to the neglect of orientation toward the family (Gaines, Marelich, et al., 1997; Roland, 1988, 1991; Watkins & Gerong, 1997). The centrality of self definition through familial relationships is frequently alluded to, but not adequately measured by mainstream North American researchers (Dhawan, Roseman, Naidu, Thapa, & Rettek, 1995; Triandis, 1989; Watkins & Gerong, 1997). Furthermore, Singelis (2000) and Smith and Bond (1999) suggest that romance and self are becoming an area in need of empirical exploration. Therefore, the present study intends to examine independent and interdependent self-construal, and to look at the relationality of self within these self-construals. Here, the in-group to which an individual relates (be it family or romantic partner) serves as the orienting relational facet of self (i.e., where one qualitatively locates the self within a network of social roles and identities; Babbitt & Burbach, 1990; Triandis, 1988).

This research intends to answer two questions: (1) Does self-construal vary as a function of ethnocultural background and gender? (2) Is relationality (in association with romantic partner and family) linked to independent and interdependent self-construal, respectively? First, it will be tested whether or not European-Canadian males have higher independent self-construal than non-European-Canadian males and females (and in particular females) who have higher interdependent self-construal. Second, the study will investigate relationality within independent and interdependent self-construals, where

individuals with an independent self-construal may have a strong tie to one person in a romantic relationship, and where those with an interdependent self-construal may have more ties to family.

The following review has five goals: (1) to outline self theory, (2) to discuss Hofstede's (1980) and Triandis' (1995) individualism-collectivism dimension, (3) to outline Markus and Kitayama's (1991) individual level constructs of independent and interdependent self-construal, (4) to review the literature concerning differences in self by ethnocultural group and gender, and (5) to introduce the concept of relationality through two additional self-orientations: familism and romanticism.

Theory of Self

Based on a review of the social psychological literature on self, Baumeister (1998) concludes that the basic meaning of self is found in (1) the experience of reflexive consciousness, (2) the executive function, and (3) interpersonal being. According to Baumeister, these three components of selfhood are sufficient to encompass social psychology's contribution to the psychology of the self and appear to be common to all human beings. Reflexive consciousness refers to the experience of being aware of self. Baumeister defines this first component as "conscious attention turning back toward its own source and gradually constructing a concept of oneself" (p. 680). For example, without reflexive consciousness, identical twins could not tell themselves apart. The second component of self, the executive function, refers to the part of self that makes choices and initiates action. Examples of executive function include making a resolution, choosing a more attractive job offer, or deciding what to eat. This component includes the ability of self to act upon itself, or to self-regulate. The focus of this research is the third

component, interpersonal being, which involves the role of self in facilitating interactions and relationships with others (Baumeister, 1998). “Selfhood is almost unthinkable outside a social context, and selves are vital for making interpersonal relationships and interactions possible” (Baumeister, 1998, p. 680).

Unity versus multiplicity of self.

Within the perspective of self as reflexive consciousness, executive function, and interpersonal being (Baumeister, 1998), there is controversy over the relative stability or variability of the self (see Deaux, 1996; Hoyle, Kernis, Leary, & Baldwin, 1999; Jussim & Ashmore, 1997). Most theories of self and identity (see Harter, 1996; Marsh & Hattie, 1996) have emphasized stability (or unity) because the concept of ‘what is a self’ loses meaning when theorists postulate variable (or multiple) selves (Baumeister, 1998; Jussim & Ashmore, 1997). On the other hand, some theorists have contended that self is more multiple than unified (McAdams, 1999), suggesting that if someone gets a divorce or changes careers, for example, they would become a different person (Baumeister, 1998). Still other theorists have proposed an underlying unified self, with portions of this self being salient in different contexts (Baumeister, 1998; Deaux, 1996; Markus & Kunda, 1986; Markus & Wurf, 1987).

For instance, Markus and Nurius (1987) integrate the unity and multiplicity of self through the construct of the working self-concept. This construct invokes the computer analogy of pulling up a certain document on the screen, while the full content of the self would be represented by the hard drive. The working self-concept then, represents a continually active array of self-knowledge that is not all available at any one time. The self includes a wide variety of relatively stable self-conceptions (i.e., ideas about the self),

only a portion of which are salient at a given moment (Markus & Wurf, 1987). Here, the underlying self is theorized to be stable, but there is variability in the activity level of particular self-conceptions in thought and memory (Markus & Kunda, 1986).

Both internal and external considerations influence the likelihood that particular self-conceptions will be salient in a given situation (Aries et al., 1998; Hinkley & Andersen, 1996; McGuire & McGuire, 1981). People differ in the importance they attach to different aspects of the self. The more important, or central, aspects of a person's self-concept will be more accessible and more salient across situations (Deaux, 1993; Ethier & Deaux, 1990; Higgins, King, & Mavin, 1982; Markus & Kunda, 1986). However, the presence of other people may affect the salience of different components of the self by increasing awareness of the public aspects of self and thereby heightening attention to social norms (Eagly, 1987). The multiplicity of self can be affected by such factors as gender (Aries et al., 1998; Josephs et al., 1992) and ethnocultural orientation (Aries et al., 1998; McGuire, 1984). For example, one's identity as a woman may become more salient than one's identity as an honest business person as one sits in a board meeting of predominantly male members. Or perhaps one's ethnocultural identity as South Asian may become more salient than one's identity as a woman in a mainstream grocery store rather than an ethnic market.

Cultural Level: Individualism and Collectivism

To reiterate, the present definition of self encompasses three aspects: reflexive consciousness, executive function, and most prominently interpersonal being (Baumeister, 1998). Although these three aspects of self are hypothesized to be universal to all human beings, there is evidence that the nature of self varies across cultures

(Baumeister, 1998; Markus, Kitayama, & Heiman, 1996; Triandis, 1995). Research supports the idea that the orientation of self towards the individual or the groups of which one is a member varies across ethnocultural groups (Bierbrauer, Meyer, & Wolfradt, 1994; Singelis et al., 1999; Triandis, 1995). For instance, Caucasian respondents in the United States (U.S.) appear typically to provide self-descriptions qualitatively different from those of non-Caucasian respondents in India, China, and Japan (Bond & Cheung, 1983; Cousins, 1989; Shweder & Bourne, 1984).

Research consistently finds that non-White or non-Western respondents are more likely to report possessing a relational, collectivist, or interdependent self-concept, rather than the idiocentric, independent, or individualist self-concept typically reported by White or Western respondents (Bochner, 1994; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Shweder & Bourne, 1984; Triandis, 1995). Researchers began to study this difference in self-orientation in cultures high in individualism or collectivism (Bochner, 1994; Bond & Cheung, 1983; Dhawan et al., 1995; Ma & Schoeneman, 1997; Trafimow, Triandis, & Goto, 1991; Triandis, 1995; Verkuyten & Kwa, 1996; Watkins, Adair, Akande, Gerong, et al., 1998). The orientation of individualism versus collectivism has generally been supported, and has been shown to have an impact on subjective well-being, interpersonal relations, love and marriage, acculturation, prejudice and discrimination, mental health, and social institutions (Tafarodi & Smith, 2001; Triandis, 1995).

Hofstede (1980) originally articulated the I-C construct. In a massive multinational corporation study, Hofstede compared survey data from matched samples of respondents from forty countries. The I-C orientation was one of four orientations that explained about half of the variance among countries: large versus small power distance

(i.e., the amount of respect and deference between those in superior and subordinate positions), strong versus weak uncertainty avoidance (i.e., a focus on planning and the creation of stability as a way of dealing with life's uncertainties), masculinity versus femininity (i.e., the relative emphasis on achievement or on interpersonal harmony), and individualism versus collectivism. Hofstede used the latter orientation to describe a continuum from individualism (i.e., whether one's identity is defined by personal choices and achievements) to collectivism (i.e., whether one's identity is defined by the character of the collective groups to which one is more or less permanently attached). Hofstede found that respondents from Australia, Britain, and the Netherlands scored the highest on individualism; and respondents from Africa, Latin America, and Asia scored the highest on collectivism. Canada also had a relatively high individualism score, suggesting that many Canadians experience the self through more individual (rather than group) goals.

Triandis, McCusker, and Hui (1990) developed and tested a theoretical framework of the cultural patterns inherent in individualist and collectivist societies. To demonstrate, many Asian ethnocultural groups have a collective orientation, and emphasize the goals of the collective. The self includes many of the attributes of the groups to which a person belongs. Collectivists carry out their obligations (and perform what is expected of them), as specified by ingroup norms. Whites, on the other hand, have an individualist orientation, and emphasize the goals of the individual. Here, the self consists of unique identifying information. Individualists do what is enjoyable or required by contracts established with others (Triandis, 1988, 1995).

Researchers have more recently tested large samples of individuals around the globe to determine the generalizability and replicability of Hofstede's (1980) dimensions.

The Chinese Culture Connection (1987) constructed a value survey that was administered to fifty male and fifty female university students in each of 23 countries. Again, with a different sample, different cultural origins, and different time periods, the I-C, power distance, and masculinity-femininity dimensions of Hofstede (1980) were supported. Schwartz (1994) more recently collected value data from a large sample of teachers from 41 cultures. Schwartz found seven value dimensions that significantly accounted for cultural variance, namely conservatism, hierarchy, mastery, affective autonomy, intellectual autonomy, egalitarian commitment, and harmony. Items from the conservatism versus autonomy and mastery and hierarchy versus egalitarian commitment dimensions are strongly reminiscent of Hofstede's dimensions of I-C and power distance respectively. This suggests that the dimensions of I-C and power distance may be universal values that are relatively consistent.

A circumplex model for elucidating the two dimensions of I-C and power distance has been developed (Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk, & Gelfand, 1995). Vertical and horizontal collectivism refers to the degree of hierarchy or egalitarianism (respectively) within collectivist cultures. "Vertical collectivism includes perceiving the self as a part (or an aspect) of a collective and accepting inequalities within the collective. Horizontal collectivism includes perceiving the self as a part of the collective, but seeing all members of the collective as the same; thus equality is stressed" (Singelis et al., 1995, p. 240). For example, Pacific Asian nations are more vertically collectivist, while Southern European nations are more horizontally collectivist. Horizontal and vertical dimensions of individualism (or universalism and particularism; Smith, Dugan, & Trompenaars, 1996) have also been distinguished. "Vertical individualism includes the conception of an

autonomous individual and acceptance of inequality. Horizontal individualism includes the conception of an autonomous individual and emphasis on equality” (Singelis et al., p. 240). Research suggests that White Canadians of Western European descent are horizontally individualist (or universalistic) in orientation, as evidenced by, for example, the centrality of universal medicare as a public issue (Berry, Kalin, & Taylor, 1977; Esses & Gardner, 1996). On the other hand, it appears that individuals from central and Eastern European countries are vertically individualist (or particularistic), meaning that they devote “their energies to the preservation of their interests and those with whom they choose to associate” (Smith & Bond, 1999, p. 64).

Mixed evidence

Because the majority of studies on I-C compare Japanese and European-American ethnocultural groups, the majority of mixed evidence relates to comparisons between these two groups. Accordingly, some recent research suggests that Japanese culture may not be as collectivist as previously thought (see Matsumoto, 1999; Takano & Osaka, 1999). Takano and Osaka reviewed 15 empirical studies that compared White American² and Japanese respondents on I-C. They selected their studies based on adherence to the definition of I-C as outlined previously, and on direct comparison between Japan and the U.S. Among these 15 studies, 11 were questionnaire studies, and four were behavioural studies. Nine studies found no significant differences in I-C between the two groups (Arikawa & Templer, 1998; Frager, 1970; Kashima et al., 1995; Leung & Iwawaki, 1988; Stephan, Stephan, Saito, & Barnett, 1998; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca,

1988; Triandis, Chen, & Chan, 1998; Williams & Sogon, 1984; Yamaguchi, Kuhlman, & Sugimori, 1995). Studies which found significant cultural differences in I-C between ethnic Japanese and Caucasian Americans are outlined below.

Three questionnaire studies by Triandis et al. (1993), Carter and Dinnel (1997), Matsumoto, Weissman, Preston, Brown, and Kupperbusch (1997), and two behavioural studies by Yamagishi (1988a; 1988b) found significant differences in the opposite direction than expected. Triandis et al. (1993) administered an I-C questionnaire (Triandis et al., 1986) to college students in 10 countries and extracted six factors related to I-C. When the factor scores are summed, the Japanese students were the most individualistic, whereas the American students were the fifth most individualistic. Matsumoto et al. (1997) administered their own I-C questionnaire to college students in four countries. American students showed significantly higher collectivism toward family members than their Japanese counterparts. Towards friends or colleagues, no significant differences in I-C were observed. Carter and Dinnel (1997) administered six questionnaires to college students of Japan and the U.S., including Yamaguchi's (1994) collectivism scale, Triandis et al.'s (1990) collectivist values index, and Singelis' (1994) self-construal scale. They found that American participants held significantly stronger collectivist values than did Japanese participants.

The only study reviewed which supported Asians as more collectivistic than Caucasians was Hofstede's (1980) study. Here, the U.S. ranked as the most individualistic country, with a score of 91, and Japan ranked 22nd with a score of 46.

² The following study uses the terms "American" and "U.S." not to denote the multicultural diversity within the country, but to denote mainstream Caucasian responses to I-C measurement.

However, Takano and Osaka (1999) question the validity of Hofstede's study in regard to the I-C level of Japanese respondents on several grounds. They inspected the wording of the items which loaded on the factor and suggest that their relation to the definition of I-C outlined above is remote at best. They would interpret the factor as "personal satisfaction versus workplace satisfaction in occupation" (p. 319). Furthermore, they point out that random sampling was not used, so caution is needed in generalizing results to entire nations.

Takano and Osaka (1999) suggest several alternative explanations for the finding that White Americans may actually be more collectivistic than Japanese. First, it is postulated that the mixed findings could be a function of the student populations studied. Thus, perhaps Japanese college students are as individualistic as American college students, whereas Japanese older or middle-aged adults are more collectivistic than American older or middle-aged adults. In Japan, age is positively correlated with collectivism (Yamaguchi, 1994). This explanation presumes that students may become more collectivistic due to socialization beyond the student years. Some empirical studies support (Matsumoto et al., 1997; Yamaguchi, 1994) and others refute (Schwartz, 1994) this student specificity hypothesis. Second, Takano and Osaka postulate a recent dispositional change in Japan, such that succeeding generations have become increasingly more individualistic. It is suggested that Japanese college students are of a generation in Japan that is less collectivistic across the lifespan than the Japanese population as a whole (Triandis, 1989; Yamaguchi, 1994). This dispositional change could be due to historical factors such as increasing affluence, cultural complexity, as well as technological advances since the 1960s when Hofstede (1980) collected his data. Triandis (1990)

suggests that high economic growth, such as occurred in Japan after World War II, is a key determinant of the transition from collectivism to individualism. Because Japan has in recent years achieved substantial economic success, members of the younger generations value financial independence and other individualistic concepts more than do their older counterparts. However, there is insufficient evidence at the current time to draw any conclusions.

These results only apply to I-C differences between Asian Japanese and Caucasian American respondents. The majority of studies conducted compare mainstream American with Japanese cultures. However, there are a few studies which examine other ethnocultural groups. For instance, Hui (1988) reported that Caucasian American respondents scored significantly higher than Chinese respondents on a general collectivism index. A study by Rhee, Uleman, and Lee (1996) administered fourteen I-C subscales from Hui (1988), Triandis, McCusker, and Hui (1990), and Yamaguchi (1994) to 493 South Korean, Asian American (i.e., first and second generation Asian Indian Americans, Chinese Americans, and Korean Americans), and European American students. They found that Koreans and European Americans differed as expected on only six of the subscales. On three subscales, Koreans and European Americans did not differ, and on five subscales they differed in the opposite direction, with European Americans being more collectivistic than South Koreans.

I-C as bipolar or orthogonal.

Besides the fact that the scope of cultures typically used in cross-cultural research is too narrow (Bond & Smith, 1996; Realo & Allik, 1999), the internal structures of the concepts of individualism and collectivism have also remained somewhat unclear. At the

outset, Hofstede's (1980) landmark cross-cultural study addressed individualism and collectivism as two opposite poles of a unidimensional scale. Later research has suggested however, that I-C should not necessarily be conceptualized as a single dimension (Kagitcibasi, 1994; Kim, Triandis, Kagitcibasi, Choi, & Yoon, 1994; Rhee et al., 1996; Sinha & Tripathi, 1994). Some researchers have now suggested that individuals can possess both orientations (Kagitcibasi, 1994; Sinha & Tripathi, 1994).

Rhee et al. (1996) used confirmatory factor analysis to test bipolar versus orthogonal I-C models in a sample of 493 South Korean, Asian American, and European American college students. Fourteen I-C subscales were used from the work of Hui (1988), Triandis et al. (1990), and Yamaguchi (1994). These scales were also assessed in regard to reference to ingroup, so that there were kin (largely with parents for these particular scale items) and non-kin subscales for both individualism and collectivism. The researchers found that with reference to kin, collectivism and individualism are bipolar opposites; however with reference to non-kin, collectivism and individualism may be viewed as orthogonal. In terms of ethnocultural differences, for Koreans and European Americans, collectivism and individualism toward kin overlapped completely and collapsed into one bipolar dimension. For Asian Americans, these orientations were less redundant and were best regarded as orthogonal. However, toward non-kin, collectivism and individualism were best conceived as orthogonal across all three ethnocultural groups. Rhee et al. concluded that an orthogonal model of I-C fit the data best, and that ingroup specification is important to understanding I-C. The orthogonality of these dimensions has been given greater research attention at the individual level, as outlined below.

Individual Level: Idiocentrism and Allocentrism

Theoretical and empirical confusion has been the result of a lack of specification of level of analysis in the above reviewed literature. Individuals and cultures need to be considered as two different units of analysis reflecting two different levels of analysis. Hofstede (1980) discussed the term 'ecological fallacy' to refer to the interpretation of cultural level phenomena as equivalent to individual behaviour (see also Robinson, 1950). Cultural level analyses are based on aggregate data, while individual-level analyses are based on the scores of individual persons and presumably reflect the psychological dynamics that individuals experience in the course of pursuing their everyday lives. Bond (1988) shows that the values that are found to go together to define individualism at the cultural level do not go together to define idiocentrism at the individual level.

Triandis, Leung, Villareal, and Clark (1985) used the orientations of idiocentrism and allocentrism at the individual level to parallel the individualism and collectivism orientations at the cultural level. **Idiocentrics** have an independent view of the self, are egocentric and autonomous, and primarily act to serve their own needs. They value a comfortable life, competition, pleasure, and social recognition. **Allocentrics** have an interdependent view of the self, and are interested in serving the needs and maintaining the relationships of the group before their own individual needs. They value cooperation, equality and honesty. Here we see the possibility for persons to be living in a collectivist culture, while defining the self with an idiocentric orientation (Triandis, 1995). For example, a young and educated Black African (collectivist culture) person living in the

city of Cape Town may be more idiocentric in self-orientation than a young and uneducated Black African living in a rural area (Ma & Shoeneman, 1997).

Evidence for the importance of distinguishing between the cultural and individual levels of analysis can be found by examining allocentric persons in an individualist environment. Rhee, Uleman, Lee, and Roman (1995) found that when asked to spontaneously identify ethnocultural group, Asian Americans who did not self-identify as being of Asian descent made highly abstract and autonomous self-statements similar to Euro-American conceptions of self. In contrast, those who did self-identify as Asian made self-statements similar to allocentrics. When examining individuals living in varying contexts within collectivist cultures, some divergent self-concepts are also found. Kenyan individuals living in modern, urban and developed areas who had taken post-secondary education had less allocentric self-concepts than their rural counterparts (Ma & Shoeneman, 1997). While the distribution of I-C within any culture is assumed to be normal, cultures have been shown to differ on their overall mean I-C scores. This does not imply that a comparison of the individuals within cultures (who differed on I-C) would not reveal considerable overlap.

Independent and Interdependent Self-Construal

While individualism-collectivism is the most widely researched dimension of culture, this literature must be linked theoretically with individual differences (Smith & Bond, 1999). Markus and Kitayama (1991) postulate two constructs which are analogous to idiocentrism and allocentrism (Triandis, 1985) except that they focus on cultural impact on the self. Here, individualism-collectivism (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1995) and independent and interdependent dimensions of self-construal (see Table 1; Markus &

Kitayama, 1991; Singelis & Sharkey, 1995) link cultural variability and individual processes. The concept of self is important because it is not only central to an individual's perceptions, evaluations, and communication, but is also strongly linked to cultural norms and values (Triandis, 1989). Markus and Kitayama (1991) argue that culture affects the ways in which people conceive themselves, others, and the relationship of self with others. Independent self-construals are characteristic of individualist cultures where individuality, uniqueness, and independence are emphasized and idealized. On the other hand, interdependent self-construals are characteristic of many collectivist social systems (Kwan, Bond, & Singelis, 1997; Markus & Kitayama, 1991, 1994; Singelis, 1994; Singelis & Sharkey, 1995; Singelis et al., 1999; Wang, Briston, Mowen, & Chakraborty, 2000; Yamada & Singelis, 1999). In these cultures, the fundamental connectedness of humans is highlighted through an emphasis on relationships, harmony of interaction, and the importance of conformity. In their review of the literature, Cross and Madson (1997) also suggest that this distinction holds true across gender, postulating that in general, European-American males are thought to construct and maintain an independent self-construal, whereas European-American women are thought to construct and maintain an interdependent self-construal (see also Kemmelmeier & Oyserman, 2001).

More specifically, an independent self-construal is conceptualized as bounded, unitary, stable, and separate from social context. This self-construal includes an emphasis on the following elements: (a) internal abilities, thoughts, and feelings; (b) being unique and expressing the self; (c) realizing internal strengths and promoting one's own goals; and (d) being direct in communication (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Singelis & Sharkey, 1995). An interdependent self-construal is conceptualized as flexible and variable. This

self-construal includes an emphasis on the following elements: (a) external, public features such as status, roles, and relationships; (b) belonging and fitting in; (c) occupying one's proper place and engaging in appropriate action; and (d) being indirect in communication (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Singelis & Sharkey, 1995). Self-construal has been linked to several intriguing psychological outcomes, such as communication style (Gudykunst, Matsumoto, Ting-Toomey, & Nishida, 1996; Kim et al., 1996; Kim & Kitani, 1998), self-esteem (Carter & Dinnel, 1997; Kwan et al., 1997; Sato & Cameron, 1999), social interaction anxiety (Dinnel & Kleinknecht, 1999), relationship-serving and self-serving biases (Endo, Heine, & Lehman, 1998), relationship harmony (Kwan et al., 1997), embarrassability (Singelis et al., 1999; Singelis & Sharkey, 1995), downward social comparisons (Kimmelmeier & Oyserman, 2001) and persuasion (Wang et al., 2000). Conceptual specification, followed by conceptual criticisms of the theory is provided below.

Orthogonality of self-construal.

Some researchers have reported that these two orientations appear to be unrelated to one another (Cross & Madson, 1997; Gudykunst, Matsumoto, Ting-Toomey, Nishida, & Karimi, 1994; Singelis, 1994; Singelis et al., 1999; Trafimow et al., 1991), not bipolar opposites as the early theoretical work on I-C would imply (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1988). Persons from individualist cultures do generally respond with more independent and fewer interdependent responses than do persons from collectivist cultures, and persons from collectivist cultures do respond with more interdependent and fewer independent responses than do persons from individualist cultures, but these differing cognitions coexist in individuals (Cross & Markus, 1991; Gudykunst et al., 1994;

Oyserman, 1993; Roland, 1988; Singelis et al., 1999; Sinha & Tripathi, 1994; Smith & Bond, 1999; Trafimow et al., 1991; Triandis et al., 1985). Moreover, men and women have both independent and interdependent self-construals, but the strength and organization of these vary (Cross & Madson, 1997). Overall, these aspects of self are commonly viewed as orthogonal (see Sato & Cameron, Smith & Bond, 1999; Yamada & Singelis, 1999). Both empirical and conceptual evidence are provided below.

The coexistence of differing views of self is highlighted in descriptions of internal conflicts that sometimes characterize individuals from cultures that are in the process of change. Roland's (1988) case studies of the struggle between the collective and individual aspects of self in Indian and Japanese respondents are clear examples of the possibility of holding both independent and interdependent self-construals. Furthermore, Cross and Markus (1991) found support for multiple dimensions of self in their study of stress and coping behaviour among Caucasian American and East Asian exchange students. They found that the East Asian students had better developed interdependent self-construals than the American respondents, but were similar to the Caucasians in their development of their independent self-construals. The East Asian students who had more developed independent selves, and who perceived the interdependent aspects of self as less important, reported less stress than other East Asian students. They go on to suggest that the ability to cope with the individualist environment of the American campus reduced stress, and was associated with a well-developed independent self-construal.

At the conceptual level, there has been a consensus that the self is not a single cognitive structure (Greenwald & Pratkanis, 1984; Kihlstrom & Cantor, 1984; Markus & Wurf, 1987; Singelis & Sharkey, 1995). Triandis (1989) suggested that cultural

background may affect the number of cognitions contained in the private self and collective self. Private self-structures contain idiocentric cognitions, collective self-structures contain group cognitions, and public self-structures contain allocentric cognitions (Triandis, 1989). First, the private self refers to how people understand themselves. It involves self-regard, self-esteem, introspection, and individual decision-making. Second, the public self refers to how the individual is perceived by other people, and includes issues such as reputation, specific expectations of others, and impression management. Third, the collective self involves one's memberships in various social groups, such as the family, an employment organization, or an ethnic group (Triandis, 1989). The probability that a particular aspect of self will be referenced is a function of its complexity or development, and the situation (Ybarra & Trafimow, 1998). For example, if the private aspect is sampled primarily, that is an indication of idiocentric tendencies. Sampling of the collective and public elements suggests allocentric tendencies. Such a model states that regardless of cultural background, all individuals have private, collective, and public selves; but different ethnocultural groups may have different salience for each component.

Markus and Kitayama (1991) confirmed that people with individualist cultural backgrounds are likely to retrieve more private self-cognitions and less collective self-cognitions than people with collectivist backgrounds. Trafimow et al. (1991) have further demonstrated that private and collective cognitions are stored separately in memory. Furthermore, given gendered developmental histories, men may access independent self-construals more frequently, and women may access interdependent self-construals more frequently (Bargh, Lombardi, & Higgins, 1988; Kimmelmeier & Oyserman, 2001). But

given a cultural or gendered context, individuals may be able to modify their self-construal to match the environment when both their independent and interdependent selves are well developed (Markus & Oyserman, 1989).

Singelis (1994) developed the Self-Construal Scale (SCS) to measure the strength of independent and interdependent selves as orthogonal constructs. In a study examining self-construal in Hawaii, it was found that these two dimensions are quite distinct and vary both within and between ethnic groups. Factor analysis was employed to select items for the two subscales, and the resulting two factors were found to be uncorrelated, but to have less than ideal internal reliabilities ($0.69 < \alpha < 0.74$; Nunnally, 1978). Singelis concluded that at the individual level, people have independent and interdependent self-construals of varying strengths but that culture emphasizes the development of one or the other of these dimensions. Cross and Madson (1997) conclude that gender can also influence the development of these dimensions.

Conceptual criticisms of self-construal.

Recently, Matsumoto (1999) has critically evaluated Markus and Kitayama's (1991) theory, and examined the empirical evidence which directly tests its assumptions. There are basically three levels to the theory: (1) cultural level values, attitudes, behaviours and norms, (2) self-construals, and (3) individual-level processes. Thus, culture influences individual self-construals; these, in turn, influence many aspects of behaviour, cognition, emotion, and motivation.

One of the first issues concerns the coverage of the cultural areas to which the theory is applicable. Markus and Kitayama (1994) state that the interdependent self-

construal is applicable in Japan, China, Korea, Southeast Asia, South America, and Africa. However, work of adequate scientific rigor is lacking in the areas of Southeast Asia, South America, and Africa. Therefore, claims about the applicability of their theory to other parts of the world should be curtailed until further empirical investigation is conducted.

Matsumoto (1999) goes on to criticize the lack of studies measuring all three levels as outlined in Markus and Kitayama's (1991) theory, and in particular that they most often fail to measure the middle level. It is the opinion of the present author that recent empirical studies using Singelis' (1994) self-construal scale do measure all three levels outlined in the theory, because the measurement of self-construal is now operationalizable (see Kwan et al., 1997; Sato & Cameron, 1999; Singelis & Sharkey, 1995; Singelis et al., 1999; Wang et al., 2000; Yamada & Singelis, 1999). However, most studies on self-construal measure differences between Asians and Caucasians within the same country (mostly the U.S.) so that conclusions may only be drawn about Asian American self-construal rather than Asian self-construal per se.

Despite some positive findings supporting Markus and Kitayama's (1991) theory, Matsumoto (1999) has examined studies of Caucasian Americans and Japanese which demonstrate that their self-construals do not differ in the expected direction. For example, Gudykunst et al. (1996) administered self-construal items drawn from various scales (including Singelis' scale), and personality scales to university students in the U.S., Japan, Korea, and Australia. There were no differences in independent or interdependent self-construals between the U.S. and Japan. Likewise, Dinnel and colleagues have conducted a series of studies comparing Americans and Japanese, all of them using

Singelis' scale, and all of them challenging Markus and Kitayama's theory. Kleinknecht, Dinnel, Kleinknecht, Hiruma, and Harada (1997) found that there were no differences in independent self-construals, and that Americans actually had significantly higher interdependent self-construal scores than the Japanese. Dinnel and Kleinknecht (1999) found that while Americans had higher independent self-construal scores, there were no differences in interdependent self-construals. Carter and Dinnel (1997) found that Japanese were actually more independent than Americans. Finally, Kim et al. (1996) administered two scales to assess self-construals (the Ego Task Analysis scale and the Singelis scale) to respondents in Hawaii, the mainland U.S., Japan, and Korea. While the U.S. had significantly higher independent self-construal scores than the Japanese, there was no difference between the countries on interdependent self-construals.

Matsumoto (1999) concludes that the evidence does not support the validity of the self-construal theoretical framework. However, the empirical evidence presented only disputes the relationships of self-construal between American and Japanese respondents. Furthermore, the United States is a very multicultural, albeit assimilationist, country. Therefore, by measuring "Americans" it is unclear whether the lack of findings in the expected direction could be due to the sampling of Asian-Americans, or Americans of other cultural descent or origin instead of sampling strictly Caucasian or Northern European-Americans, which could potentially reduce the variability in self-construal and thus reduce the probability of finding a significant effect.

In summary, independent and interdependent self-construals can be conceived as analogous to individualism and collectivism when these terms are applied to individuals. While individualism and collectivism refer to cultures, independence and

interdependence are best thought of as individual-level psychological tendencies that are encouraged and developed to varying degrees by the socialization practices, institutions, and history of a particular social system (Markus & Kitayama, 1994). Furthermore, if independent and interdependent self-construal are orthogonal as suggested (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Sato & Cameron, 1999; Singelis, 1994; Smith & Bond, 1999), people may have both independent and interdependent self-construals to different degrees based on ethnocultural background or gender (Sato & Cameron, 1999; Singelis & Sharkey, 1995).

From Ethnocultural Group and Gender to Self

Having provided an explication of self at the cultural and individual level, social and demographic elements that impinge on self will be outlined. The way individuals relate to people in their environment and how these relations are 'reflected' in the self can be affected by ethnocultural group and gender.

How do social and demographic factors affect the nature of self?

There are currently two views in the literature concerning how culture influences self-concept. First, Triandis (1989) argues that the ethnocultural group exerts an influence on an individual's value orientation, which in turn influences one's self-perception. Triandis classified countries as individualistic or collectivistic based on Hofstede's (1980) indices, and explained differences in the typical self across cultures by different value orientations held. Therefore, Triandis suggests that values are indicative of the transmission of certain aspects of culture into the social-psychological lives of individuals within a given ethnocultural group. When they tested this hypothesis empirically, Ip and

Bond (1995) did not find any cultural differences associated with value endorsement, but did find cultural differences based on socialization.

This second view concerning how culture affects self-concept contends that fundamental differences in the mode of thinking that is socialized and is reflected in self-perception are responsible for the effect (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Shweder & Bourne, 1984). For example, Shweder and Bourne argued that it is the different world-views characterizing different cultures that lead to differences in thinking about self. Duck (1994) unites these two arguments by observing that cultural values provide individuals within ethnocultural groups with particular ways of viewing the world as well as expectations regarding individuals' behaviour in a variety of social contexts.

Markus and Kitayama (1994) demonstrate how culture can shape the experience and expression of the self. In their model, self-construal is internalized through processes from the macro to micro level. First are core cultural ideas and values (i.e., ideas reflected in key ideological and philosophical texts and institutions), and economic and socio-political factors. Next, this collective reality is reflected in the social psychological practices of a given ethnocultural group through customs, norms, practices, and institutions' reflection and promotion of core ideas (e.g., care-taking practices, educational systems, legal systems, employment practices, social scripts, media, and linguistics). The micro level phenomena which create and maintain a given self-orientation include both individual reality and habitual psychological tendencies. This level includes such phenomena as domain-specific events at home or at school, where self-orientation is reflected in an individual's ways of thinking and feeling about self and others, thus influencing action. This model demonstrates how culture transforms into self-

construal, and then affects affect, behaviour, and cognition. Below, more specific cultural impact, and also gender impact on self-construal will be outlined.

Ethnocultural group and self.

Because of globalization, increasing travel and communication links, and the political centrality of ethnic minority rights in many societies, the study of diverse orientations toward self is a timely one (Liebkind, 1992; Smith & Bond, 1999). Globalization has also led to the recognition of the effects of immigration and acculturation on self. Some literature suggests that immigration may have a variable effect on self-construal whereby immigrants may come to view the self in terms of the norms of the majority group, or may variably maintain identification with their ethnocultural background (Cameron & Lalonde, 1994; Lalonde et al., 1992). For instance, although second- and third-generation immigrants' attitudes and lifestyles may appear to be quite similar to those of the majority group, the former population maintains its ties, in varying degrees, with ethnic minority groups. These immigrants can choose which group they prefer to be identified with, because in a multicultural setting immigrants redefine themselves and are redefined by others. During this process of redefinition, new categories of social identification are formed (Verkuyten & Kwa, 1996, pp. 35-36).

Thus, immigrants living in individualistic societies may still have a relatively more interdependent self-construal than second or higher generation immigrants, but this varies depending on the degree of identification with a given culture (Cameron & Lalonde, 1994; Liebkind, 1992; Phinney, 1990). The concept of acculturation deals broadly with changes in cultural attitudes, values, and behaviours that result from contact between two

cultures (Berry, 1995; Bhatia & Ram, 2001; Phinney, 1990; Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001). Here, the relationship with both the traditional or ethnic culture and the relationship with the new or dominant culture are of interest (Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986). Clearly, acculturation is an uneven process, where for example, people may subjectively identify with their ethnic group and have ethnic friends but not speak the ethnic language (Rhee et al., 1995). This variably influences people's sense of self (Cameron & Lalonde, 1994; Phinney, 1990).

Gender and self.

In the continuing analysis of gender differences, there is a growing awareness of the possibility of fundamental differences in how women and men perceive themselves and their world (Cross & Madson, 1997; Gilligan, 1982; Josephs et al., 1992; Markus & Cross, 1990; Markus & Oyserman, 1989; Miller, 1986; Sampson, 1988). "Multiple social influences promote independent ways of thinking, feeling, and behaving for men and relational ways of thinking, feeling, and behaving for women" (Cross & Madson, 1997, p.7). For example, Fivush (1992) reported that parents discuss emotion more often with their preschool daughters than with their preschool sons, so they may differentially emphasize the importance of sensitivity to the feelings of others to their daughters and sons. In later childhood, parents' beliefs about gender roles influence their choice of household tasks for their children: Girls are more often assigned to child care than are boys, whereas boys are more often assigned to chores that take them out of the house (Goodnow, 1988). After childhood, women and men continue to participate in culture in very different ways; gendered social roles, experiences, and occupation continue to reinforce the different skills and abilities developed by women and men. Women,

therefore, tend to develop nurturance and relatedness to a greater degree than do men (Chodorow, 1978; Eagly, 1987; Miller, 1986). Furthermore, women provide more social support to others than do men, and are more often viewed as responsible for maintaining relationships (Markus & Cross, 1990). In other words, men and women are socialized to live within contexts of independence or interdependence, respectively³. Consequently, their goals, activities, interactions, values, and self-systems are continually shaped by these contexts (Cross & Madson, 1997).

It is assumed that interdependent and independent self-construal influences thinking about self, and also about all objects, events, and situations in one's environment. These divergent views of 'who am I' have a different structure and determine different patterns of perception and thought among women (Markus & Oyserman, 1989). For instance, various gender demographics have been found to affect self. Females and married or divorced respondents tend to use more social self-descriptors compared to males or single respondents (Babbitt & Burbach, 1990). Gigy (1980) found that married women were more likely to identify themselves through roles (e.g., wife and mother), ascribed characteristics, and domestic chores, whereas single women were more likely to respond as self-determined and autonomous. On the other hand, Mackie (1983) found great similarity between male and female self-conceptions. Both male and female respondents spontaneously identified gender to the same extent,

³ The focus here is on the many **social factors** that culminate in the creation and maintenance of divergent self-construals by men and women, although there is certainly great variation within the genders in the degree to which self-construals reflect gendered social roles (Markus & Oyserman, 1989).

but female respondents used more self-statements concerning family roles than did male respondents. Again, social and demographic factors are vital to the nature of self.

While analyzing the central role of relationships in women's lives, theorists differ in their views of why they are so self-defining. Chodorow (1978) proposed that mothers and daughters, unlike mothers and sons, experience a sense of similarity and continuity with each other. As a result, women learn to focus on and value relationships more than do men. For Miller (1986), the interdependent nature of women is explained through the societal power differential between men and women. Women must learn to relate to others and be carefully attuned to others if they are to survive in a male-dominated society. Gilligan (1982) has argued that because men and women attach very different meanings to relationships with others, they are likely to have two very different approaches to morality. The masculine approach is one born of separation and individuality. The other, the feminine approach, is focused on attachment and caring. A morality based on a concern with relationships follows from an appreciation of one's fundamental relatedness, and of the extent to which one's self is comprised of relations with others.

Markus and Oyserman (1989) claim that because of their characteristically different patterns of social interaction and interpersonal experiences, women are likely to construct different types of self-systems than men. Drawing on the work outlined above, they suggest that women's socialization and experience reflect a collective rather than individuated self-concept (Cross & Madson, 1997; Deaux, 1996; Josephs et al., 1992; Markus & Cross, 1990; Skevington & Baker, 1989). Markus (1977) uses the construct of self-schema to denote the connectedness and interdependence of women, where relations

with others lend meaning and coherence to one's experience. "Self-schemata are cognitive generalizations about the self, derived from past experience, that organize and guide the processing of self-related information contained in the individual's social experiences" (Markus, 1977, p. 64). Those with a connectedness self-schema will be particularly sensitive and responsive to others, and they will have well-elaborated knowledge and understanding of others. Because the elements of connectedness self-schemas are relationships, others are represented with the self. When one thinks about the self, these others are present also. As connectedness self-schemas become active and begin to exert their selective and directive influence on thought, individuals will automatically attend to and encode a diverse array of information: information about the self, and information about the selves to whom the self is connected.

In summary, self-construal is hypothesized to vary as a function of ethnocultural group and gender. Varying orientations toward the self can have implications for both social behaviour and how individuals perceive the world (Gaines, Marelich, et al., 1997; Markus & Cross, 1990; Markus & Kitayama, 1994). The next section will discuss the interaction among gender and ethnocultural group, and self.

Interactions of Ethnocultural Group and Gender

Research has generally supported the notion of cross-cultural differences in self (Markus et al., 1996; Singelis, 1994; Triandis, 1995) and gender differences in self (Cross & Madson, 1997; Kashima et al., 1995; Markus & Oyserman, 1989; Skevington & Baker, 1989), but inadequately demonstrate that a generalizable dichotomy (like individualism-

collectivism, or independent-interdependent self-construal) underlies such comparisons⁴.

Some recent and influential articles have claimed that women from relatively individualist cultures (Cross & Madson, 1997; Dion & Dion, 1993; Josephs et al., 1992) and men and women from relatively collectivist cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1995) are more likely to hold interdependent self-conceptions. A gender by culture interaction is often supported by cross-cultural research examining self (e.g., Wang et al., 2000; Watkins, Adair, Akande, Cheng et al., 1998). Thus,

the prototypical American view of the self, for example, may prove to be the most characteristic of White, middle-class men with a White European ethnic background. It may be somewhat less descriptive of women in general, or of men and women from other ethnic groups or social classes (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, p. 225).

For example, African American parents tend to make fewer gender distinctions in their interactions with their children and encourage independence and autonomy in their daughters more than do European American parents. This may result in the forging of a more independent self-construal in African American females than in European American females (McLoyd, 1993). Singelis (1994) suggests that African American adults of both genders may score high on independent and interdependent self-construal because of their integration of an interdependent orientation with the emphasis on the individual that prevails in Anglo-American culture. Would European-Canadian women score high on

⁴ Unfortunately previous research has fallen victim to the 'ecological fallacy' (Hofstede, 1980). The studies discussed here are individual-level studies; however, "the researchers who conducted them did not for the most part obtain measures of the values, beliefs, expectancies, personality types, etc. of the persons whom they studied. Most often they inferred what would be the subjects' values on the basis of country-level scores derived from Hofstede's dimensions" (Smith & Bond, 1999, pp. 62-63).

both dimensions as well considering their multiple roles (e.g., mother and employee; Barnett & Marshall, 1991)?

At the cultural level, there is a paucity of studies that examine gender interactions with culture in I-C in more than two cultures. The use of only two culture investigations precludes the ability to make generalizations. Studies such as Bochner (1994), Bond and Cheung (1983) and Triandis et al. (1990) investigated more than two cultures, but failed to examine interactions with gender.

There is one recent large-scale study that explores culture by gender interactions in I-C. A nine-culture study by Watkins, Adair, Akande, Gerong et al. (1998) set out to investigate nine cultures to determine whether the self-conceptions of the individualist (and also collectivist) culture participants were similar to each other, and then to determine possible differences between the individualist and collectivist cultures, while also attending to gender of the participant. The individualist countries surveyed consisted of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and Whites in South Africa; the collectivist countries consisted of China, Ethiopia, Philippines, Turkey, and Blacks in South Africa. They found significant variability within both the individualist and collectivist culture groups and significant culture by gender interactions within each TST coding group of idiocentric, large group, small group, and allocentric responses. While males from individualist cultures espoused the idiocentric self-orientation, females from individualist cultures and males and females from collectivist cultures did not espouse the allocentric self-orientation as would be expected by the theorizing of Markus and Kitayama (1991). Basically, there were gender differences in the expected direction in the individualist cultures, but in the collectivist cultures, where there were significant differences, women

scored higher in idiocentric and lower in large group and allocentric responses than men. To what extent these conflicting findings are due to measurement or sampling issues will require further research, but culture by gender interactions seem to be the consistent trend.

At the individual level, most studies on self-construal have examined the relationship between self-construal and either gender (Cross & Madson, 1997) or culture (Kwan et al., 1997; Matsumoto, 1999; Singelis, 1994; Singelis et al., 1999; Singelis & Sharkey, 1995) alone, to the neglect of possible interactions between the two. For instance, Kleinknecht et al. (1997) found no gender differences in self-construal, but failed to measure ethnocultural differences because the scale was not found to be semantically equivalent across cultures. Sato and Cameron (1999) reported that a sample of White Canadian undergraduate students scored significantly higher in interdependent self-construal than a sample of Japanese students, and failed to find ethnocultural differences in independent self-construal, or significant gender differences. However, Uskul's study (A. Uskul, personal communication, December 10, 2000) showed a significant interaction between gender and culture based on interdependent self-construal. They reported that European-Canadian females were significantly higher in interdependent self-construal than European-Canadian males, but that Turkish males and females level of interdependent self-construal did not significantly differ. Wang et al. (2000) also reported a culture (i.e., Chinese and American) by gender interaction, although they did not operationalize self-construal with Singelis' (1994) scale. Therefore, it is postulated that there will be a significant interaction in self-construal between male and female European and non-European Canadians.

The point here is not to suggest that all women are like Asian people (see Kashima et al., 1995). Rather, the point is to question the assumption of an autonomous, bounded self. The focus here is on the importance of others in self-construals, and on the importance of gender by culture interactions in self-construal. The empirical contradictions outlined above call for a further look at the interactions between ethnocultural group and gender in self-construal (Bond & Cheung, 1983; Kashima et al., 1995; Watkins, Adair, Akande, Gerong et al., 1998). Although there has been some support for the independent-interdependent dimension of self-construal across gender and ethnocultural group (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Watkins et al., 1998), clearly researchers cannot account for some of the mixed evidence in the literature with this construct alone (see Matsumoto, 1999). Much of this work has not focused on the orthogonality of independent and interdependent self-construals, but rather worked with I-C as bipolar. What will the interactions between gender and culture look like with the orthogonal independent and interdependent self-construals? Recent work points to the importance of a relational dimension of self (Aron, Aron, Tudor, & Nelson, 1991; Rhee et al., 1996; Singelis, 2000). Smith and Bond (1999) suggest that the 'psychology of relatedness' (Kagitcibasi, 1994) has much to contribute to current self debates in the literature concerning gender roles and cultural diversity.

The Psychology of Relatedness

Selves, and theories about selves, have been constructed within a North American cultural frame, and are clearly the products of independent, bounded, and autonomous thinking (Markus & Kitayama, 1994). This culturally shared idea of self is a pervasive, taken-for-granted assumption that is held in place by language, by the rituals and social

practices of daily life, by the laws, the media, the social institutions, and the texts of North American society. Although some European theorists (Gergen, 1991; Shweder & Bourne, 1984; Tajfel et al., 1981) have looked to more social theories of self to account for collective behaviour, current social psychology still characterizes the healthy self as one that can maintain its integrity across diverse social environments and one that can successfully fend off challenges and attacks from others. The unchallenged cultural view that the individual is separate and self-contained is a stumbling block to realizing a fully “social” social psychology (Markus & Kitayama, 1994).

Relatedness, or feeling a sense of closeness with others, has also been theorized to be a basic psychological need, or experience that all people require to thrive (Sheldon et al., 2001). Several theories postulate relatedness as fundamental. Deci and Ryan’s (1985) self-determination theory of motivation specifies that people want to feel a sense of closeness with particular others; Maslow’s (1954) theory of personality incorporates love-belongingness as one of five fundamental needs; Epstein’s (1990) cognitive-experiential self-theory specifies relatedness as one of four needs or functions that all individuals must satisfy; and Baumeister and Leary (1995) argue that belongingness is a single important need. Relatedness is also found to be a basic need or motivation in non-Northwestern European cultures (Kwan et al., 1997; Sanchez-Burks, Nisbett, & Ybarra, 2000; Sheldon et al., 2001). Thus, relationality in self may be universal to humans in general, but the relative salience that people place on it might depend on the extent to which ethnocultural groups encourage and support it.

As outlined above, recent analyses of ethnocultural groups other than European-Americans reveal some very different perspectives on the relation between the self and

the collective (Cross, Bacon, & Morris, 2000; Kashima et al., 1995; Sanchez-Burks et al., 2000; Triandis, 1995; Watkins, Adair, Akanke, Gerong et al., 1998). Here, relationality is not conceived of as simply being a member of a social category (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1985; Turner & Oakes, 1989), but as heightened awareness of the other and of the nature of one's relation to the other, as emotional connection, and as an expectation of some mutuality across both personal and social domains (Andersen, Reznik, & Chen, 1997; Aron et al., 1991; Baldwin, 1992; Hinkle & Brown, 1990; Hinkley & Andersen, 1996; Kagitcibasi, 1994; Kashima et al., 1995; Markus & Cross, 1990; Markus & Kitayama, 1994; Miller, 1986; Oyserman & Markus, 1989; Sanchez-Burks et al., 2000; Tropp & Wright, 2001).

Psychology has long contended that people internalize their relationships with significant others, which in turn influences their experience of subsequent relationships, and affects their sense of self. James (1890) recognized the importance of interdependency between self-conception and interpersonal experience in his observation that individuals behave and experience themselves in different ways with different people. Cooley (1902) and Mead (1934) suggested that the self is inferred from the reactions of others, and that individuals use symbols and language to anticipate the response of others, respectively. Lewin (1948) diagrammed relationships within the life space in terms of differing degrees of overlap between the differentiated region that represents the self, and the region that to the self represents the partner. As outlined above, Markus (1977) posited the self-schema, a cognitive generalization about the self that is based on repeated categorizations of one's behaviour by self and others. However, much of this work does not make the leap to a cognitive structure of internalized

relationships in defining and maintaining a sense of self (see Smith, Coats, & Walling, 1999). There is a paucity of social cognition research about relationships, rather than about the self or about the other person in isolation (see Baldwin, 1992; Sanchez-Burks et al., 2000). The more 'relational' contention here is that:

...people develop working models of their relationships that function as cognitive maps to help them navigate their social world. These cognitive structures are hypothesized to include images of self and other, along with a script for an expected pattern of interaction, derived through generalization from repeated similar interpersonal experiences (Baldwin, 1992, p. 462).

There are currently a few relational models in the literature which support the existence of linkages in memory between self and others (Andersen et al., 1997; Aron et al., 1991; Baldwin, 1992; Hinkley & Andersen, 1997; Ogilvie & Ashmore, 1991; Smith & Henry, 1996; Tropp & Wright, 2001).

The perspective forwarded by Ogilvie and Ashmore (1991) focuses on knowledge about the self, with an emphasis on how self is experienced in different relationships. Their central construct is the 'self-with-other' unit, defined as "a mental representation that includes the set of personal qualities (traits, feelings, and the like) that an individual believes characterizes his or her self when with a particular other person" (p. 290). They take an explicitly relational approach, attempting to understand how mentally encoded, affectively toned, self-with-other experiences enable individuals to identify ongoing interpersonal interactions as similar to, or different from, previous patterns of self-with-other interactions. These constellations of self-with-others are assumed to be mentally organized hierarchically, which is congruent with current cognitive models. These

constellations aid in summarizing past experiences, guiding present interpersonal behaviour, and interpreting own and others' behaviour.

Andersen et al. (1997) also propose a social cognitive model of relationality, which is based on the construct of transference. They argue specifically that mental representations of significant others are stored in memory in some form and then activated and applied to newly encountered individuals. Andersen's research program demonstrates that significant-other representations are accessed in interpreting new persons, as evidenced by the emergence of inference, memory, feeling, motivation, and self-definition based on these representations (see also Hinkley & Andersen, 1996).

Aron et al. (1991) empirically tested the social cognitive notion of including 'other' in one's sense of self. In the first experiment, adapting Liebrand's (1984) decomposed-game procedures (i.e., on a computer screen, participants were presented with a series of binary choices involving allocating money to themselves or another person), they found that regardless of whether the other will know of self's decision, differences in allocation of money to self and other decrease as other is closer to the self, comparing others who are best friend, acquaintance, and stranger. In a second experiment, adapting Lord's (1987) procedure testing memory for nouns, Aron et al. (1991) found that differences in memory that are based on images of self versus others interacting with an object noun to be remembered are less when other is close to self (other was varied by comparing images made with mother versus either an entertainment personality or a friend of one's mother). In a third experiment, adapting Markus' (1977) self-schema reaction time procedure, Aron et al. (1991) found that cognitive representations of self and other are more closely interconnected when other is in a close

relationship, as shown by patterns of response latencies in making me/not me decisions about traits previously rated as descriptive of self, spouse, or either an entertainment personality or a friend of a spouse.

Smith and colleagues (Smith & Henry, 1996; Smith, Coats, & Walling, 1999) demonstrate an overlap in mental representation between self and other through a variation on the classic Stroop task. First, 153 students were first asked to describe their own group (i.e., fraternity / sorority member; and liberal arts majors) and a corresponding out-group (i.e., non-Greeks; and engineering majors) on a series of traits. Later, participants engaged in a computer reaction time procedure making self-descriptiveness judgments (i.e., yes/no) to the same traits. Results showed that when making timed self-descriptiveness judgments, traits on which they match the perceived characteristics of their in-group are associated with both shorter response times and a smaller proportion of errors (Smith & Henry, 1996). In a further extension of this experiment, Smith, Coats, and Walling (1999) also showed that effects of the self on reaction time judgments to romantic partner traits was moderated by perceived degree of relationship closeness. Taken together, these various studies, applying a variety of methodologies, illustrate the utility of viewing relationships as including other cognitively within the self.

Is relationality different from an interdependent self-construal?

Although the construct of interdependent self-construal highlights relationships and harmony of interaction, relationality is conceived here as a self-schema that is tied to specific others which overlaps with self in social cognition. Research demonstrates that there is a conceptual difference between the two (see Tropp & Wright, 2001). For instance, Hinkle and Brown (1990) propose that social identities differ on two

dimensions, namely (1) individualism-collectivism⁵ and (2) an autonomous-relational orientation. A relational orientation refers to an interest in intergroup comparison, where concern lies in evaluating the ingroup and its outcomes with reference to other groups and their outcomes. With an autonomous orientation such assessments are made in relation to some abstract standard which typically would not implicate other groups at all. For example, a hobby group may be more autonomous (comparing basket weaving performance with own previous performance) as compared to a sports team (comparing their basketball team's performance with another team's performance) because of the relational nature of sports competition. Brown et al. (1992) demonstrated empirically that, indeed, these two dimensions manifest little overlap and both are integral in explaining intergroup processes.

Two recent empirical studies also support relationality as distinct from I-C. Kashima et al. (1995) and Rhee et al. (1995) propose that I-C has an effect on the self-concept through relationality, or an autonomy-sociality dimension. Kashima et al. distinguish three discourses on self: individualistic, collectivistic, and relational. The former refers to Hofstede's (1980) and Triandis's (1995) construct in which people maintain loose ties with each other and a belief in the inherent separateness of people. Whereas collectivism refers to making no distinctions between personal and collective goals (or if they do make such distinctions, they subordinate their personal goals to the collective goals; Triandis, 1989), relationality refers to the relationship between the

⁵ Although this review has outlined the orthogonality of independent and interdependent self-construals, nevertheless the cultural level construct of I-C as theorized by Hofstede (1980) and Triandis (1995) is still considered to be conceptually bipolar in the literature.

individual and other individuals (i.e., whether the self is construed to be related with other selves). Kashima et al. found that cultural differences in self could be best explained through differences in collectivism, whereas gender differences in self could best be explained through differences in relationality. In the study by Rhee et al., relationality was also supported through an empirically distinct autonomous-social dimension. This dimension accounted for significant variance in ethnic and gender differences in self, after controlling for variation due to I-C.

Thus, one of the goals of the current study is to examine whether independent and interdependent self-construal varies across different ingroups that are conceived as part of self. Triandis (1989) defines an ingroup as “a group whose norms, goals, and values shape the behavior of its members” (p.53) or as a group of individuals with whom a person feels similar because of a common fate. People may also identify their ingroups on the basis of similar demographic attributes and attitudes or as a result of sharing time, place, language, and experience (Hui, 1988). Just as the definition of ingroups varies, the predominant bases of ingroup categorization also vary across cultures (Sanchez-Burks et al., 2000; Uleman et al., 2000). Whereas ingroups tend to be ascribed (e.g., kin, religion, village, and nation) and defined through tradition in collectivist cultures, they tend to be achieved (through similar beliefs, attitudes, values, and occupations) in individualist cultures (Triandis, 1995). Some research has examined kin as an ingroup (Rhee et al., 1996; Triandis, 1995; Uleman et al., 2000), and the present study also examines romantic partner as an ingroup identification.

Clearly there is ample precedent for thinking of relationships as including other in the self. However, this idea has not been made explicit and treated seriously as a

conceptual framework for forming an integrated understanding of existing relevant social psychological research (Aron et al., 1991). With this framework in mind, the current research examining individual level self-construal will likely be enhanced by taking into account relationality. Relationality (or self-with-other) can also be the cornerstone of a functional, adaptive lifestyle. The present study examines self in terms of relationship with family and romantic partner. It is proposed that both the independent and interdependent self-construal can have a relational dimension, whereby those with an independent self-construal may experience the self in terms of ties to one romantic partner, whereas those with an interdependent self-construal may experience the self in terms of ties to family. These self-orientations are presented in more detail below.

Familial Self-Orientation

Salience of family values may be more important than broader social relationships to the self-concepts of certain groups (Dhawan et al., 1995; Luna et al., 1996; Realo & Allik, 1999; Rhee, Uleman, & Lee, 1996; Roland, 1988, 1991; Watkins & Gerong, 1997). In a fourteen-culture study by Watkins, Adair, Akande, Cheng, et al. (1998), and in a three-culture study by Watkins and Gerong (1997), it was found that respondents from many collectivist cultures (e.g., Philippines, India, Ethiopia, Malaysia, South Africa) placed greater salience for their self-concept on family values than on social relationships per se. A key cultural value that is hypothesized to explain differences among Korean, Korean American and European American caregivers is that of familism (Youn, Knight, Jeong, & Benton, 1999). Landrine (1992) argued that the concept of an independent and individualized self is congruent with European culture, but is not held by persons of other

ethnocultural backgrounds. In some other cultures, the self is defined in relationship to the family.

Familism is a term coined to denote the normative commitment of family members to family and family relationships (Heller, 1970), although this construct has since also been termed family solidarity (Grzywacz & Marks, 1999; Pabon, 1998), family integration (Hallett & Gilbert, 1997; Johnson, 1999), and intergenerational solidarity or cohesion (Kauh, 1997; Minkler, 1999; Yoo & Sung, 1997). It denotes commitment that supersedes attention to individual contributions and rewards, and implies a strong value for the “exclusiveness” of the kinship structure. Burgess and Locke (1945) postulated that familism incorporates the following components: (a) dividing the social environment into ingroup (kin or family) and outgroup members (all others); (b) focusing activities on the achievement of family, rather than individual, goals; (c) believing that family assets and resources belong to the whole and should be used for the good of the whole; (d) unconditionally supporting other family members; and (e) believing in the need to perpetuate the family.

Gaines, Marelich et al. (1997) define familism as “orientation toward the welfare of one’s immediate and extended family” (p. 1460). This self-orientation involves individuals’ strong identification with (and attachment to) their nuclear and extended families, along with strong feelings of loyalty, reciprocity, and solidarity among members of the same family that transcend national and regional affiliations (Gaines, Buriel, Liu, & Rios, 1997). Gaines, Marelich, et al. (1997) supported the specification of this self-orientation among Hispanics (e.g., individuals with national origin in Mexico, Cuba, or Puerto Rico; Gaines et al., 1997), and familism has come to be seen as an essential

defining characteristic within this ethnocultural group (Cortes, 1995; Luna et al., 1996; Magana, 1999; Pabon, 1988). For instance, it is common for Hispanic parents and relatives to devote considerable attention to the socio-emotional needs of children, and in turn, children often display a high degree of respect toward their elders. These patterns of reciprocity between older and younger family members frequently are passed along from one generation to the next (and are also present to some degree in all families; Markus et al., 1996; Moore, 1971).

There is also a literature suggesting that familism is not necessarily relational (e.g., Banfield, 1958). For instance, the focus on family could preclude a focus on the larger society, and therefore be deemed anti-social, isolationist, or exclusionary (Burgess & Locke, 1945; Heller, 1970; Luna et al., 1996). Banfield's notion of "amoral familism" stemming from his anthropological work in a poor village in the South of Italy was described as "the inability of the villagers to act together for their common good or, indeed, for any end transcending the immediate, material interest of the nuclear family" (p. 10). As another example, some Koreans are reluctant to express their personal and familial matters to individuals other than close family, and are reluctant to use formal or public services to help care for aging or ill family members (Magana, 1999; Yoo & Sung, 1997). Theoretically, Bengston and Robert's (1991) model of intergenerational solidarity posits six dimensions highlighting the strength of the family unit to the exclusion of the larger community: (1) associational solidarity which encompasses patterns of interaction and frequency of contact among family members; (2) affectual solidarity which encompasses the degree of positive and negative sentiment between family members; (3) functional solidarity which encompasses the amount of helping and exchanges that occur

between family members; (4) consensual solidarity which encompasses the level of agreement on values, attitudes, and beliefs among family members; (5) normative solidarity which encompasses the strength of internalized commitment or obligation to family roles and family members; and (6) structural solidarity which encompasses the number of family members and type of family. The idea of solidarity in this multitude of domains suggests that some members of families can be relational within kin, but also exclusionary to those outside the kin network.

Ethnocultural group and familism.

Literature from the psychology of Hispanic (Cortes, 1995; Gaines, Buriel, et al., 1997; Gaines, Marelich, et al., 1997; Luna et al., 1999; Magana, 1999; Pabon, 1998; Vega, 1995; Youn et al., 1999), Asian American (Kauh, 1997; O'Brien & Fugita, 1991; Rosenberger, 1992; Yoo & Sung, 1997; Youn, Knight, Jeong, & Benton, 1999), Filipino (Watkins & Gerong, 1997), African American (Johnson, 1999; Minkler, 1999), Russian (Realo & Allik, 1999), South Asian (Dhawan et al., 1995), and European-American (Harootyan & Bengtson, 1994) ethnocultural groups support a strong component of family priority. For instance, in the Philippines, Watkins and Gerong (1997) found that self-orientation was family-related and did not generalize to other social relationships. Dhawan et al. (1995) go so far as to conclude that in India, individualism is subordinated to familism and the very nature of the self can be conceptualized as "familial" (pp. 614-615).

However, there is some mixed evidence concerning differences in familial self-orientation between Asians and Europeans. Triandis (1989) found that Chinese respondents make more references to family categories than do European-Americans.

However, contradictory evidence is found. Bond and Cheung (1983) and Ip and Bond (1995) report no difference between Chinese and European-American respondents with reference to salience of family roles to self. The two studies found that the family role was the most salient social role for both cultures, suggesting that family identification is also very strong in the (presumably) individualist culture of White mainstream United States. Kanagawa, Cross, and Markus (2001) report greater reference to family roles among Caucasian American than among Japanese respondents, although their sample consisted of women only.

To shed some light on these mixed findings, the equivalence of the notion of familism between ethnocultural groups has been examined. Luna et al. (1999) suggest two ways in which views of family among Mexican Americans and European Americans differ. The first relates to the size of the family structure, or boundaries of who does and does not belong to family. Mexican Americans tend to cast family boundaries wider than do European Americans in order to include more distantly related and fictive kin. Although large family networks among Hispanic groups have been reported, more recent research has found fewer differences between Hispanic and Caucasian American families in the size of family support networks (Delgado, 1997; Heller, Markwardt, Rowitz, & Farber, 1994). Literature examining familism in African American and Hispanic ethnocultural groups also suggests that extended family is more often included within familial orientation than among Caucasian Americans (Johnson & Barer, 1995).

The second potential ethnocultural difference in connotation of familism relates to the notion of proximity (Luna et al., 1999). Mexican Americans tend to place a greater emphasis than do Anglos / European Americans on living close to relatives and

interacting frequently with them. In many cases, because of the geographic dispersion and mobility of European American family members, their orientation toward family can be somewhat different.

Researchers have also investigated the effects of acculturation on familism (Kauh, 1997; Magana, 1999; Yoo & Sung, 1997). While it was proposed that exposure to independent construals would decrease familism, it has been shown that, in the case of Hispanics in particular, individuals retain some degree of familism despite differences in year of immigration, generation, and differential exposure to Anglo values and society (Cortes, 1995; Rhee et al., 1996; Rodriguez & Kosloski, 1998; Rogler, Malgady, & Rodriguez, 1989). This suggests that familism may be a core value that is relatively resistant to exposure to dominant North American society (Naidoo & Davis, 1998). Relative oppression and marginalization in American society may necessitate reliance on family for resources and support (Pabon, 1998).

Gender and familism.

Although relatively little research has examined the relationship between gender and familism, it would appear to be a complex one. Demographic data often point to the high prevalence of female-headed families (www.statcan.ca). For instance, African American families are often female-centred (Farrar, 1997; Gaines, 1994; Schneiderman, 1994; Sudarkasa, 1993). Economic and employment barriers and discriminatory practices have been a major impediment to forming nuclear families among African Americans, so that female networks are generally child-centred and household-focused, while males tend to live on the margins of female-headed households as they participate in street-corner-centred networks (Johnson, 1999). An examination of Hispanic families reveals

that familism may reinforce the gender subordination of women by placing a disproportionate burden on them (Hurtado, 1995). Thus, women's integration in the family generally revolves around instrumental aid in caregiving for children and ill family members.

The effects of the interaction between gender and culture on familism have also been examined. Watkins, Adair, Akande, Cheng, et al. (1998) conducted a fourteen-country study (representing a broad range of individualist and collectivist countries based on Hofstede's (1980) indices), and reported that women from individualist cultures placed greater salience on family values than on broader social relationships than men from individualist cultures. Yet, both female and male respondents from collectivist countries placed greater emphasis on a "family values" than on "social relationships".

It is imperative that future research examine relationality to determine the salience of familism to particular groups. "This emphasizes the need to make finer grained analysis of the collective/interdependent self rather than lumping it into the one category as has been done too often before" (Watkins & Gerong, 1999, p. 120). It is proposed that relationality with family will be positively related to interdependent self-construal.

Romantic Self-Orientation

Love and romance are hypothesized to be universal social experiences, and we assume that people need and are motivated to maintain close relationships in their lives (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Brehm, 1992). Love and romance are vitally important facets of the interpersonal self (Erikson, 1958; Sullivan, 1953), as they play an influential role in a host of human relationships (Baumeister, 1998; Stones, 1991). In line with the focus on interpersonal being as an integral component of self (Baumeister, 1998; Erikson, 1958;

Sullivan, 1953), the specification of a romantic self-orientation would be a provocative ingroup to examine considering that it is an achieved rather than ascribed (i.e., family) relationship. The “psychology of relatedness” (Kagitcibasi, 1994) may incorporate individuals who define their selves in terms of the primacy of romantic relationships (Aron et al., 1991). Gaines, Marelich, et al. (1997) define romanticism as “individuals’ orientation toward the welfare of their romantic relationship” (p. 1473). Romanticism is composed of beliefs such as “love at first sight,” “there is only one true love,” “true love lasts forever,” and “love can overcome any obstacles,” as well as idealization of the partner and the relationship (Sprecher & Metts, 1989, p. 389).

Clearly, the distinction between independent and interdependent self-construal has important implications for the nature of human relationships (Aron et al., 1991; Baldwin, 1992). Individuals with an interdependent self-construal tend to pay more attention to the health of relationships and, therefore, are more likely to notice problems in their relationships than do individuals with an independent self-construal (Cross & Madson, 1997). Romantic relationships appear to be salient and integral to the definition of self in Northwestern European society (Brehm, 1992). For example, the concept of romantic love is rampant in Hollywood movies and fairy tales (e.g., Snow White, Sleeping Beauty). Furthermore, men have been found to be more romantic in orientation than women (Sprecher & Metts, 1989), and thus to define the self in terms of their link to a romantic partner. Salience of the relationship may be affected by the inclusion of the romantic partner within one’s sense of self, affecting commitment to the relationship and other relationship dynamics (Aron et al., 1991).

Ethnocultural group and romanticism.

Culture is shown to shape romantic self-orientation (Brehm, 1992; Dion & Dion, 1993; Goodwin & Findlay, 1997; Hatfield & Rapson, 1993; Huang, 1999; Simmons, Wehner, & Kay, 1988; Sprecher et al., 1994; Stones, 1992). Empirical research has come to focus on self-construal to operationalize differences in romantic orientation (Kim & Kitani, 1998). Some analysts suggest that independence is beneficial for love. Sprecher et al. (1994) found Caucasian American (or idiocentric) respondents scored higher on romantic beliefs than did Japanese (or allocentric) respondents. Hendrick and Hendrick (1986) found that Oriental respondents endorsed romantic beliefs significantly less than did White, Black, and Hispanic respondents. The concept of romantic love appears to fit well with a Caucasian cultural orientation, but not with a Chinese cultural orientation, where one is expected to consider not just one's own personal feelings but obligations to others (especially one's parents; Dion & Dion, 2001). In Chinese society, men and women expect less from each other in marriage, and seek closeness in relationships with parents and kin. Simmons et al. (1988) suggest that:

romantic love is more highly valued in less traditional cultures in which nuclear families are the primary source of adult bonds and less valued in cultures in which extended kinship networks are strong and romantic love ties may disrupt arranged or family-approved marriage choices (p. 794).

The result is that both love and romance are downplayed in collectivist societies, with the interests of the partners subordinate to wider family concerns (Goodwin & Findlay, 1997).

Thus, the present study postulates a link between independent self-construal and romanticism. For those of Northwestern European descent, independence may frame views of the person and society. Consequently, a sense of relatedness to others may be volitional and based on personal choice (albeit one that is socially encouraged and rewarded for women). Triandis (1995) has argued that in Northwestern European cultures a self-construal based on relationships with others may be more likely to focus on individual relationships (e.g., with one's romantic partner) than on group memberships or social roles. However, other researchers suggest that individualistic culture may make it difficult for individuals to be loving toward others because of a pervasive focus inward (Dion & Dion, 1993; Sprecher et al., 1994), and that collectivist culture may emphasize romantic relationship harmony (Kim & Kitani, 1998). Thus, at the societal level, individualism is associated with valuing love as a basis for marriage and personal fulfillment through emotional intimacy in marriage. However, at the psychological level, an independent self-construal (with a focus on valuing personal autonomy and self-reliance) may impede romanticism. For example, Ting-Toomey (1991) found that Caucasian U. S. respondents reported more "relational ambivalence" (i.e., uncertainty about continuing the relationship, feeling pressured or trapped) than Japanese respondents, which may reflect concerns about maintaining personal freedom among respondents with an independent self-construal. Furthermore, at the societal level collectivism is associated with valuing interdependence, but at the psychological level an interdependent self-construal may be less likely to be centred on a relationship with a romantic partner, but may be more likely to be centred on broader family relationships (Dion & Dion, 2001).

Gender and romanticism.

Research concerning gender differences in self has shown that for men, being independent, autonomous, and superior to others is expected, whereas for women sensitivity, nurturance, and interdependence are more often expected (Cross & Madson, 1997; Josephs et al., 1992). Because the mode of self-construal for women is generally interdependent (Kimmelmeier & Oyserman, 2001; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Markus & Oyserman, 1989), women's sense of self generally involves the context of relationships (Coleman & Ganong, 1985; Dion & Dion, 1993). Despite a prevailing cultural belief that women are more romantic than men, this notion has received only limited support from social research (Brehm, 1992; Clark & Reis, 1988; Coleman & Ganong, 1985; Dion & Dion, 2001). Conflicting findings are abundant, with some studies finding that men are more romantic (Dion & Dion, 1985; Sprecher & Metts, 1989), some finding that women are more romantic (Stones, 1989), some finding that gender interacts with ethnocultural background (Simmons et al., 1988), and some finding no gender differences in romanticism (Coleman & Ganong, 1985; Sprecher et al., 1994).

Indeed, men and women have different ways of conceptualizing their romantic relationships, as shown by gender differences in love styles (Hendrick, Hendrick, Foote, & Slapion-Foote, 1984). For example, compared to women, men score higher in both passionate (eros) and game-playing (ludus) love (Hendrick & Hendrick, 1995; Parra et al., 1998). Women score higher than men in friendship (storge), logical (pragma), and possessive (mania) love. Men have generally been found to be more romantic in orientation, to be more easily attracted to the other sex, to be more apt to show interest at the initial encounter, more likely to report recognizing love earlier, and to be less realistic

and more idealistic in their orientation to romanticism than women (Brehm, 1992; Coleman & Ganong, 1985). As further examples, women are more likely than men to initiate a break-up or divorce (Kitson, 1992), men report that the break-up of a romantic relationship is more traumatic than do women (Rubin, Peplau, & Hill, 1981), and men remarry more often after divorce than women (Ihinger-Tallman & Pasley, 1987). A functionalist perspective would explain this gender difference by pointing to a man's greater economic freedom to select a mate on the basis of love alone, and by implication to view his relationships in idealistic terms (Cross & Madson, 1997; Dion & Dion, 2001; Sprecher & Metts, 1989). However, the feminine gender role has been found to be more highly related to romantic attitudes than has the masculine gender role (Sprecher & Metts, 1989). Clearly, the relationship between gender and romanticism is not a direct one.

People need close relationships in their lives (Baldwin, 1992). One way to meet this need is through romantic relationships. Individuals with an independent self-construal may be less likely to develop as many or as satisfying close relationships, thus they may put more of their relational "eggs" into the romantic partner "basket" (Cross & Madson, 1997). The person with an interdependent self-construal, however, may also meet these relationship needs in part through close relationships with family or friends. In conclusion, it is proposed that individuals who are high in independent self-construal will be higher in romanticism (Aron et al., 1991).

Rationale for the Present Study

Because of the mixed findings surrounding the relations among self, gender, and ethnocultural group, the independent and interdependent nature of self-construal across gender and ethnocultural background will be revisited. The multicultural setting in

Canada provides a fascinating opportunity to examine self-construal. Only one published study has examined self-construal in a Canadian sample (Sato & Cameron, 1999), but this study failed to compare ethnocultural differences within the country. Canada has a multicultural policy which supports ethnic diversity (Berry, 1999; Esses & Gardner, 1996), and therefore it will be intriguing to examine self-construal within this environment. Because of the increasing ethnocultural diversity in Canada, there are now many ethnic groups with different cultural and religious backgrounds and practices who must co-exist in this country. Data from the 1996 Canadian Census show that almost one-fifth (17.4%) of the Canadian population are from groups other than the founding British and French groups, and almost one-quarter (23.7%) of the Windsor, Ontario population are from other ethnocultural groups (www.statcan.ca). These diverse ethnic groups are not expected to assimilate to one set of 'Canadian' practices but these groups are encouraged to maintain their unique ethnocultural backgrounds while sharing the Canadian experience (Berry, 1999; Multiculturalism & Citizenship Canada, 1991). In addition, over the next 20 years the representation of visible minorities in Canada is expected to continue to rise, so that by the year 2016 it is estimated that visible minorities will likely comprise close to 20% of the adult population and 25% of children (Statistics Canada, 1995), making the current study even more timely. The Canadian context enables a unique examination of independent and interdependent self-construal between a wide range of diverse ethnocultural backgrounds in women and men, while holding the country of residence constant.

In addition, the relational dimension of self will be explored. Relationality is theorized to be a basic human need or motivation (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Deci &

Ryan, 1985; Epstein, 1990; Kwan et al., 1997; Maslow, 1954; Sheldon et al., 2001).

Virtually everyone includes specific others (e.g., mother or romantic partner) in their self-representations, but some people include others more extensively and habitually. Self-in-relation has significant implications for a wide range of phenomena that reach beyond the particular self-defining relationship (Cross & Madson, 1997). Furthermore, inclusion of specific others in one's sense of self may have different implications for individuals with divergent self-construals (Rhee et al., 1996). Measures of familism (orientation toward one's extended kin), and romanticism (orientation toward romantic dyad), will be assessed in addition to independent and interdependent self-construal. The rationale for both the familist and romantic self-orientations are provided below.

Although Triandis and colleagues have argued for a homogeneous collectivism construct⁶ incorporating various ingroups (e.g., the organization man, the patriot; see Deaux, 1996; Triandis, 1988), familism has been investigated and shown to be a separate self-orientation (Gaines, Marelich, et al., 1997; Realo & Allik, 1999). When individuals were not constrained to score as both community oriented and family oriented, resulting scores on collectivism and familism were only modestly (albeit positively) correlated. Distinctions are found in the literature between Asian American, South Asian, and Hispanic familial self-orientation and European American individualist self-orientation (Burlew et al., 1992; Gaines, Buriel et al., 1997; O'Brien & Fujita, 1991; Ramirez, 1983;

⁶ Within the model proposed by Triandis, collectivism is a broad-brush construct that refers to a plethora of interpersonal orientations. As Triandis (1988) states when delineating the parameters of collectivism: "some cultures have very narrow ingroups – e.g., the nuclear family. Other cultures have very wide ingroups – e.g., Asians. Among the persons who are likely to be included in some definitions of ingroups are parents, siblings, spouses, children, other relatives, friends, co-workers, neighbours, members of particular political, scientific, or religious group, fellow nationals, and so on" (p. 75).

Roland, 1988; Youn et al., 1999). It is proposed that specification of the familial ingroup could elucidate relationality in self-construal (Rhee et al., 1996). Familial self-orientation is postulated to be associated with interdependent self-construal.

Although the literature has alluded to romantic self-orientation (Dion & Dion, 1993; Gaines, Marelich, et al., 1997), it has yet to be empirically investigated. In terms of culture, Caucasian cultures generally place greater emphasis on romantic conceptions of love, whereas Asian cultures generally place greater emphasis on kin relations over and above those of a romantic relationship (Dion & Dion, 2001; Espiritu, 1997; Goodwin & Findlay, 1997; Huang, 1999). For instance, the lack of social approval for romantic love in some non-Caucasian cultures helps to maintain the strength of ties to family and kinship networks (Dion & Dion, 1993). In terms of gender, research generally shows that Caucasian men are more romantic than non-Caucasian men and both Caucasian and non-Caucasian women (although there are mixed findings as outlined above; Coleman & Ganong, 1985; Dion & Dion, 2001; Hendrick & Hendrick, 1986, 1993; Hendrick et al., 1984; Risavy, 1996), and that those with an independent self-construal may be more reliant on ties with an romantic partner (Cross & Madson, 1997). Therefore, it is proposed that the specification of the romantic self-orientation will further our understanding of the relationship between relationality and self.

In short, this study seeks to determine whether (1) differences in self-construal vary as a function of gender and ethnocultural group, and (2) whether relationality (conceived as familism and romanticism) varies as a function of self-construal. This is vital because, in our diverse society, how we conceptualize the self has broad implications for how we perceive and act in the world (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Smith

& Bond, 1999). This study has important implications for both acculturation and intercultural interactions that are increasingly a part of today's global environment.

Hypotheses.

The present study advances the following hypotheses:

1a. European Canadian males will have significantly higher independent selves than non-European Canadian males and females and European Canadian females.

1b. Non-European Canadian females will score significantly higher on interdependent self-construal than non-European Canadian males and European Canadian males and females.

2a. Individuals with higher independent self-construals will have significantly higher romantic self-orientation than individuals with lower independent self-construals

2b. Individuals with higher interdependent self-construals will have significantly lower romantic self-orientation than individuals with lower interdependent self-construals.

3a. Individuals who are higher in interdependent self-construal will have significantly higher familial orientation than individuals who are lower in interdependent self-construal.

3b. Individuals who are higher in independent self-construal will have significantly lower familial orientation than individuals with lower independent self-construal.

Method

Participants

Three hundred and twenty-four undergraduate psychology students (115 men and 209 women) were recruited to participate (mean age = 22 years, range = 18 to 55 years, SD = 4.3 years) in this study. These students were recruited from the University of Windsor, a Southern Ontario post-secondary institution with a high multi-ethnic population (<http://www.statcan.ca/start.html>).

Ethnocultural group was coded based on self-identified ethnicity (see Appendix A, item 4). Most respondents reported that they were Caucasian or White. Any identification with a non-White, non-Northern or Western European country was coded as non-European Canadian (based on Hofstede's (1980) classification). Two hundred and fourteen students were of European-Canadian ethnocultural background, while 103 students were of non-European-Canadian ethnocultural background. More specifically, 55.2% of respondents identified themselves as White, 12.0% identified themselves as Northern or Western European, 4.4% identified themselves as Southern or Eastern European, 7.3% identified themselves as Black, 6.9% identified themselves as Asian, and 13.9% identified themselves as another ethnocultural group such as Ethiopian, Hispanic, Iranian, or bi-racial (see Table 2). Another variable was also created to reflect not self-identified ethnocultural background, but the ethnic background and country of birth of the participant's biological mother and father (see Appendix A, items 5-8). Any responses other than White/Caucasian/North-Western European were coded as non-European Canadian. Based on this coding of ethnocultural background, there were 192 (61.1%) participants of European Canadian ethnocultural background, and 122 (38.9%) of non-

Table 2

Gender and Self-Identified Ethnocultural Composition of Sample, N=317

Ethnocultural Group	Female	Male	Total
<u>European-Canadian</u>	130	84	214
Caucasian	103	72	
North Western European	26	12	
<u>Non-European Canadian</u>	75	28	103
Black	18	5	
Asian	14	8	
South Eastern European	9	5	
Other*	34	10	
Missing	1	0	
Total	205	112	317

***Other self-identified ethnocultural backgrounds included Ethiopian, Hispanic, Iranian, First Nation, South Asian, or bi-racial.**

European Canadian ethnocultural background. Fifty-three participants were not born in Canada. These participants had lived in their country of birth between six months and 38 years prior to coming to Canada.

Eighty-nine percent of the participants had never been married; 3% were married; 4% were living with their partner; 1% were divorced; 1% were widowed; and 2% were engaged to be married. Forty-eight percent of the participants had been in love once, 27% had never been in love, and 19% had been in love twice. Fifty-nine percent and 65% of participants said that religious background or family (respectively) would not influence their choice of a life partner. When asked on a scale of one to five whether they were sure they were going to marry for love, the mean response was 4.48; this suggests that love was a strong basis for marriage for the majority of participants. When asked in open-ended format about what love means to them, what characteristics are important in a life partner, and how they would know that they had found their life partner (see Appendix A, items 12-14), virtually all responses corresponded to typical Hollywood notions of romantic love (e.g., idealization of one's partner and relationship, importance of trust, openness, honesty, and mutual giving, the feeling that you "just know" when you have found the right life partner).

Measures

The assessment battery consisted of scales measuring self, ethnocultural group, gender, independent and interdependent self-construal, romanticism, and familism. Social and demographic information comprised gender (male, female), age, marital status, and ethnocultural group (European Canadian, and non-European Canadian). Several open-

ended items were incorporated to assess whether participants were approaching the romanticism items with a similar cultural view (see Appendix A).

A multi-method approach to self was used to triangulate findings. Likert-type rating scales of self-construals, and a free-response self questionnaire was administered to 324 study participants of various demographic and social characteristics. Triandis et al. (1990) called for a broadening of methods in the area, advocating the exploration of both “hard” and “soft” approaches to self-orientation (i.e., rejecting both the extremes of positivism and constructivism but incorporating elements of both). A multi-method approach was highly desirable in the present research for two reasons (Kazdin, 1998). The concept of self is complex and multifaceted; thus, using more than one method to capture the construct would increase the likelihood of assessing the intended constructs. Furthermore, multiple measures are needed to ensure that the results are not restricted to the construct as assessed by a particular method and measure.

The following measures were incorporated in the assessment battery. To assess self-construal, the Self-Construal Scale (SCS) was administered to distinguish between independent and interdependent self-construals (see Appendix B; Singelis, 1994). This scale was chosen because it does not measure dimensions of self as bipolar, but as orthogonal (Singelis, 1994; Smith & Bond, 1999). Familial self-orientation (see Appendix C; Gaines, Marelich, et al., 1997), and romantic self-orientation (see Appendix D; Sprecher & Metts, 1989) were used to measure relationality. Finally, an open-ended tool was also used to measure self (see Appendix E; Kuhn & McPartland, 1954). Besides their applicability to the research questions at hand, these measures conform with Triandis' (1995) and Markus and Kitayama's (1991) theorizing in the area, and have

demonstrated psychometric integrity. Conceptually, these measures were chosen because they most closely measure the constructs described, although the items may not exactly reflect the intended constructs. These scales are described in detail below.

Independent and interdependent self-construal.

Self-construal was assessed by the 24-item SCS developed by Singelis (1994). Responses were made on a seven-point Likert-scale from disagree strongly (1) to agree strongly (7). This scale was designed to measure the constellation of thoughts, feelings, and actions that comprise independent and interdependent self-construals as separate dimensions. The independent subscale contains 12 items that tap the defining features of the construct (e.g., “My personal identity independent of others is very important to me”). The interdependent subscale also contains 12 items (e.g., “It is important to me to respect decisions made by the group”). The SCS has been shown to possess adequate internal reliability, as well as construct validity and predictive validity. Factor loadings from .42 to .63 for the independent items, and factor loadings from .35 to .58 for interdependent items are reported (Singelis, 1994). Alpha coefficients of .70 and .74 for the independent and interdependent subscales respectively have been reported in an American study (Singelis, 1994). The alpha coefficient in the present study was $\alpha = .76$ and .75 for the independent and interdependent subscales respectively. Construct validity is supported by findings of significantly higher interdependence among Asian Americans than Caucasian Americans, and significantly higher independence among Caucasian Americans than Asian Americans (Singelis, 1994). These findings have been replicated in several studies (Kwan et al., 1997; Singelis et al., 1999; Singelis & Sharkey, 1995). All items were

randomly ordered as a single scale. The items on each scale were averaged to give participants an independent and interdependent score, with higher scores indicating a stronger self-construal in that domain.

Familism.

This self-orientation was assessed by a 10-item scale developed by Gaines, Marelich, et al. (1997) on a five-point Likert-scale from disagree strongly (1) to agree strongly (5). The average reliability coefficient across several samples was .88. The alpha coefficient in the present study was $\alpha = .91$. A series of multiple-group confirmatory factor analyses were employed to assess the internal and external validities of the scale (Gaines, Marelich, et al., 1997). They concluded that the internal validity and internal consistency of the familism scale were acceptable. All factor loadings were positive and exceeded .40. The ten items for each scale were summed and divided by ten to yield an average score. Higher scores reflect greater self-orientation in terms of relations with family.

Romanticism.

This self-orientation was measured by the 15-item Romantic Beliefs Scale (Sprecher & Metts, 1989) on a 7-point Likert scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7). The four factors extracted from the factor analysis solution consisted of (a) love finds a way (i.e., true love can overcome any obstacle), (b) one and only (i.e., there is only one person we can truly love), (c) idealization (i.e., our true love will be perfect), and (d) love at first sight (i.e., true love can strike without prior interaction). The correlations between the items and the scale mean were all significant ($p < 0.001$); and

the average item factor correlation was 0.74. Cronbach's alpha coefficient of internal consistency was 0.81 for the total scale (Sprecher & Metts, 1989). The 3-week retest reliability coefficient was 0.75. The reliability coefficient in the present study was $\alpha = 0.83$. In terms of validity (Sprecher & Metts, 1989), the criterion validity of the scale was supported through a significant and positive correlation with Spaulding's (1970) Romantic Love Complex Scale ($r = .62, p < .001$). The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964) was not significantly correlated with the Romantic Beliefs Scale. In addition, the total score on the Romantic Beliefs Scale and the four subscales were not correlated with measures of constructs presumably less likely to be related to romanticism (e.g., companionate love, and Storge, Mania, and Pragma love styles). The 15 items were summed to yield a total score then divided by the number of items, with higher scores indicating greater romanticism.

The Twenty Statements Test (TST).

The TST (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954; McPartland, 1965) is an instrument designed to acquire data on self-identification, whereby the respondent makes twenty statements to answer the question "Who Am I?" This instrument allows researchers to observe individuals' own self-conceptualization (in a free-response format) of their social relationships, role identities, and psychological qualities. The TST is considered a valuable tool for understanding how individuals think about themselves in their own words, and how this might vary according to variables such as gender and ethnocultural group (Baumeister, 1998; Bochner, 1994; Dhawan et al., 1995; Triandis, 1989; Verkuyten, 1989).

The coding scheme used in the present study assessed self-orientation based on the work of Watkins, Adair, Akande, Gerong, et al. (1998). Four coding groups were employed: idiocentric, large group, small group, and allocentric. Idiocentric responses comprised statements about personal qualities, attitudes, beliefs, states, and traits that do not relate to other people (e.g., “I am happy”). Large group responses comprised statements about membership where many people were involved, demographic characteristics, and large groups with which people share a common fate (e.g., “I am a student”). Small group responses were composed of statements as above but regarding a small group, such as family (e.g., “I am a husband”). Finally, allocentric responses comprised statements about interdependence, friendship, responsiveness to others, sensitivity to how others perceive the individual, and concern with the viewpoint of other people (e.g., “I am a sociable person”). These four ingroup self-orientations served as an adjunct to the operationalization of self-orientation by the Likert measures: idiocentric responses mirror independent self-construal; large group, small group, and allocentric responses mirror interdependent self-construal and allow an exploration of the “psychology of relatedness” (Kagitcibasi, 1994). Responses were scored by summing the number of statements in each category. Because some respondents did not provide twenty responses, the number of statements in each category were divided by the total number of responses provided by the participant to yield a percentage of responses in each category.

Issues have been raised about the psychometric integrity of the TST. Although virtually all users report high inter-rater reliability, other reliability data for this scoring scheme are not available (Watkins, Yau, Dahlin, & Wondimu, 1997). Validity evidence is neither abundant nor especially strong (Spitzer, Couch, & Stratton, 1973). Criterion

validity tests have generally supported the TST through correlations with other personality tests, and through contrasting the test responses of various known groups. Spitzer et al. (1973) showed higher correlations with indicators of the same concept measured by alternate methods ($r = .47$) than with measures of different theoretically related concepts ($r = .37$). Although the correlations with measures of alienation, self-esteem, and anxiety are not impressive, results show low to moderate values as a general pattern ($-.44 < r < .01$; Spitzer et al., 1973). The TST has been shown to have a fair degree of test-retest reliability (correlation coefficients for various coding schemes range from .38 to .85, based on test-retest intervals ranging from two weeks to three months; Kuhn & McPartland, 1954; Spitzer et al., 1973), content validity (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954), and does compare favourably with other self instruments in terms of concurrent validity (Spitzer et al., 1973). The TST did yield rich and informative data in the current study.

Procedure

Following informed consent (see Appendix F), the questionnaire was distributed in a large classroom, to approximately 50 students at a time. This study required an ethnically diverse sample, so recruitment through a participant pool ensured a high rate of ethnically diverse respondents while minimizing self-selection biases and maximizing randomization. Participants were informed that they would be asked about how they felt about themselves, and their attitudes toward some of their relationships and life situations. Participants received a debriefing form (see Appendix G) summarizing the study and expected results upon completion of the survey. Participants received one bonus mark for participation.

Results

Prior to analysis, data were cleaned and screened based on Tabachnick and Fidell (2001). SPSS FREQUENCIES and DESCRIPTIVES procedures were used to examine accuracy of data entry, missing values, and fit between their distributions and the assumptions of multivariate analyses. Missing and out-of-range values were replaced with the mean for that participant. Because self-construal and romanticism scores ranged from one through seven, but familism ranged from one through five, some participants mistakenly responded to the familism items on a seven-point scale. The total familism score for participants who did enter scores of six or seven were divided by seven and multiplied by five to ensure that total scores were equivalent across the sample. This brought the reliability of the scale from $\alpha = .87$ to $\alpha = .91$. All variables met the assumption of homogeneity of variance except for percentage of small group and large group TST responses. Non-parametric tests were examined for these two variables (Games & Howell, 1976). Pairwise linearity was checked using SPSS PLOT. Seven cases were found to be outliers in terms of both gender and ethnocultural group when examining self-construal and percentage of TST responses on boxplots. These seven outliers were removed from the data set.

To test for the possibility of order effects, two forms of the questionnaire battery were created with random presentation of the scales. Equivalency tests (Rogers, Howard, & Vessey, 1993) across gender and ethnocultural group were performed to test for equivalency in independent and interdependent self-construal, romanticism, familism, and percentage of idiocentric, large group, small group, and allocentric TST responses

based on the order of the scales. The differences in these scores based on the order of the scales were so small as to be considered trivial.

A descriptive examination was performed to outline the mean scores, range, and standard deviations among self-construal, and both familism and romanticism by gender and ethnocultural group (see Table 3). This sample scored significantly higher than the mean independent self-construal score, and significantly lower than the mean interdependent self-construal score reported by Singelis and Sharkey (1995)⁷. In the only published Canadian sample (Sato & Cameron, 1999) of 172 male and female undergraduates, scores of independent and interdependent self-construal scores were significantly higher than the present scores⁸. In regard to relationality, this sample scored higher than the mean for familism and romanticism reported by Gaines et al. (1997) and Sprecher and Metts (1989) respectively⁹.

The Twenty Statements Test

All ratings were made by the present author. These judgments were independently checked by a second rater through verification of 10% of the responses. The second rater, a male graduate student, was unaware of all other questionnaire data, and was unaware of all hypotheses. After correcting for chance, this rater agreed with the author 91% of the

⁷ Singelis and Sharkey (1995) reported a mean of 4.68 for independent self-construal ($t(315) = 3.070, p = .002$) and 4.77 for interdependent self-construal ($t(315) = -5.493, p < .001$) in a sample of 503 Euro-American and Asian American university students.

⁸ Mean interdependent self-construal score = 4.63, $SD = 0.74, t(315) = -2.280, p = .023$; Mean independent self-construal score = 4.98, $SD = .076, t(315) = -3.376, p = .001$.

⁹ Gaines et al. (1997) report mean familism scores of 3.37 among Anglos, 3.80 among African Americans, 3.72 among Hispanics, and 3.81 among Asian Americans ($t(314) = 16.428, p < .001$). Sprecher et al. (1994) report a mean romanticism score of 4.26 in an American sample, and 4.03 in a Japanese sample ($t(311) = 5.610, p < .001$).

Table 3

Means, Standard Deviation and Ranges of Self-Construals, Romanticism, and Familism, by Ethnocultural Group and Gender, N = 317

Self Measure	European		Non-European		Total
	Male (n = 91)	Female (n = 122)	Male (n = 24)	Female (n = 75)	
Interdependent Self^a					
M	4.421	4.554	4.653	4.572	4.530
SD	0.762	0.726	1.053	0.775	0.775
Independent Self^a					
M	4.818	4.746	4.820	4.963	4.823
SD	0.836	0.785	1.026	0.822	0.827
Familism^b					
M	3.920	4.119	3.800	4.077	4.026
SD	0.736	0.664	0.927	0.652	0.708
Romanticism^a					
M	4.583	4.426	4.563	4.651	4.536
SD	0.791	0.828	1.018	0.972	0.870

Note. The higher the score is, the greater the sense of self in that domain.

^arange 1-7

^brange 1-5

time (Cohen's kappa; Cohen, 1960). Thus, the coding system succeeded in yielding highly reliable judgments. Virtually all of the disagreements occurred in deciding whether a statement belonged to the idiocentric or allocentric category, as also denoted by Bochner (1994). Disagreements were determined to lie in coding negatively valenced relational statements (e.g., 'I am shy,' 'I am embarrassed easily'). It was agreed to code negative statements that relate to others as allocentric (rather than idiocentric) because these statements do pertain to relationships to others or the lack thereof. Following this procedure, consistent scoring of idiocentric and allocentric categories was re-applied to all TST responses.

The means and standard deviations of percentage responses for the Watkins, Adair, Akande, Gerong et al. (1998) TST coding scheme are presented for each level of gender and ethnocultural group (see Table 4). Participants reported a wide variety of personal and social identifications, with the latter including acquired groups defined by religions, future career prospects, sports teams, friendship groups, and organizations, as well as ascribed groups such as gender, ethnicity, and family groups. Overall, 53% of participants' TST responses were idiocentric, 13% were large group, 9% were small group, and 25% were allocentric.¹⁰

Pearson product-moment correlations were employed to assess the degree of association among the measures of self-orientation: the TST (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954),

¹⁰ Watkins et al. (1997) report 61% idiocentric, 3% large group, 7% small group, and 13% allocentric responses in a sample of 100 Swedish students and 72% idiocentric, 6% large group, 8% small group, and 13% allocentric in a sample of 100 Ethiopian students. Bochner (1994) reports 13% idiocentric responses, and 3% allocentric responses in a Malaysian sample, 19% idiocentric and 4% allocentric responses in an Australian sample, and 17% idiocentric and 6% allocentric responses in a British sample.

Table 4

Means and Standard Deviations of TST Responses by Ethnocultural Group and Gender.N = 317

TST Responses	European		Non-European	
	Male (n=84)	Female (n=130)	Male (n=75)	Female (n=28)
Percent Idiocentric				
M	60.67	51.35	52.16	50.77
SD	17.27	17.39	21.77	17.53
Percent Large group				
M	11.65	10.85	19.60	12.12
SD	11.81	12.68	19.94	12.24
Percent Small group				
M	6.72	9.36	8.77	10.25
SD	7.98	10.04	11.56	11.27
Percent Allocentric				
M	21.02	28.44	19.47	25.53
SD	13.15	12.59	12.20	13.22

and the Likert-type measures of self-construal, and familism and romanticism (see Table 5). The relational constructs were related as expected. Interdependent self-construal was significantly and positively related to allocentric responses. Independent self-construal was significantly and negatively related to allocentric responses. Familism was significantly and positively related to allocentric and small group responses, and negatively related to idiocentric responses. Romanticism was significantly and positively related to more allocentric responses, and negatively related to large group responses. Thus, the relational constructs were significantly related in the expected direction. However, independent self-construal and idiocentric responses from the TST were not significantly correlated. This suggests that the two independent measurement tools are not tapping into the same construct as expected.

Independent and Interdependent Self-Construal

The first two hypotheses (i.e., 1a and b) proposed that there would be differences in independent and interdependent self-construal based on gender and ethnocultural group. Two between-subjects ANOVAs were employed to test for significant differences based on gender and ethnocultural group (independent variables) in both (1) independent and (2) interdependent self-construal (dependent variables). There were no significant differences in either ANOVA in independent or interdependent self-construal based on gender, ethnocultural group, or their interaction (see Table 6). This analysis was re-run using the second coding of ethnocultural background based not on self-identification, but

Table 5

Pearson's Correlations between Percentage TST Responses, and Likert Measures of Self-Constraint, Familism, and Romanticism, N = 314

	Percentage Idiocentric	Percentage Large Group	Percentage Small Group	Percentage Allocentric	Interdependent Self-Constraint	Independent Self-Constraint	Familism	Romanticism
% Idiocentric		-.568***	-.632***	-.259***	-.89	-.017	-.130*	.008
%Large Group			.340***	-.450***	-.019	.063	-.104	-.124*
%Small Group				-.204***	.037	.072	.128*	.031
%Allocentric					.154*	-.131*	.202***	.114*
Interdependent						.225***	.303***	.365***
Independent							.164**	.208***
Familism								.217***
Romanticism								

Note. p values represent two-tailed significance.

*p < .05

**p < .01

***p < .001

Table 6

Two Analyses of Variance for Significant Differences in Independent or Interdependent Self-Construal based on Gender or Ethnocultural Group. N = 316

Source	df	E	
		Independent S-C	Interdependent S-C
Gender	1	0.060	0.072
Ethnocultural Group	1	1.054	1.846
Gender x Ethno	1	0.543	1.670
Error	312	(.685)	(.599)

Note. Values enclosed in parentheses represent mean square errors.

biological parent heritage. Again, there were no ethnocultural differences in self-construal.¹¹ Thus, the two parts of the first hypothesis were disconfirmed.

Because there was a significant positive correlation between independent and interdependent self-construal ($r = .225, p < .001$), the orthogonality of the two subscales was in question. Singelis (1994) states: “a two-factor solution with a varimax rotation was imposed a priori according to the theoretical framework suggested by the empirical work on ‘two selves’” (p. 584). Therefore, principal factors extraction with Varimax rotation was conducted on the 12 independent items and the 12 interdependent items to determine number of factors in the scale with this multi-ethnic Canadian sample, and to determine whether independence and interdependence were orthogonal. Upon examination of the scree plot and the rotated component matrix, three factors were extracted. Appendix H presents the resulting solution, including all factor loadings or .30 or greater. Eight items loaded on each of the three factors. The first factor consisted of eight independent items, namely items 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, and 23 from Appendix B. This factor, with an eigenvalue of 4.007 and explaining 16.7% of the variance in scores, appears to reflect independent self-construal. The second factor consisted of eight interdependent items, namely items 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 from Appendix B. This factor, with an eigenvalue of 2.897 and explaining 12.1% of the variance in scores, appears to reflect interdependent self-construal. The third factor consisted of the following eight items: 1, 2, 4, 6, 13, 14, 19, and 24 from Appendix B. This factor has an

¹¹ ANOVA for ethnocultural background based on biological parent’s country of birth and ethnicity: independent self-construal $F(1,309) = .802, p = .371$; interdependent self-construal $F(1, 309) = .418, p = .418$. The gender by ethnocultural background interaction was not significant either.

eigenvalue of 1.787, and explains 7.4% of the variance in scores. Based on a review of the literature, it is suspected that the third factor encompasses what Hofstede (1998) calls power distance, what Schwartz (1994) calls hierarchy versus egalitarian commitment, or what Fiske (1991, 1992) calls authority ranking. This factor can be described as the extent to which members of a society accept that power in institutions and organizations is distributed unequally. This also is reminiscent of vertical versus horizontal collectivism, or universalism versus particularism (Singelis et al., 1995; Smith & Bond, 1999).

Three new variables were created by summing the items extracted for each factor and dividing by eight for a mean score. Reliability coefficients for each new subscale were as follows: $\alpha = .71$ for the independent factor, $\alpha = .72$ for the interdependent factor, and $\alpha = .68$ for the power/hierarchy factor. These reliabilities are less than ideal (Nunnally, 1978), but are comparable with those of Singelis (1994). Two ANOVAs were employed to determine whether there were gender or ethnocultural differences (independent variables) in independent or interdependent self-construal, or power/hierarchy (dependent variables). The first ANOVA showed significant gender differences for the power/hierarchy factor ($F(1, 310) = 6.006, p = .015$). An examination of mean scores revealed that, on a scale of one through seven (with higher scores reflecting greater endorsement of the construct), females had a mean score of 5.43, and males had a mean score of 5.21, suggesting that women are significantly higher in endorsing power/hierarchy. The magnitude of the effect is $\omega^2 = 0.016$, suggesting that gender explains two percent of the variance in power/hierarchy. If a smaller sample is

used, this effect may not be found. There were no significant differences in ethnocultural background.

As outlined above, the TST counterpart to independent self-construal (namely idiocentric responses) was not related to the Likert measure as expected. Thus, because the self-construal effects commonly reported in the literature were not found in the present sample, differences in self based on gender and ethnocultural group were tested using the TST responses. A MANOVA was employed because the TST coding groups were correlated (see Table 5). A 2 x 2 between-subjects multivariate analysis of variance was performed on the four dependent variables coded on the TST: idiocentric, large group, small group, and allocentric responses. Independent variables were gender (male/female) and ethnocultural group (European/non-European). SPSS MANOVA was used for the analysis. Results of the evaluation of assumptions were satisfactory, except that the small and large group responses did not meet the assumption of homogeneity of variance. There was no significant interaction of gender and ethnocultural group, but gender alone was significant: Wilks' $\Lambda = .896$, $F(4, 308) = 8.92$, $p < .001$. Univariate ANOVAs showed significant gender differences for idiocentric ($F(1, 315) = 16.19$, $p < .001$), small group ($F(1, 315) = 5.36$, $p = .02$), and allocentric ($F(1, 315) = 18.26$, $p < .001$) responses. Because the variance of the small group category was not homogeneous within males and females, a Games-Howell correction was applied, and the effect remained robust. An examination of mean scores reveals that in the present sample, women reported significantly more allocentric and small group responses than men, and men reported significantly more idiocentric responses than women.

Familism and Romanticism

To assess hypotheses 2a, 2b, 3a, and 3b concerning relationality in independent and interdependent self-construals, Pearson product-moment correlations were used to assess the relation among romanticism, familism, independent and interdependent self-construal. It was proposed that individuals with higher independent self-construal would be higher in romantic orientation, and that individuals with higher interdependent self-construal would be higher in familial orientation. Independent and interdependent self-construal were significantly and positively related to both romanticism and familism, refuting and supporting (respectively) the above two hypotheses.

More specifically, romantic self-orientation was expected to be related to higher independent, and lower interdependent self-construals. However, it was found that romanticism was significantly and positively related to both independent and interdependent self-construal ($r_s = .203$ and $.363$ respectively, $p_s < .001$). This provides support for the hypothesized relation between romanticism and independent self-construal (i.e., hypothesis 2a). Familial self-orientation was expected to be significantly related to higher interdependent self-construal, but not independent self-construal. Again, familism was significantly and positively related to both independent ($r = .161$, $p = .004$) and interdependent ($r = .301$, $p < .001$) self-construal. Using Hotelling/Williams test of correlation differences in a single sample (Hotelling, 1931; Williams, 1959), it was found that both romanticism ($z = 2.46$, $p = .0195$) and familism ($z = 2.41$, $p = .0217$) were significantly more strongly associated with interdependent than independent self-construal. Thus only hypothesis 3a (stating that individuals who are higher in interdependent construal will be higher in familial orientation than individuals who are

lower in interdependent construal) was supported. An interdependent self-construal is significantly related to incorporating both family and a romantic partner into one's sense of self.

Post-Hoc Analyses

Because there were no differences in self found based on ethnocultural group, a new variable was created to further break down self-identified ethnocultural group. Responses were coded as Caucasian, Northern or Western European, Southern or Eastern European, Black, Asian, or other. An ANOVA was employed to test for significant differences in the dependent variables of independent and interdependent self-construal, romanticism and familism, based on the independent variable of specific ethnocultural group. A significant difference was found for interdependent self-construal, $F(6, 310) = 2.60, p = .020$. LSD post-hoc analyses revealed that Asian participants (mean = 5.075, SD = .769) scored significantly higher in interdependent self-construal than any other ethnocultural group. No other differences reached statistical significance. These results could be interpreted as supporting the contention that Asian-Canadians are more interdependent in self-construal than Caucasian-Canadians and African-Canadians. However, given that there were only 22 participants who self-identified as Asian, the large number of analyses conducted, and the post-hoc nature of the analysis, extreme caution should be used when interpreting these results.

Because a relation was found between self-construal and relationality (i.e., familism and romanticism), it was next determined how the relational self-orientations relate to the social and demographic variables of gender and ethnocultural group. An ANOVA was employed to test for significant differences in the dependent variables of

familism, and romanticism. Independent variables were gender (male/female) and ethnocultural group (European/non-European). SPSS ANOVA was used for the analysis. Results of the evaluation of assumptions were satisfactory. There were no significant differences in romanticism based on gender, ethnocultural group, or their interaction in this sample ($p > .05$). In terms of familism, there was no significant interaction of gender and ethnocultural group, nor a main effect of ethnocultural group, but there was a main effect of gender: $F(1, 312) = 8.60, p = .004$. An examination of mean familism scores revealed that women (mean = 4.11, SD = .641) have significantly higher scores than men (mean = 3.87, SD = .797) in this domain.

Pearson correlations were employed to determine the relation of age to several of the variables. Age was significantly related to romanticism ($r = .137, p = .016$), where older participants endorsed more romantic ideals. Age was also significantly related to more idiocentric ($r = .132, p = .020$) and fewer small group ($r = -.150, p = .008$) responses to the question "Who am I?" The correlation coefficients are not overly impressive. However, given the restricted age range of the sample, age may be a variable of interest in future studies.

Some literature has shown that resettlement and acculturation may have variable effects on sense of self. Respondents who were not born in Canada indicated the number of years they lived in their country of birth before coming to Canada. Of those 52 respondents, those who had lived more years in their country of birth before coming to Canada offered more small group responses ($r = .412, p = .002$) to the question "Who Am I?". Being born in a country other than Canada was not found to be significantly predictive of self-construal, familism, or romanticism.

Due to mixed findings in the literature regarding gender and romanticism, this association was explored. Gender was not significantly related to the value of love as a basis for marriage, the number of times participants had been in love, or whether religious background or family preference had a bearing on partner choice. This is consistent with the finding of nonsignificance in the ANOVA testing for significant differences in romanticism based on gender or ethnocultural group.

Finally, two stepwise multiple regression analyses were employed to determine which variables significantly predicted familism and romanticism using SPSS REGRESSION. Predictor variables were 12-item independent and interdependent self-construal subscales, ethnocultural group, gender, percentage of idiocentric, small group, large group, and allocentric TST responses, marital status, year of birth, number of times in love, and whether religion or family background affected their decision in choosing a life partner. Tables 7 and 8 display the unstandardized regression coefficients (B), the standardized regression coefficients (β), the squared semipartial correlations (sr_i^2), R^2 , and adjusted R^2 for variables predicting familism and romanticism, respectively. In terms of familism, R for regression was significantly different from zero, $F(5, 306) = 12.588$, $p < .001$, $MSE = .426$. Altogether, 17% (16% adjusted) of the variability in familism was accounted for by five variables, namely independent and interdependent self-construal, percentage of small group and allocentric responses, and endorsement of family influencing life partner decision. In terms of romanticism, R for regression was significantly different from zero, $F(5, 304) = 17.432$, $p < .001$, $MSE = .604$. Altogether, 23% (21% adjusted) of the variability in romanticism was accounted for by five variables,

Table 7

Summary of Stepwise Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Familism

Variable	B	SE B	β	sr^2
Interdependent Self	.203***	.051	.222	.043
% Allocentric	.001***	.003	.217	.043
% Small Group	.001**	.004	.144	.020
Independent Self	.119*	.047	.139	.018
Family influence partner decision	-.172*	.080	-.115	.013
R ²	.173			
Adjusted R ²	.159			
R	.416***			

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 8

Summary of Stepwise Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Romanticism

Variable	B	SE B	β	sr ²
Interdependent self	.411***	.060	.365	.122
Family influence	.400***	.095	.217	.056
Independent self	.144**	.055	.137	.017
Year of Birth	.002*	.010	.109	.012
% Large group	-.006*	.003	-.104	.011
R ²	.226			
Adjusted R ²	.213			
R	.475***			

*p<.05

**p < .01

***p<.001

namely independent and interdependent self-construal, endorsement of family influencing life partner decision, year of birth, and percentage of large group TST responses. None of the sociodemographic variables of gender or ethnocultural group were significant in predicting either familism or romanticism.

Discussion

This study examined the interpersonal aspect of self (Baumeister, 1998) based on ethnocultural background and gender. It is suggested in the literature that the psychological constructs of independent and interdependent self-construal (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Singelis, 1994) can explain differences in self between males and females, and individuals from a European background versus individuals from a non-European background (Cross & Madson, 1991; Triandis, 1995). However, mixed findings abound (Dhawan et al., 1995; Kashima et al., 1995; Watkins et al., 1998; Watkins & Gerong, 1997) and thus alternative explanations for gender and ethnocultural differences in sense of self have been brought forward (Andersen et al., 1997; Aron et al., 1991; Baldwin, 1992; Cross et al., 2000; Kashima et al., 1995). For instance, it has been suggested that some individuals may include others in their sense of self, so that information for close others that is closely linked to information about the self may function much like self-relevant information in cognitive processes (Cross et al., 2000). This relationality was assessed in the current study by measuring the orientation of the self toward family and a romantic partner.

Hypothesis One

The first hypothesis postulated gender and ethnocultural differences in self-construal. In regard to ethnocultural differences in self-construal, neither the SCS nor the TST reliably differentiated between individuals from European versus non-European ethnocultural backgrounds. In regard to gender differences in self-construal, none were found with the SCS Likert measure. However, on the TST, women described their sense of self in reference to small group membership, and with more allocentric responses than

did men, and men provided more idiocentric responses than did women. This finding does corroborate the hypothesis that women hold a more interdependent self-construal than men, and men hold a more independent self-construal than women. There were no significant interactions between gender and ethnocultural background in self-construal. Thus, the two parts of the first hypothesis were not confirmed.

Differences in Self Based on Ethnocultural Background.

Research has generally indicated that respondents from a non-European ethnocultural background are more interdependent in self-construal than respondents from a European ethnocultural background, and that respondents from a European ethnocultural background are more independent in self-construal than respondents from a non-European ethnocultural background (see Markus et al., 1996; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Singelis, 1994; Smith & Bond, 1999). This research did not replicate this finding, neither when ethnocultural background was operationalized as self-identified ethnicity nor as biological heritage. The 22 self-identified Asian-Canadians were significantly higher in interdependent self-construal than all other ethnocultural groups; however, given the post-hoc nature of that analysis, caution must be exercised in interpreting the finding.

There are several possible explanations for the lack of expected findings. First, the similarity between European and non-European Canadians could be due to the fact that participants were all sampled from a population of university students (Takano & Osaka, 1999). Students are reported to be more individualistic than graduates in both the United States and Japan (Matsumoto, Kudoh, & Tekeuchi, 1996). It is postulated that with older age, students become less individualistic as they assume family roles such as parent and

spouse (Cameron & Lalonde, 1994). There are mixed results reported concerning the relationship between age and I-C in Japan (Schwartz, 1994; Smith et al., 1996, Triandis et al., 1988) and a paucity of results concerning the relationship between age and I-C in other cultures (e.g., Realo & Allik, 1999). Therefore, it is contended that the 'student' identity predominates in this sample and reduces the ability to find effects based on ethnocultural background. However, there is insufficient empirical literature to fully support this contention.

Second, it is possible that combining all non-European Canadian ethnocultural groups (such as South Asian, First Nation, Hispanic, Iranian) into one category may have obscured important differences between these groups. Also, the effects of acculturation, or generation status were not discriminated and distinguished (see Cameron & Lalonde, 1994). Cross-cultural studies have shown that these factors can have a variable effect on many outcomes, including sense of self (Cortes, 1995; Yoo & Sung, 1997; Youn et al., 1999).

Third, it is possible that there were no significant ethnocultural differences because respondents were sampled from the same country. There is minimal research examining the self-construal of individuals from different ethnocultural backgrounds within the same country. Examining self-construal across different groups within the same country may enable researchers to reduce the influence of some extraneous variables which come with between-country investigation. Singelis (1994; Singelis & Sharkey, 1995) measured different ethnocultural groups (e.g., African American, Caucasian, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian, Japanese, Korean, Samoan, and bi-racial participants) within the same country and geographic area (i.e., Hawaii), and found that

they still exhibit significant differences in self-construal (as expected). Thus, the lack of significant findings cannot be due to sampling within the same country per se.

However, there is no research known to the current author studying self-construal among different ethnocultural groups within Canada. Because Singelis (1994) found significant differences in self-construal across different ethnocultural groups within the same country and geographic region (i.e., Hawaii), and because this study found no significant differences in self-construal across different ethnocultural groups within the same country and geographic region (i.e., Southwestern Ontario, Canada), this leads to the possibility that Canada's unique multicultural environment could play a role in the lack of significant findings in the current study.

Is the lack of significant difference in self-construal by ethnocultural background a function of the Canadian sample? One published study (Sato & Cameron, 1999), and one unpublished study (A. Uskul, personal communication, December 10, 2000) have examined self-construal (as operationalized by Singelis, 1994) in Canada. They both found significant differences based on ethnocultural background: the former found that White European-Canadian respondents were significantly more interdependent in self-construal than Japanese respondents, and the latter found that Turkish respondents were significantly more interdependent in self-construal than White European-Canadian respondents. These findings are contradictory in that one study found that respondents from a generally individualist country were more interdependent in self-construal than respondents from a generally collectivist country, and the other found the opposite. Furthermore, neither of these studies concur with the current study that found no significant differences.

Both of these Canadian studies (Sato & Cameron, 1999; Uskul, 2000) compared Canadians with respondents from other countries. Therefore, the contradictory findings could be due to the fact that both of the previous Canadian studies compared self-construals across different countries, while the current study examined differences in ethnocultural groups within the same country. This is the first study known by the current author to assess ethnocultural differences in self-construal within this unique multicultural country. Thus, there is no history of findings concerning the effect of co-existing in this integrationist multi-ethnic environment (where members of all ethnic groups in Canada are encouraged to maintain and share their language and cultural heritage with other Canadians) on self-construal.

Therefore, a possible explanation for the lack of significant ethnocultural differences in self-construal could be the multicultural environment in Canada compared to the assimilationist environment in the United States (Wintre, Sugar, Yaffe, & Costin, 2000) where the majority of studies are conducted. In Canada, there is an integrationist environment, where some degree of cultural diversity can be maintained while simultaneously participating in the larger dominant society (Berry, 1999; Esses & Gardner, 1996). In the United States on the other hand, maintenance of one's culture-of-origin is often downplayed, so that independent self-construal will remain the dominant self-orientation. Thus, perhaps respondents living in Canada with non-European ethnocultural backgrounds have well developed independent and interdependent self-construals to negotiate the multicultural environment effectively. For example, in Naidoo and Davis' (1998) study of Canadian South Asian women who were recent immigrants to Southern Ontario, they found that these women adopted two approaches simultaneously.

Specifically, their traditional interdependent values were maintained in the realms of children and home, but they adopted more contemporary independent values relating to education, career, and aspirations. Perhaps European and non-European Canadians develop both independent and interdependent modes of self-construal so that they can function appropriately and successfully when interacting with individuals from their own ethnocultural group, or with individuals from different ethnocultural groups.

It appears from this study that the Canadian environment fosters little to no difference in independent or interdependent self-construal between ethnocultural groups. However, some limitations of this study preclude any firm conclusions regarding self-construal in Canada prior to further study. Based on Matsumoto's (1999) recommendation that all studies of self-construal also test cultural-level factors, future studies should examine individualism-collectivism and self-construal in Canadians' cultures-of-origin so that changes in self-construal based on the Canadian multicultural environment can be isolated. Furthermore, longitudinal studies following individuals prior to resettlement through the process of immigration and acculturation in Canada would allow for a causal examination of the changes in self-construal based on ethnocultural background.

Another alternative explanation for the lack of a main effect of ethnocultural background on self-construal could be conceptual. Cultural and gender differences in self-construal have often been presented as mutually exclusive or dichotomous categories (i.e., male/female; Eastern/Western; independent/interdependent). However, conceptualizations of the self over the past decade have increasingly incorporated the view that culturally-bound cognitions related to the self are multi-faceted (Gergen, 1991;

Greenwald & Pratkanis, 1984; McAdams, 1997, 1999; Trafimow, Triandis, & Goto, 1991). As McAdams (1997) states:

Perspectives from social psychology... tend to agree that the self is more multiple than unitary, and more so today than ever before... There is indeed a great deal of truth in the notion that selves are multiple, fluid, ever changing, and constantly on the move, especially when those selves are constructed and negotiated in modern, or indeed "post-modern," societal contexts (pp. 47-48).

Current society is becoming increasingly complex due to progress in telecommunications, information technology, and globalization. These processes seem to preclude such reductionist representations of self. As Hermans and Kempen (1998) argue:

Globalization involves social processes that are complex and laden with tension.

These processes fall squarely outside the scope of cultural dichotomies, which by their nature are oversimplifying and insensitive to the apparent tensions that are so typical of the relationship between cultural groups (p. 1112).

Thus, measurement of self across ethnocultural groups may be more complex than current assessment tools can be sensitive enough to measure (Rhee et al., 1996). Perhaps because of the multiplicity of identities in this unprecedented globalized world, the salience of different aspects of self is difficult to capture with such reductionist measures and theories.

On a final note, there was one significant difference in self-construal based on ethnocultural background. In a post-hoc analysis with a six-category breakdown of ethnocultural group (i.e., Caucasian, Black, Asian, Northwestern European, Southeastern European, other), it was found that those respondents who self-identified as Asian were

significantly higher in interdependent self-construal than respondents from all other self-identified ethnocultural backgrounds, supporting Singelis' work (1994; 1999).

Matsumoto (1999) argued that Japanese do not hold significantly higher interdependent self-construal than Caucasians, and that Caucasians do hold significantly higher interdependent self-construal than Japanese. However, the present sample did not include respondents who were native to Japan. Furthermore, the Asian ethnocultural group in this study incorporated individuals who self-identified with other Asian countries such as China and Korea. This finding would support the literature stating that individuals from Asian cultures other than Japan are more interdependent in self-construal than individuals from Northwestern European cultures (Kwan et al., 1997; Singelis, 1994; Singelis & Sharkey, 1995; Wang et al., 2000). Caution should be used because of the greater possibility of false-positive results when utilizing post-hoc analyses. Nonetheless, due to the fact that there were only 22 participants who self-identify as Asian in the current study, this finding may represent a robust effect which deserves further research attention.

Differences in Self Based on Gender.

In terms of gender, the self-construal scale (Singelis, 1994) did not reliably differentiate between women and men in independent and interdependent self-construal. The Twenty Statements Test (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954) did yield gender differences in self however. When asked "Who am I?," women responded with significantly more allocentric and small group responses than men, and men responded with significantly more idiocentric responses than women. Therefore, women self-identified in terms of relationship orientation, and in terms of relationships with family or a romantic partner. Men on the other hand, self-identified in terms of autonomy. Thus, the results from the

TST (but not from the self-construal scale) very generally support the literature stating that women are more interdependent in their sense of self than are men (see Cross & Madson, 1997).

Although there were no significant gender differences in the twelve-item independent and interdependent self-construal summary scores (Singelis, 1994), there was a significant gender difference in the eight-item power/hierarchy factor. Results showed that women have a significantly stronger orientation towards power/hierarchy. Miller (1986) would suggest that this difference could be due to women's lower status in society. Non-dominant groups may need to take heed of power dynamics, and the needs of those in power in order to survive.

Subordinates, then, know much more about the dominants than vice-versa. They have to. They become highly attuned to the dominants, able to predict their reactions of pleasure and displeasure.... If a large part of your fate depends on accommodating to and pleasing the dominants, you concentrate on them (Miller, 1986, pp. 10-11).

There were no significant interactions between gender and ethnocultural background, as suggested by Watkins, Adair, Akande, Gerong et al. (1998) who found that females provided fewer idiocentric, but more large group, small group, and allocentric self-descriptions than men only if they were of European descent. The current data show no gender by ethnocultural group interaction: women reported significantly more allocentric and small group responses, and significantly fewer idiocentric responses than men regardless of ethnocultural background.

Hypotheses Two and Three

In terms of relationality, both independent and interdependent self-construal were significantly and positively related to familism and romanticism. Thus, only one of the hypotheses was confirmed in the current study: Individuals who were higher in interdependent self-construal were significantly higher in familial self-orientation. Because romanticism was significantly more related to interdependent than independent self-construal, findings were opposite to what was predicted in terms of romanticism. In regard to gender differences in familism, women were found to endorse familial orientation more often than were men. There were no ethnocultural differences in familism. In regard to romanticism, there were no gender or ethnocultural differences found.

Relationality.

By questioning the assumption of an autonomous bounded self, some recent social psychologists have been examining the self-in-relation-to-other. Here, there is a focus on internalized cognitive representations of significant others in one's sense of self. Although there have been several recent approaches to this phenomenon (Andersen et al., 1997; Aron et al., 1991; Baldwin, 1992; Kashima et al., 1995; Ogilvie & Ashmore, 1991), the current study sought to examine the place of family and romantic partner in one's sense of self.

Familism.

Familism was significantly and positively related to both independent and interdependent self-construal. Based on a review of the literature, familism has yet to be measured in conjunction with self-construal per se, but considering the link between

collectivism and orientation towards the family (Gaines, Marelich, et al., 1997; Realo & Allik, 1999; Triandis, 1995), it was hypothesized that familism would be significantly and positively related to interdependent self-construal. However, a few studies suggest that individuals who are highly oriented to family may be exclusionary toward other social groups (Banfield, 1958; Bengston & Roberts, 1991; Burgess & Locke, 1945; Heller, 1970; Luna et al., 1996). Essentially, both of these postulates were supported because familism was significantly and positively related to both independent and interdependent self-construal. However, familism was significantly more correlated with interdependent than independent self-construal, suggesting that orientation towards family is associated with a connected self rather than an autonomous self.

In terms of ethnocultural differences in familism, none were found in the current study, as also reported by Ip and Bond (1995) and Bond and Cheung (1983). Thus, there were no significant differences in familism scores or small group responses on the TST based on European versus non-European ethnocultural background. There were only three participants who identified as Hispanic and 22 who identified as Asian, and therefore it could not be determined whether these ethnocultural groups in particular were significantly higher in familism as the literature suggests (Dhawan et al., 1995; Gaines, Buriel, et al., 1997; Gaines, Marelich, et al., 1997; Roland, 1988, 1991; Watkins Adair, Akande, Cheng, et al., 1998; Watkins & Gerong, 1997; Youn et al., 1999). The lack of significant ethnocultural differences could be due to the fact that all participants were sampled from Canada.

In terms of gender differences in familism, the current study found women to be significantly higher in familial self-orientation than men, as reported by Mackie (1983)

and Watkins, Adair, Akande, Cheng et al. (1998). Women scored significantly higher on the familism scale, and reported significantly more small group responses on the TST. This suggests that women may be more apt to include family members as a cognitive aspect of self, supporting the theorizing of Markus (1977), and the work of Cross, Bacon, and Morris (2000), and Markus and Oyserman (1989).

Romanticism.

The sociodemographic questionnaire incorporated items assessing orientation toward romantic ideals. These items were used to assess functional equivalence (Luna et al., 1996), or to establish that the construct of romanticism was contextually approached in the same way by participants with different ethnocultural backgrounds. The open-ended responses indicated that all participants had a similar Northwestern-European notion of romantic love (e.g., trust, making you happy, understanding, having a sense of humour, respect, reciprocity, treating one's family well, putting partner ahead of oneself, loyalty, caring, feeling good when around partner). Most participants provided Northwestern-European accounts of love experiences, even if they had never been in love. Approximately 90% of the participants had never been married, approximately half had been in love once in their lives, and almost all of the participants were sure they were going to marry for love.

The current study shows that romanticism was significantly and positively related to both independent and interdependent self-construal, but that it was more highly related to interdependent than independent self-construal. This disconfirmed the study hypothesis that romanticism would be more highly related to an independent self-construal. These results refute the idea that those with an independent self-construal would put all of their

relationality into their relationship with one romantic partner, and support the idea that those individuals who have a sense of self which stresses the connection to others are more likely to be oriented toward a relationship with a romantic partner. However, post-hoc analyses did reveal a significant and positive correlation between romanticism and percentage of idiocentric self-statements as measured by the TST, supporting the hypothesis that individuals with a more autonomous self may include a romantic partner in their sense of self. Here we see divergent findings when self is operationalized via the SCS or TST.

There were no significant differences in romanticism based on ethnocultural group or gender. In regard to the former, the literature generally suggests that individuals from European ethnocultural groups are more romantic in self-orientation than individuals from non-European ethnocultural groups (Hendrick & Hendrick, 1987; Simmons et al., 1988; Sprecher et al., 1994). This finding was not replicated with the current sample. There are several possible explanations for this lack of significant difference. Perhaps the ethnocultural differences in romanticism were not found because, as Dion and Dion (1993) suggest, an independent self-construal may make it difficult for individuals to be loving toward others because of a pervasive focus inward. Or perhaps the non-European Canadian participants have been highly exposed to North American notions of love and romance (as evidenced by the open-ended responses), so that their endorsement of romanticism did not differ from those of European-Canadian participants. The lack of significant findings could also be due to the fact that all participants were sampled from the same country.

In regard to the latter possibility, the literature presents mixed findings in terms of gender: some results support men as more romantic (Sprecher & Metts, 1989), and some results support women as more romantic (Stones, 1989). The current results concur with those reported by Coleman and Ganong (1985) and Sprecher et al. (1994) who found no gender differences in romanticism. Gender was not found to be related to the value of love as a basis of marriage, the number of times participants had been in love, or the value of religious background or family preference in partner choice. The fading of traditional gender roles in contemporary society may be leading to greater similarity in romanticism between males and females. However, the mixed findings in the literature suggest that romanticism is a multi-faceted construct, and the literature provides no clear answers as to gender differences in this construct.

Strengths and Limitations

This study has many strengths, including a large sample size, the use of multiple methods in assessing self, the use of open-ended questions regarding romanticism to ensure equivalence of interpretation of items by all participants, and the use of a participant pool to ensure random selection of participants from European and non-European ethnocultural backgrounds. This is the first study known by the current author to assess self-construal among individuals from different ethnocultural backgrounds within Canada. Canada is in the unique position of having a multicultural policy which promotes the growth and maintenance of all ethnocultural backgrounds. This study of different ethnocultural groups enables control of extraneous variability due to different countries (and geographic regions) of residence, because all participants were recruited from Canada. Furthermore, this work extends the existing literature on the self as linked

to others (particularly significant others; Aron et al., 1991; Markus & Cross, 1990), considering that this area has been subjected to little empirical scrutiny.

However, the current study failed to discriminate between European Canadian and non-European Canadian ethnocultural groups (operationalized as self-identified ethnicity or biological heritage) with Singelis' (1994) self-construal measure or Kuhn and McPartland's (1954) TST. It is unclear whether the lack of replication of previous findings is due to the nature of the Canadian sample or is due to the lack of variation between participants sampled. The lack of observed ethnocultural differences may be characteristic only of this sample of mid-sized-University students in a multi-ethnic environment. Recruiting a sample of non-university students would further allow for more variability in age, and for greater overall generalizability (Sears, 1986). Studies that incorporate a wider age range, and individuals from a variety of educational backgrounds, and from different regions of the country (i.e., ethnically homogeneous versus heterogeneous regions of Canada) may yield results that can be generalized with more confidence.

As another limitation, this study failed to measure culture-level variables. Matsumoto (1999) suggested that a major limitation of Markus and Kitayama's (1991) and Singelis' (1994) work in the area of self-construal is that empirical tests fail to assess all levels of the theory. The basic logic of the theory is that culture influences individual self-construals, and that these in turn influence many aspects of behaviour (i.e, cognition, emotion, and motivation). Future studies would benefit from testing culture-level variables (such as I-C) in a participants' country-of-origin prior to immigration or

resettlement in Canada, and then measuring self-construal and related outcomes across the process of acculturation.

A final limitation of this study pertains to measurement. Self is a complex construct which requires a multitude of lenses and approaches. This study did incorporate two methods of self assessment (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954; Singelis, 1994), however their results did not concur. The strengths and limitations of the two main measures of self are more fully delineated below.

SCS.

There were three psychometric issues with Singelis' (1994) self-construal scale, namely orthogonality, factor structure, and internal reliability. First, there was a question as to the orthogonality or bi-dimensionality of independent and interdependent self-construal. Independent and interdependent self-construal were significantly and positively correlated in this study. In Sato and Cameron's (1999) study with a similar Canadian sample, they found that the interdependent and independent subscales were not correlated, in support of the notion that they are orthogonal variables. For this purpose, a principal components factor analysis with promax rotation was performed on the current data, where it was determined that the eight-item independent and interdependent self-construal factors were indeed orthogonal, replicating Singelis' other research (Kwan et al., 1997; Singelis, 1994; Singelis & Sharkey, 1999; Yamada & Singelis, 1999). However, Singelis' (1994) SCS has been criticized as suggesting an artifactual lack of association between interdependent and independent self-construal. Specifically, the absence of an inverse relation appears to have been achieved by relying on non-overlapping behavioural domains/contexts in assessing independence versus

interdependence. Pointing to this problem, some have questioned whether an individual can be both interdependent and independent within the same domain / context when the concrete behaviours consistent with the two orientations are mutually exclusive in that domain / context.

Second, it appears that there was another construct intertwined in Singelis' (1994) measure. The factor analysis of the 24 items revealed a pattern of three, not two, factors. The constructs of independent and interdependent self-construal did appear in this sample, and were each composed of eight items from their original subscales. In regard to the third factor, four independent self-construal items and four interdependent self-construal items loaded on this factor. The third factor consisted of the following items, in order of highest to lowest factor loading: 'I have respect for the authority figures with whom I interact', 'It is important for me to maintain harmony within my group', 'Speaking up during class is not a problem for me', 'I would offer my seat in a bus to my professor', 'I'd rather say "No" directly than risk being misunderstood', 'I will sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of the group I am in', 'I act in the same way no matter who I am with', and 'I value being in good health above everything'. Based on an examination of these eight items, this factor was interpreted as power/hierarchy. It is unclear whether this factor is a reliable one which will be robust across diverse samples; however this construct (operationalized in different ways) has reliably appeared in several other large cross-cultural studies (Bond, 1988; Hofstede, 1980; Fiske, 1991, 1992; Schwartz, 1994). Moreover, these three factors account for only 36% of the common item variance. Thus, the SCS appears to suffer from a problematic degree of item heterogeneity because clear and simple factor structure is not found.

Third, low (but satisfactory) internal reliability also characterized the SCS. The alpha reliabilities for the independent and interdependent subscales were satisfactory (i.e., $\alpha = 0.75$ for both 12-item subscales), but lower than desired¹². Singelis (1994) reported comparable internal reliabilities (i.e., $0.70 < \alpha < 0.74$), but also stated that they were less than ideal. The reliabilities of the three self-construal summary scores (based on the factor analysis) were also in the same range (i.e., $0.68 < \alpha < 0.72$). A method of improving the reliability of these subscales would be to increase the number of items in the scale (Streiner & Norman, 1995). Using the Spearman-Brown formula, to raise the alpha from 0.75 to 0.85, each subscale would need to be increased by two items.¹³ Thus, future psychometric endeavours should involve devising four to six strong items (i.e., if a two or three-factor structure is chosen), and testing the reliability and validity of the revised scale.

TST

The overall percentage of TST responses in each of the four categories of idiocentric, large group, small group, and allocentric appeared to concur with previous results (Bochner, 1994; Ma & Schoeneman, 1997; Trafimow et al., 1991; Watkins & Regmi, 1996). Watkins, Adair, Akande, Gerong et al. (1998) found over half of the responses from all participants were scored as idiocentric. This finding was replicated in the current sample. However, the respondents in the present study appeared to provide more allocentric responses than those in Watkins, Adair, Akande, Gerong, et al. (1998),

¹² Cronbach's alpha reliability is recommended to be at least 0.80 for clinical use, and 0.70 for research purposes (Nunnally, 1978). Thus, the current reliabilities are adequate for research purposes.

¹³ $k = [R/(1-r)]/[r(1-R)] = [0.85(1-0.75)]/[0.75(1-0.85)] = 1.889$

although this could be a function of the decision to code negatively-valenced relational statements (such as 'I am shy') as allocentric as opposed to idiocentric.

Although Singelis' (1994) self-construal measure failed to discriminate between gender or ethnocultural group, the open-ended TST (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954) yielded no significant ethnocultural differences, but did yield significant gender differences. Women were found to respond with significantly more allocentric and small group responses than men, and men were found to respond with significantly more idiocentric responses than women. These gender differences found replicate those reported in the literature (Cross & Madson, 1997; Gigy, 1980; Mackie, 1983), but the lack of ethnocultural differences found do not replicate those reported in the literature (e.g., Watkins, Adair, Akande, Cheng, et al., 1997; Watkins, Adair, Akande, Gerong, et al., 1997; Wang et al., 2000).

The open-ended nature of the TST precludes traditional psychometric assessment, and therefore the reliability and validity of the current TST results cannot be adequately ascertained. The reliability of the TST has proven to be a rather elusive concept to measure. The multitude of coding schemes created and the lack of psychometric information provided for each make it difficult for researchers to establish TST reliability. Similarly, validity evidence is neither abundant nor especially strong (Byrne, 1996; Spitzer et al., 1973; Wylie, 1989).

TST vs. SCS.

The relationship between these two measures of self was analyzed. The interdependent self-construal subscale was significantly related to the allocentric, small group, and large group TST responses (as would be expected). However, there was no significant correlation between percentage of idiocentric TST responses and independent self-construal (as would be expected). The construct of independence in self was measured on a Likert scale and in open-ended fashion, and the two were thought to be analagous. This suggests that these two measures are tapping into different 'independent' aspects of self.

Conceptually, there has been discussion of different components of the 'independence' construct. For instance, Gaines, Marelich et al. (1998) call for a more detailed specification of individualism, and the development of a measurement tool which could reliably distinguish between sub-types of individualism. This call is also supported by the work of Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk, and Gelfand (1995) who distinguish between horizontal and vertical individualism. These are suggested to be distinct constructs, where vertical individualism includes the conception of an autonomous individual and acceptance of inequality, and horizontal individualism also includes the conception of an autonomous individual but with an emphasis on equality. Ip and Bond (1999) make a similar distinction between hierarchy and equality in individualism with their constructs of particularism and universalism, respectively (see also Parson & Shils, 1951; Smith, Dugan, & Trompenaars, 1996).

Given that the SCS and TST do not appear to be measuring the same construct, the question becomes which test is more valid and reliable in its measurement of our

construct of interest. The qualitative nature of the TST precludes traditional investigation of psychometric integrity, and its validity and reliability cannot adequately be defended at the current time. The psychometric properties of the SCS are more favourable than those of the TST (even given the psychometric limitations outlined above). However, without further confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) one is doubtful regarding the stability of what the SCS scale is indeed measuring. By including some 'marker' items which are reliably shown to measure independent and interdependent aspects of self in the CFA, the validity of the subscales could be better demonstrated.

Clearly, the call for multiple methods in the measurement of self should continue to be heeded. The TST can be a powerful addition to standard psychometric techniques, offering the possibility of quantifiable measurement coupled with rich qualitative responses (Triandis et al., 1990). Administering the TST in addition to other psychological assessment tools (e.g., SCS and others) provides the advantage of allowing researchers to triangulate on respondent characteristics with open-ended and fixed response measures, allowing a richer scope for construct investigation. Possible measurement tools to complement the SCS and TST may include the recent relational-interdependent self-construal Likert-type measure developed by Cross, Bacon, and Morris (2000). Incorporating behavioural measures of these constructs may further triangulate findings. For example, sense of self could be operationalized visually or graphically by means of Venn diagrams (see Aron et al., 1991; Uleman et al., 2000). The Inclusion of Ingroup in the Self (IIS) measure was recently developed by Tropp and Wright (2001) and provides such a measure of relationality. Familism and romanticism could be operationalized in terms of monthly duration of interpersonal contact, or total

number of cognitions in relation to a significant other per day. However, caution must be used considering the cross-cultural nature of much of the work in this area. The functional equivalence of the multiple measures chosen should be well established.

Directions for Future Research

Based on the current results, several psychometric, empirical, and theoretical avenues have become apparent. First, the psychometric properties of both the SCS and TST should be investigated, as outlined above. In regard to the SCS in particular, the questions of orthogonality and factor structure deserve further research attention. Future studies should administer the SCS to diverse samples, and then perform a confirmatory factor analysis to determine whether the independent and interdependent subscales are indeed orthogonal across these samples. Furthermore, to enable researchers to discern whether the SCS is indeed measuring a third factor of power/hierarchy, CFA could be used to analyze responses in a sample of participants of differing ethnocultural backgrounds, and using some 'marker' items with demonstrated validity from previous studies (e.g., Bond, 1987; Fiske, 1991, 1992; Hofstede, 1980; Schwartz, 1994).

Second, theoretical and empirical clarification of interdependent self-construal versus "self-in-relation-to-other" is needed. The two appear as statistically distinct constructs in numerous lines of research. However their definition and difference remains elusive. Future work should also investigate processes by which others become included in the self. This would involve pinpointing specific others who are included in the self as did Aron et al. (1991), and experimentally testing the cognitive antecedents and consequents of self-in-relation.

Third, other in-groups should be investigated as they relate to sense of self. It is probable that specific others who are included in one's sense of self might differ systematically across gender and ethnocultural group. For instance, Triandis (1995) suggested investigating the role of the organization, or nation as part of collectivism, but perhaps these could be conceived as 'others' who are included in the self. Much work has also pointed to spiritualism (Dhawan et al., 1995; James, 1890; Gaines, Marelich et al., 1998; Roland, 1998), which may be conceived as including a representation of one's relationship to the larger world within one's sense of self. Gaines, Marelich, et al. define spiritualism as "orientation towards the welfare of all living entities" (p. 1473). For instance, within many Eastern religions, the individual is only an atom in the universe, and one greatest virtue is to assimilate into the whole and live in harmony with Nature (i.e., strong relation of self to the universe and the laws of Nature). It would also be of interest to examine the inclusion of aspects of nature in the sense of self of First Nation and Inuit peoples, as their spirituality often includes a strong connection to the natural world. Thus, future research should assess who (or what) participants include in their sense of self, and then assess the level of relationality with that significant other.

Finally, questions arise from this research regarding the nature of self-construal among different ethnocultural groups in Canada. Replication in a longitudinal study examining self-construal in recent immigrants to Canada may promote further understanding (i.e., directionality, causality) of the role of self-construal in individuals with differing ethnocultural backgrounds, and across the process of resettlement and acculturation. Participants from several different continents could be pretested on scales such as the TST, SCS, Cross et al.'s (2000) relational-interdependent scale, Tropp and

Wright's (2001) inclusion of ingroup in the self measure, Triandis, McCusker, and Hui (1990) and Yamaguchi's (1994) I-C scales, along with some behavioural measures of self (e.g., Venn diagrams; number of minutes of daily contact with significant other). A control group of participants who will not be moving to Canada, and also third-generation (or higher) European-Canadians who are not moving from Canada could be recruited and tested longitudinally. As a further control, it would be important to recruit participants who are moving to different regions of Canada. For example, some participants could be moving to regions where there is a large population of ethnically similar individuals, some participants could be moving to regions that are ethnically homogeneous, and others could be moving to regions that are ethnically diverse. Then, all participants would be re-tested one month and one year later. This would enable researchers to determine whether there are differences in self-construal among ethnocultural groups in different countries as the literature suggests, and then to follow any changes in self-construals as individuals immigrate and acculturate in Canada. It is postulated that immigrants would score higher on both independent and interdependent self-construal after one year in Canada, so they can effectively negotiate life in this multicultural society.

Implications

The findings of interest from this study concern gender differences in familism and power/hierarchy. These results suggest that women are more related to family, and are more in tune with power dynamics than are men. If indeed women pay more attention to others than themselves (Beach, 1993; Hogan, 1990; Hortenstine Brackley, 2000; Krassen Covan, 2000), this could carry important implications for women's health. Kim, Smith, and Yueguo (1999) have applied the construct of self-construal to health. They

examined the relationship between self-construal and medical decision-making, where patients with an interdependent self-construal preferred joint decision-making in conjunction with family as compared to patients with an independent self-construal.

A further applied health direction of the current research could examine the effect of including others in one's sense of self on self-care (i.e., adhering to treatment regimens, getting adequate sleep, exercise, eating a well-balanced diet; Jaarsma, Abu-Saad, Dracup, & Halfens, 2000; Kaur, Singh, Kumar, & Walia, 1998). This research direction would be timely based on apparent health effects of growing work-family conflict and multiple role strain (Conference Board of Canada, Work-Life Balance Study, 1999; Heart and Stroke Foundation Stress Survey, 2000; Statistics Canada General Social Survey, 1999). It is hypothesized that, in women who do include others in their sense of self, less self-care occurs, resulting in poorer health outcomes. For example, working mothers with young children who include partner and child in their sense of self may be so time-stressed that they neglect their own care because they are caring for others (Beach, 1993; Hogan, 1990; Hortenstine Brackley, 1994; Krassen Covan, 1997). It is also hypothesized that including others in one's sense of self could lead to delays in help-seeking for health symptoms (Dempsey, Dracup, & Moser, 1995), and also hamper self-care adherence following acute heart problems (Miller, 2000), or in managing chronic conditions. Thus, the ways in which self-in-relation can affect adherence to self-care regimens, and health outcome could be examined.

Conclusions

In summary, ethnocultural variability in self was not clearly demonstrated in the present study, contrary to previous findings. Although self-identified Asian-Canadians

scored significantly higher in interdependent self-construal than the other ethnocultural groups, this finding is tenuous considering the post-hoc nature of the analysis. These findings lead to further questions regarding the nature of self-construal in a multicultural nation such as Canada. The current study did support gender differences in the nature of self, confirming that women do appear to be relational or include others in their sense of self. More specifically, women appear to be more oriented toward family, and to be more in tune with power/hierarchy than men. The present study extends previous work on the linkage between self and various significant others.

This research should lead to increased and improved investigation into the ways different self-orientations influence a person's thinking, feeling, and behaving. Future research should examine individually-identified others people incorporate into their sense of self, along with the social cognitive processes involved. This program of research could have profound implications and ramifications for intercultural relations and health adherence, among other social phenomena.

References

- Andersen, S., Reznik, I., & Chen, S. (1997). The self in relation to others: Cognitive and motivational underpinnings. In J.G. Snodgrass & R.L. Thompson (Eds.), The self across psychology: Self-recognition, self-awareness, and the self-concept (pp. 233-275). New York: New York Academy of Sciences.
- Aries, E., Olver, R., Blount, K., Christaldi, K., Fredman, S., & Lee, K. (1998). Race and gender as components of the working self-concept. Journal of Social Psychology, 138, 277-290.
- Arikawa, H., & Templer, D. I. (1998). Comparison of Japanese and American college students on collectivism and social context of decision-making. Psychological Reports, 83, 577-578.
- Aron, A., Aron, E. N., Tudor, M., & Nelson, G. (1991). Close relationships as including other in the self. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 60, 241-253.
- Babbitt, C., & Burbach, H. (1990). A comparison of self-orientation among college students across the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Youth and Society, 21, 472-482.
- Baldwin, M. W. (1992). Relational schemas and the processing of information. Psychological Bulletin, 112, 461-484.
- Banfield, E. (1958). The moral basis of a backward society. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.
- Bargh, J. A., Lombardi, W. J., & Higgins, E. T. (1988). Automaticity of chronically accessible constructs in person x situation effects on person perception: It's just a matter of time. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 55, 599-605.

Barnett, M. C., & Marshall, N. L. (1991). The relationship between women's work and family roles and their subjective well-being and psychological distress. In M. Frankenhaeuser, H. Lundenberg, & M. Chesney (Eds.), Women, work and health: Stress and opportunities (pp. 111-136). New York: Plenum.

Baumeister, R. F. (1998). The self. In D. T. Gilbert, S. T. Fiske, & G. Lindzey (Eds.), The handbook of social psychology (pp. 680-740). Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill.

Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. Psychological Bulletin, *117*, 497-529.

Beach, D. L. (1993). Gerontological caregiving analysis of family experience. Journal of Gerontological Nursing, *19*, 35-41.

Bengston, V. L., & Roberts, R. E. (1991). Intergenerational solidarity in aging families: An example from formal theory construction. Journal of Marriage and the Family, *53*, 856-870.

Berry, J. W. (1980). Acculturation as varieties of adaptation. In A. Padilla (Ed.), Acculturation: Theory, models and some new findings (pp. 9-25). Boulder, CO: Westview.

Berry, J. W. (1995). Psychology of acculturation. In N. R. Goldberger & F B. Veroff (Eds.), The culture and psychology reader (pp. 457-488). New York: New York University Press.

Berry, J. W. (1999). Intercultural relations in plural societies. Canadian Psychology, *40*, 12-21.

Berry, J. W., Kalin, R., & Taylor, D. M. (1977). Multiculturalism and ethnic attitudes in Canada. Ottawa, ON: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.

Berry, J. W., Trimble, J., & Olmedo, E. (1986). Assessment of acculturation. In W. Lonner & J. Berry (Eds.), Field methods in cross-cultural research (pp. 291-324). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Bhatia, S., & Ram, A. (2001). Rethinking 'acculturation' in relation to diasporic cultures and postcolonial identities. Human Development, *44*, 1-18.

Bierbrauer, G., Meyer, H., & Wolfradt, U. (1994). Measurement of normative and evaluative aspects in individualist and collectivistic orientations: The cultural orientation scale. In U. Kim, H. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S.-C. Choi, & G. Yoon (Eds.), Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and applications (pp. 189-199). Newbury, CA: Sage.

Bochner, S. (1994). Cross-cultural differences in the self concept: A test of Hofstede's individualism/collectivism distinction. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, *25*, 273-283.

Bond, M. H. (1988). Finding universal dimensions of individual variation in multicultural studies of values: The Rokeach and Chinese value surveys. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *55*, 137-152.

Bond, M., & Cheung, T. (1983). College students' spontaneous self-concept: The effect of culture among respondents in Hong Kong, Japan, and the United States. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, *14*, 153-171.

Bond, M. H., & Smith, P. B. (1996). Cross-cultural social and organizational psychology. Annual Review of Psychology, *47*, 205-235.

Brehm, S. (1992). Intimate relationships. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Brown, R. (1988). Group processes: Dynamics within and between groups.
Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Brown, R., Hinkle, S., Ely, P. G., Fox-Cardamone, L., Maras, P., & Taylor, L. A. (1992). Recognizing group diversity: Individualist-collectivist and autonomous-relational social orientations and their implications for intergroup processes. British Journal of Social Psychology, 31, 327-342.

Burgess, E., & Locke, H. (1945). The family: From institution to companionship.
New York: American Book Co.

Burlew, A. K., Banks, W. C., McAdoo, H. P., & Azibo, D. A. (Eds.), (1992).
African American psychology: Theory, research, and practice. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Byrne, B. (1996). Measuring self-concept across the life span: Issues and instrumentation. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Cameron, J. E., & Lalonde, R. N. (1994). Self, ethnicity, and social group memberships in two generations of Italian Canadians. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 20, 514-520.

Carter, K. A., & Dinnel, D. L. (1997, April). Conceptualization of self-esteem in collectivistic and individualistic cultures. Paper presented at the Annual Convention of the Western Psychological Association, Seattle, WA.

Chinese Culture Connection (1987). Chinese values and the search for culture-free dimensions of culture. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 18, 143-164.

Chodorow, N. (1978). The reproduction of mothering: Psychoanalysis and the sociology of gender. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Clark, M., & Reis, H. (1988). Interpersonal processes in close relationships. Annual Review of Psychology, *39*, 609-672.
- Cohen, J. (1960). A coefficient of agreement for nominal scales. Education and Psychological Measurement, *10*, 37-46.
- Coleman, M., & Ganong, L. H. (1985). Love and sex role stereotypes: Do macho men and feminine women make better lovers? Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *49*, 170-176.
- Conference Board of Canada. (1999). Work-life balance study.
www.conferenceboard.ca/press/2000/work-life.htm.
- Cooley, D. H. (1902). Human nature and the social order. New York: Scribners.
- Cortes, D. (1995). Variations in familism in two generations of Puerto Ricans. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, *17*, 249-255.
- Cousins, S. (1989). Culture and self-perception in Japan and the United States. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *56*, 124-131.
- Cross, S. E., Bacon, P. L., & Morris, M. L. (2000). The relational-interdependent self-construal and relationships. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *78*, 791-808.
- Cross, S., & Madson, L. (1997). Models of the self: Self-construals and gender. Psychological Bulletin, *122*, 5-37.
- Cross, S., & Markus, H. (1991). Possible selves across the life span. Human Development, *34*, 230-255.
- Crowne, D. P., & Marlowe, D. (1964). The approval motive: Studies in evaluative dependence. New York: Wiley.

Deaux, K. (1993). Reconstructing social identity. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 19, 4-12.

Deaux, K. (1996). Social identification. In E. Higgins & A. Kruglanski (Eds.), Social psychology: Handbook of basic principles (pp. 777-798). New York: Guilford.

Deaux, K., Reid, A., Mizrahi, K., & Ethier, K. (1995). Parameters of social identity. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 68, 280-291.

Deaux, K., Reid, A., Mizrahi, K., & Cotting, D. (1999). Connecting the person to the social: The functions of social identification. In T. R. Taylor, R. M. Kramer, & O. P. John (Eds.), The psychology of the social self (pp. 91-114). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (1985). Intrinsic motivation and self-determination in human behaviour. New York: Plenum.

Delgado, M. (1997). Interpretation of Puerto Rican elder research findings: A community forum of research respondents. Journal of Applied Gerontology, 16, 317-332.

Dempsey, S. J., Dracup, K., & Moser, D. K. (1995). Women's decision to seek care for symptoms of acute myocardial infarction. Heart & Lung, 24, 444-456

Dhawan, N., Roseman, I., Naidu, R., Thapa, K., & Rettek, S. (1995). Self-concepts across two cultures: India and the United States. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 26, 606-621.

Dion, K. K., & Dion, K. L. (1988). Romantic love: Individual and cultural perspectives. In R. J. Sternberg & M. L. Barnes (Eds.), The psychology of love (pp. 264-289). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Dion, K. K., & Dion, K. D. (2001). Gender and relationships. In R. K. Unger (Ed.), Handbook of the Psychology of Women and Gender (pp. 256-271). New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Dion, K. K., & Dion, K. L. (1993). Individualistic and collectivistic perspectives on gender and the cultural context of love and intimacy. Journal of Social Issues, *49*, 53-69.

Dion, K. K., & Dion, K. L. (1985). Personality, gender, and the phenomenology of romantic love. In P. R. Shaver (Ed.), Self, situations, and behavior: Review of Personality and Social Psychology (Vol. 6, pp. 209-239). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Dinnel, D., & Kleinknecht, R. A. (1999, April). A cross-cultural comparison of social anxiety symptoms. Paper presented at the Annual Convention of the Western Psychological Association, Irvine, CA.

Duck, S. (1994). Meaningful relationships: Talking, sense, and relating. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Eagly, A. H. (1987). Sex differences in social behavior: A social-role interpretation. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Endo, Y., Heine, S., & Lehman, D. (1998). Relationship-serving biases: Positive ways of thinking across eastern and western cultures. Paper presented at the Annual Convention of the American Psychological Society, Washington, DC, May.

Epstein, S. (1990). Cognitive-experiential self-theory. In L. A. Pervin (Ed.), Handbook of personality: Theory and research (pp. 165-192). New York: Guilford.

Erikson, E. H. (1968). Identity: youth and crisis. London: Faber and Faber.

Esses, V. M., & Gardner, R. C. (1996). Multiculturalism in Canada: Context and current status. Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science, *28*, 145-152.

Esses, V. M., Haddock, G., & Zanna, M. P. (1993). Values, stereotypes, and emotions as determinants of intergroup attitudes. In D. M. Mackie & D. L. Hamilton (Eds.), Affect, cognition, and stereotyping: Interactive processes in group perception, New York: Academic.

Espiritu, Y. L. (1997). Asian American women and men: Labor, laws, and love. Thousands Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ethier, K., & Deaux, K. (1990). Hispanics in Ivy: Assessing identity and perceived threat. Sex Roles, *22*, 427-440.

Farrar, T. (1997). The queenmother, matriarchy, and the question of female political authority in precolonial West African monarchy. Journal of Black Studies, *27*, 579-597.

Fiske, A. P. (1992). The four elementary forms of sociality: Framework for a unified theory of sociality. Psychological Review, *99*, 689-723.

Fiske, A. P. (1991). Structures of social life: The four elementary forms of human relations. New York: Free Press.

Fivush, R. (1992). Gender differences in parent – child conversations about past emotions. Sex Roles, *27*, 683-698.

Fragar, R. (1970). Conformity and anticonformity in Japan. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *15*, 203-210.

Gaines, S. O. (1994). Generic, stereotypic, and collectivistic models of interpersonal resource exchange among African American couples. Journal of Black Psychology, *20*, 294-304.

Gaines, S. O., Buriel, R., Liu, J. H., & Rios, D. I. (1997). Culture, ethnicity, and personal relationship processes. New York: Routledge.

Gaines, S. O., Marelich, W. D., Bledsoe, K. L., Steers, W. N., Henderson, K. L., Barajas, L., Hicks, D., Lyde, M., Takahashi, Y., Yum, N., Rios, D. L., Garcia, B. F., Farris, K. R., & Page, M. S. (1997). Links between race/ethnicity and cultural values as mediated by racial/ethnic identity and moderated by gender. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *72*, 1460-1476.

Games, P.A., & Howell, J.F. (1976). Pairwise multiple comparison procedures with unequal n's and /or variances: A Monte Carlo study. Journal of Educational Statistics, *1*, 113-125.

Gergen, K. J. (1991). The saturated self: Dilemmas of identity in contemporary life. US: Basic Books.

Gigy, L. (1980). Self-concept of single women. Psychology of Women Quarterly, *5*, 321-340.

Gilligan, C. (1982). In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's development. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Goodnow, J. J. (1988). Children's household work: Its nature and functions. Psychological Bulletin, *103*, 5-26.

Goodwin, R., & Findlay, C. (1997). "We were just fated together..." Chinese love and the concept of *yuan* in England and Hong Kong. Personal Relationships, *4*, 85-92.

Greenwald, A. G., & Pratkanis, A. R. (1984). The self. In R. S. Wyer & T. K. Srull (Eds.), Handbook of social cognition, (vol.3, pp. 129-178). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Grzywacz, J. G., & Marks, N. F. (1999). Family solidarity and health behaviors. Journal of Family Issues, *20*, 243-268.

Gudykunst, W. B., Matsumoto, Y., Ting-Toomey, S., & Nishida, T. (1996). The influence of cultural individualism-collectivism, self-construals, and individual values on communication styles across cultures. Human Communication Research, *22*, 510-543.

Gudykunst, W. B., Matsumoto, Y., Ting-Toomey, S., Nishida, T., & Karimi, H. (1994). Measuring self-construals across cultures: A derived-etic analysis. Paper presented at the International Communication Association, Sydney, Australia.

Hallett, M. B., & Gilbert, L. A. (1997). Variables differentiating university women considering role-sharing and conventional dual-career marriages. Journal of Vocational Behavior, *50*, 308-322.

Harootyan, R. A., & Bengston, V. L. (1994). Intergenerational linkages: The context of the study. In V. L. Bengston & R. A. Harootyan (Eds.), Intergenerational linkages: Hidden connections in American Society, (pp. 1-18). New York: Springer.

Harter, S. (1996). Historical roots of contemporary issues involving self-concept. In B. E. Bracken (Ed.), Handbook of self-concept: Developmental, social, and clinical considerations (pp. 1-37). New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Hatfield, E., & Rapson, R. L. (1993). Historical and cross-cultural perspectives on passionate love and sexual desire. Annual Review of Sex Research, *4*, 67- 97.

Heart and Stroke Foundation (2000). Heart and stroke foundation stress 2000 survey. http://www.hsf.ca/new_release/new_release07_e.htm.

Heller, P. (1970). Familism scale: A measure of family solidarity. Journal of Marriage and the Family, *32*, 73-80.

Heller, T., Markwardt, R., Rowitz, L., & Farber, B. (1994). Adaptation of Hispanic families to a member with mental retardation. American Journal on Mental Retardation, *99*, 289-300.

Hendrick, C., & Hendrick, S. S. (1986). A theory and method of love. Journal of Personality and Social Relationships, *50*, 392-402.

Hendrick, C., & Hendrick, S. S. (1993). Lovers as friends. Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, *10*, 459-466.

Hendrick, C., Hendrick, S. S., Foote, F. H., & Slapion-Foote, M. J. (1984). Do men and women love differently? Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, *1*, 177-195.

Hendrick, S. S., & Hendrick, C. (1995) Gender differences and similarities in sex and love. Personal Relationships, *2*, 55-65.

Hermans, H. J. M., & Kempen, H. J. G. (1998). Moving cultures: The perilous problems of cultural dichotomies in a globalizing society. American Psychologist, *53*, 1111-1120.

Higgins, E. T., King, G. A., & Mavin, G. H. (1982). Individual construct accessibility and subjective impressions on recall. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *43*, 35-47.

Hinkle, S., & Brown, R. (1990). Intergroup comparisons and social identity: Some links and lacunae. In D. Abrams & M. A. Hogg (Eds.), Social identity theory: Constructive and critical advances, (pp. 48-70). New York: Harvester/Wheatsheaf.

Hinkley, K., & Andersen, S. (1996). The working self-concept in transference: Significant-other activation and self change. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 6, 1279-1295.

Hofstede, G. (1994). Foreward. In U. Kim, H. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S.-C. Choi, & G. Yoon (Eds.), Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and applications (pp. ix-xiv). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Hofstede, G. (1980). Culture's consequences: International differences in work-related values. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Hogan, S. (1990). Care for the caregiver: Social policies to ease their burden. Journal of Gerontological Nursing, 16, 12-17.

Hortenstine Brackley, M. (1994). The plight of American family caregivers: Implications for nursing. Perspectives in Psychiatric Care, 30, 14-20.

Hotelling, H. (1931). The generalization of Student's ratio. Annals of Mathematical Statistics, 2, 360-378.

Hoyle, R., Kernis, M., Leary, M., & Baldwin, M. (1999). Selfhood: Identity, esteem, regulation. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Huang, M.-H. (1999). Cross-cultural similarity in the love attitudes scale: Short form. Psychological Reports, 84, 617-624.

Hui, C. H. (1988). Measurement of individualism-collectivism. Journal of Research in Personality, 22, 17-36.

Hurtado, A. (1995). Variations, combinations, and evolutions: Latino families in the United States. In R. E. Zambrana (Ed.), Understanding Latino families: Scholarship, policy, and practice, (pp. 40-84). Thousands Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ihinger-Tallman, M., & Pasley, K. (1987). Remarriage. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Ip, G. W., & Bond, M. H. (1995). Culture, values and the spontaneous self-concept. Asian Journal of Psychology, 1, 29-35.

Jaarsma, T., Abu-Saad, H. H., Dracup, K., & Halfens, R. (2000). Self-care behaviour of patients with heart failure. Scandinavian Journal of Caring Science, 14, 112-119.

James, W. (1890). The principles of psychology. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Johnson, C. L. (1999). Family life of older black men. Journal of Aging Studies, 13, 145-160.

Johnson, C. L., & Barer, B. M. (1995). Childlessness and kinship organization: Comparison of very old Whites and Blacks. Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology, 10, 289-306.

Josephs, R., Markus, H., & Tafarodi, R. (1992). Gender and self-esteem. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 53, 391-402.

Jussim, L., & Ashmore, R. D. (1997). Conclusion: Fundamental issues in the study of self and identity- contrasts, contexts, and conflicts. In R. D. Ashmore & L. Jussim (Eds.), Self and identity: Fundamental issues (pp. 218-230). New York: Oxford University Press.

Kagitcibasi, C. (1994). A critical appraisal of individualism and collectivism: Toward a new formulation. In U. Kim, H. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S.-C. Choi, & G. Yoon (Eds.), Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and applications (pp. 52-65). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kanagawa, C., Cross, S. E., & Markus, H. R. (2001). "Who am I?" The cultural psychology of the conceptual self. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, *27*, 90-103.

Kashima, Y., Yamaguchi, S., Kim, U., Choi, S., Gelfand, M., & Yuki, M. (1995). Culture, gender, and self: A perspective from individualism-collectivism research. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *69*, 925-937.

Kauh, T-O. (1997). Intergenerational relations: Older Korean-Americans' experiences. Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology, *12*, 245-271.

Kaur, K., Singh, M. M., Kumar, & Walia, I. (1998). Knowledge and self-care practices of diabetics in a resettlement colony of Chandigarh. Indian Journal of Medical Sciences, *52*, 341-347.

Kazdin, A. E. (1998). Research design in clinical psychology. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Kemmelmeier, M., & Oyserman, D. (2001). Gendered influence of downward social comparisons on current and possible selves. Journal of Social Issues, *57*, 129-148.

Kihlstrom, J. R., & Cantor, N. (1984). Mental representations of the self. Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, *17*, 1-47.

Kim, M. S., Hunter, J. E., Miyahara, A., Horvath, A. M., Bresnahan, M., & Yoon, H. J. (1996). Individual vs. culture-level dimensions of individualism and collectivism: Effects on preferred conversation styles. Communication Monographs, *63*, 29-49.

Kim, M. S., & Kitani, K. (1998). Conflict management styles of Asian- and Caucasian-Americans in romantic relationships in Hawaii. Journal of Asian Pacific, *8*, 51-68.

Kim, M. S., Smith, D. H., & Yueguo, G. (1999). Medical decision making and Chinese patients' self-construals. Health Communication, *11*, 249-260.

Kim, U., Triandis, H. C., Kagitcibasi, C., Choi, S.-C., & Yoon, G. (1994). Introduction. In U. Kim, H. C. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S.-C. Choi, & G. Yoon (Eds.), Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and applications (pp. 1-16). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kitson, G. C. (1992). Portrait of divorce: Adjustment to marital breakdown. New York: Guilford.

Kleinknecht, R. A., Dinnel, D. L., Kleinknecht, E. E., Hiruma, N., & Harada, N. (1997). Cultural factors in social anxiety: A comparison of social phobia symptoms and taijin kyofusho. Journal of Anxiety Disorders, *11*, 157-177.

Krassen Covan, E. (1997). Cultural priorities and elder care: The impact on women. Health Care for Women International, *18*, 329-342.

Kroeber, A. L., & Kluckhohn, C. (1952). Culture: A critical review of concepts and definitions (Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 47, No. 1). Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum.

Kuhn, M., & McPartland, T. S. (1954). An empirical investigation of self-attitudes. American Sociological Review, *19*, 68-76.

Kwan, V. S. Y., Bond, M. H., & Singelis, T. M. (1997). Pancultural explanations for life satisfaction: Adding relationship harmony to self-esteem. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *73*, 1038-1051.

Lalonde, R., Taylor, D. M., & Moghaddam, F. M. (1992). The process of social identification for visible immigrant women in a multicultural context. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, *23*, 25-39.

Landrine, H. (1992). Clinical implications of cultural differences: The referential versus the indexical self. Clinical Psychology Review, *12*, 401-415.

Leung, K., & Iwawaki, S. (1988). Cultural collectivism and distributive behaviour. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, *19*, 35-49.

Lewin, K. (1948). The background of conflict in marriage. In G. Lewin (Ed.), Resolving social conflicts: Selected papers on group dynamics (pp. 84-102). New York: Harper.

Liebkind, K. (1992). Ethnic identity: Challenging the boundaries of social psychology. In G. M. Breakwell (Ed.), Social psychology of identity and the self concept (pp. 147-186). London: Surrey University Press.

Liebrand, W. B. G. (1984). The effect of social motives, communication and group size on behaviour in an N-person multi-stage mixed-motive game. European Journal of Social Psychology, *14*, 239-264.

Lord, C. G. (1987). Imagining self and others: Reply to Brown, Keenan, and Potts. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *53*, 445-450.

Luna, I., de Ardon, E. T., Lim, Y. M., Cromwell, S. L., Phillips, L. R., & Russell, C. K. (1996). The relevance of familism in cross-cultural studies of family caregiving. Western Journal of Nursing Research, *18*, 267-283.

Ma, V., & Schoeneman, T. (1997). Individualism versus collectivism: A comparison of Kenyan and American self-concepts. Basic and Applied Social Psychology, *19*, 261-273.

Mackie, M. (1980). The impact of sex stereotypes upon adult self imagery. Social Psychology Quarterly, *43*, 121-125.

Mackie, M. (1983). The domestication of self: Gender comparisons of self-imagery and self-esteem. Social Psychology Quarterly, *46*, 343-350.

Magana, S. M. (1999). Puerto Rican families caring for an adult with mental retardation: Role of familism. American Journal on Mental Retardation, *104*, 466-482.

Markus, H. (1977). Self-schemata and processing information about the self. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *35*, 63-78.

Markus, H., & Cross, S. (1990). The interpersonal self. In L.A. Pervin, (Ed.), Handbook of personality: Theory and research (pp. 576-608). New York: Guilford.

Markus, H., & Kitayama, S. (1994). A collective fear of the collective: Implications for selves and theories of selves. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, *20*, 568-579.

Markus, H., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotions, and motivation. Psychological Review, *98*, 224-253.

Markus, H., Kitayama, S., & Heiman, R. (1996). Culture and basic psychological principles. In E. Higgins & A. Kruglanski (Eds.), Social psychology: Handbook of basic principles (pp. 857-914). New York: Guilford.

Markus, H., & Kunda, Z. (1986). Stability and malleability of the self-concept. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *51*, 858-866.

Markus, H., & Nurius, P. (1987). Possible selves: The interface between motivation and the self-concept. In K. Yardley & T. Honess (Eds.), Self and identity: Psychosocial perspectives (pp. 157-172). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Markus, H., & Oyserman, D. (1989). Gender and thought: The role of the self-concept. In M. Crawford & M. Gentry (Eds.), Gender and thought: Psychological perspectives (pp. 100-127). New York: Springer-Verlag.

Markus, H., & Wurf, E. (1987). The dynamic self-concept: A social psychological perspective. Annual Review of Psychology, *38*, 299-337.

Marsh, H. W., & Hattie, J. (1996). Theoretical perspectives on the structure of self-concept. In B. E. Bracken (Ed.), Handbook of self-concept: Developmental, social, and clinical considerations (pp. 38-90). New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Maslow, A. (1954). Motivation and personality. New York: Harper & Row.

Matsumoto, D. (1999). Culture and self: An empirical assessment of Markus and Kitayama's theory of independent and interdependent self-construal. Asian Journal of Social Psychology, *2*, 289-310.

Matsumoto, D., Kudoh, T., & Takeuchi, S. (1996). Changing patterns of individualism and collectivism in the United States and Japan. Culture & Psychology, *2*, 77-107.

Matsumoto, D., Weissman, M. D., Preston, K., Brown, B. R., & Kupperbusch, C. (1997). Context-specific measurement of individualism-collectivism on the individual level: The individualism-collectivism interpersonal assessment inventory. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 28, 743-767.

McAdams, D. P. (1999). Personal narratives and the life story. In L. A. Pervin & O. P. John (Eds.), Handbook of personality: Theory and research (pp. 478-500). New York: Guilford.

McAdams, D. P. (1997). The case for unity in the (post)modern self: A modest proposal. In R. D. Ashmore & L. Jussim (Eds.), Self and Identity: Fundamental issues (pp. 46-78). New York: Oxford University Press.

McGuire, W. J. (1984). Search for the self: Going beyond self-esteem and the reactive self. In R. A. Zucker, J. Aronoff, & A. I. Rabin (Eds.), Personality and the prediction of behavior (pp. 73-120). San Diego, CA: Academic.

McGuire, W. J., & McGuire, C. V. (1981). Significant others in self-space: Sex differences and developmental trends in the social self. In J. Suls (Ed.), Psychological perspectives on the self (Vol. 1, pp. 71-97). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

McLoyd, V. C. (1993). Employment among African-American mothers in dual-earner families: Antecedents and consequences for family life and child development. In J. Frankel (Ed.), The employed mother and the family context (pp. 180-226). New York: Springer.

McPartland, T. S. (1965). Manual for the Twenty Statements Problem (Revised). Kansas City, MO: Department of Research, Greater Kansas City Mental Health Foundation.

- Mead, G. H. (1934). Mind, self, and society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Miller, C. L. (2000). Cue sensitivity in women with cardiac disease. Progress in Cardiovascular Nursing, 15, 82-89.
- Miller, J. B. (1986). Toward a new psychology of women (2nd Ed.). Boston: Beacon Press.
- Minkler, M. (1999). Intergenerational households headed by grandparents: Contexts, realities, and implications for policy. Journal of Aging Studies, 13, 199-218.
- Misra, G., & Giri, R. (1995). Is Indian self predominantly interdependent? Journal of Indian Psychology, 13, 16-29.
- Moore, J. (1971). Situation factors affecting minority aging. The Gerontologist, 11, 88-92.
- Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada (1991). The Canadian Multiculturalism Act: A guide for Canadians. Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada.
- Naidoo, J. C., & Davis, J. C. (1998). Canadian South Asian women in transition: A dualistic view of life. Journal of Comparative Family Studies, 19, 311-327.
- Newman, L., Duff, K., Schnopp-Wyatt, N., Brock, B., & Hoffman, Y. (1997). Reactions to the O. J. Simpson verdict: "Mindless tribalism" or motivated inference processes? Journal of Social Issues, 53, 547-562.
- Nunnally, J. C. (1978). Psychometric theory (2nd Ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- O'Brien, D. J., & Fugita, S. S. (1991). The Japanese American experience. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Ogilvie, D. M., & Ashmore, R. D. (1991). Self-with-other representation as a unit of analysis in self-concept research. In R. C. Curtis (Ed.), The relational self: Theoretical convergences in psychoanalysis and social psychology. (pp. 282-3). New York: Guilford.

Oyserman, D. (1993). The lens of personhood: Viewing the self and others in a multicultural society. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *65*, 993-1009.

Oyserman, D., & Markus, H. (1989). The sociocultural self. In J. Suls (Ed.) Psychological perspectives on the self (Vol. 4, pp. 187-219). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Pabon, E. (1998). Hispanic adolescent delinquency and the family: A discussion of sociocultural influences. Adolescence, *33*, 941-955.

Parson, T., & Shils, E. A. (1951). Towards a general theory of action. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Parra, F., Brown, W. C., Huynh, P. D., Stubbs, E. C., Amerson, K. C., Leon, J. J., Ruch, L. O., & Martinez, C. (1998). Love styles among Guatemalans in a local village. Psychological Reports, *83*, 1199-1202.

Phinney, J. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. Psychological Bulletin, *108*, 499-514.

Ramirez, M. (1983). Psychology of the Americas: Mestizo perspectives on personality and mental health. New York: Pergamon.

Realo, A., & Allik, J. (1999). A cross-cultural study of collectivism: A comparison of American, Estonian, and Russian students. Journal of Social Psychology, *139*, 133-142.

Rhee, E., Uleman, J., & Lee, H. (1996). Variations in collectivism and individualism by ingroup and culture: Confirmatory factor analyses. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *71*, 1037-1054.

Rhee, E., Uleman, J., Lee, H., & Roman, R. (1995). Spontaneous self-descriptions and ethnic identities in individualistic and collectivistic cultures. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *69*, 142-152.

Risavy, C. F. (1996). Effects of gender, age, social class and relationship satisfaction on love styles. Dissertation Abstracts International Section A: Humanities and Social Sciences, *57 (2-A)*, 0591.

Robinson, W. S. (1950). Ecological correlations and the behaviour of individuals. American Sociological Review, *15*, 351-357.

Rodriguez, J. M., & Kosloski, K. (1998). The impact of acculturation on attitudinal familism in a community of Puerto Rican Americans. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, *20*, 375-390.

Rogers, J. L., Howard, K. I., & Vessey, J. T. (1993). Using significance tests to evaluate equivalence between two experimental groups. Psychological Bulletin, *113*, 553-565.

Rogler, L., Malgady, R., & Rodriguez, O. (1989). Hispanics and mental health. Malabar, FL: Krieger.

Roland, A. (1991). The self in cross-civilizational perspective: An Indian-Japanese-American comparison. In R.C. Curtis (Ed.), The relational self: Theoretical convergences in psychoanalysis and social psychology (pp. 160-180). New York: Guilford.

Roland, A. (1988). In search of self in India and Japan. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Rosenberger, N. R. (1992). Introduction. In N. R. Rosenberger (Ed.), Japanese sense of self (pp. 1-20). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rubin, A., Peplau, L. A., & Hill, C. T. (1981). Loving and leaving: Sex differences in romantic attachment. Sex Roles, 8, 625-638.

Rudmin, F. W., & Ahmadzadeh, V. (2001). Psychometric critique of acculturation psychology: The case of Iranian migrants in Norway. Scandinavian Journal of Psychology, 42, 41-56.

Sampson, E. E. (1988). The debate on individualism: Indigenous psychologies of the individual and their role in personal and societal functioning. American Psychologist, 43, 15-22.

Sanchez-Burks, J., Nisbett, R. E., & Ybarra, O. (2000). Cultural styles, relational schemas, and prejudice against out-groups. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 79, 174-189.

Sato, T., & Cameron, J. E. (1999). The relationship between collective self-esteem and self-construal in Japan and Canada. Journal of Social Psychology, 139, 426-435.

Schneiderman, L. (1995). Toni Morrison: Mothers and daughters. Imagination, Cognition, & Personality, 14, 273-290.

Schwartz, S. H. (1994). Beyond individualism / collectivism: New dimensions of values. In U. Kim, H. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S.-C. Choi, & G. Yoon (Eds.), Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and applications. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Sears, D. O. (1986). College sophomores in the laboratory: Influences of a narrow data base on social psychology's view of human nature. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 51, 515-530.

Sheldon, K. M., Elliot, A. J., Youngmee, K., & Kasser, T. (2001). What is satisfying and unsatisfying about events? Testing 10 candidate psychological needs. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 80, 325-339.

Shweder, R., & Bourne, E. (1984). Does the concept of the person vary cross-culturally? In R. Shweder & R. LeVine (Eds.), Culture theory: Essays on mind, self, and emotion (pp. 158-199). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Simmons, C. H., Wehner, E. A., & Kay, K. A. (1988). Differences in attitudes toward romantic love of French and American college students. The Journal of Social Psychology, 129, 793-799.

Singelis, T. M. (1994). The measurement of independent and interdependent self-construals. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 20, 580-591.

Singelis, T. M. (2000). Some thoughts on the future of cross-cultural social psychology. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 31, 76-91.

Singelis, T. M., Bond, M. H., Sharkey, W. F., & Yiu Lai, C. S. (1999). Unpackaging culture's influence on self-esteem and embarrassability: The role of self-construals. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 30, 315-341.

Singelis, T. M., & Sharkey, W. F. (1995). Culture, self-construal, and embarrassability. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 26, 622-644.

Singelis, T. M., Triandis, H. C., Bhawuk, D., & Gelfand, M. J. (1995). Horizontal and vertical dimensions of individualism and collectivism: A theoretical and

measurement refinement. Cross-Cultural Research: The Journal of Comparative Social Science, 29, 240-275.

Sinha, D., & Tripathi, R. C. (1994). Individualism in a collectivist culture: A case of coexistence of opposites. In U. Kim, H. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S.-C. Choi, & G. Yoon (Eds.), Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and applications (pp. 123-136). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Skevington, S., & Baker, D. (1989). Introduction. In S. Skevington & D. Baker The social identity of women (pp. 1-14). London: Sage.

Smith, E. R., & Henry, S. (1996). An in-group becomes part of the self: Response time evidence. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 22, 635-642.

Smith, E. R., & Coats, S., & Walling, D. (1999). Overlapping mental representations of self, in-group, and partner: Further response time evidence and a connectionist model. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 25, 873-882.

Smith, P. B., & Bond, M. H. (1999). Social psychology across cultures (2nd Ed). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Smith, P. B., Dugan, S., & Trompenaars, F. (1996). National culture and managerial values: A dimensional analysis across 43 nations. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 27, 231-264.

Spaulding, C. (1970). The romantic love complex in American culture. Sociology and Social Research, 55, 82-100.

Spitzer, S., Couch, C., & Stratton, J. (1973). The assessment of the self. Iowa City, IO: Sernoll.

Sprecher, S., Aron, A., Hatfield, E., Cortese, A., Potapova, E., & Levitskaya, A. (1994). Love: American style, Russian style and Japanese style. Personal Relationships, 1, 349-369.

Sprecher, S., & Metts, S. (1989). Development of the 'romantic beliefs scale' and examination of the effects of gender and gender-role orientation. Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 6, 387-411.

Statistics Canada (1999). General Social Survey. Ottawa.
<http://www.statcan.ca/english/IPS/Data/12M0012GPE.htm>

Statistics Canada (1995). Projections of visible minority population groups: Canada, provinces, and regions, 1991-2016. (Statistics Canada Catalogue 91-541-XPE). Ottawa.

Stephan, C. W., Stephan, W. G., Saito, I., & Barnett, S. M. (1998). Emotional expression in Japan and the United States: The nonmonolithic nature of individualism and collectivism. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 29, 728-748.

Stones, C. R. (1992). Love attitudes of White South African and British university students. Journal of Social Psychology, 132, 609-613.

Streiner, D. L., & Norman, G. R. (1995). Health measurement scales: A practical guide to their development and use. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Sudarkasa, N. (1993). Female-headed African American households: Some neglected dimensions. In H. P. McAdoo (Ed.), Family ethnicity: Strength in diversity (pp. 81-89). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Sullivan, H. S. (1953). The interpersonal theory of psychiatry. New York: Norton.

Tabachnick, B. G., & Fidell, L. S. (2001). Using multivariate statistics. New York: Harper Collins.

Tafarodi, R. W., Lang, J. M., & Smith, A. J. (1999). Self-esteem and the culture trade-off: Evidence for the role of individualism-collectivism. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, *30*, 620-640.

Tafarodi, R. W., & Smith, A. J. (2001). Individualism-collectivism and depressive sensitivity to life events: The case of Malaysian sojourners. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, *25*, 73-88.

Tafarodi, R. W., & Swann, W. B. Jr. (1996). Individualism-collectivism and global self-esteem: Evidence for a cultural trade-off. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, *27*, 651-672.

Tafarodi, R. W., & Walters, P. (1999). Individualism-collectivism, life events, and self-esteem: A test of two trade-offs. European Journal of Social Psychology, *29*, 797-814.

Tajfel, H. (1981). Human groups and social categories: Studies in social psychology. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Tajfel, H., Flament, C., Billig, M., & Bundy, R. (1971). Social categorization and intergroup behaviour. European Journal of Social Psychology, *1*, 149-177.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1985). The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour. In S. Worchel & W.G. Austin (Eds.), Psychology of intergroup relations (pp. 7-24). Chicago, IL: Nelson-Hall.

Takano, Y., & Osaka, E. (1999). An unsupported common view: Comparing Japan and the U.S. on individualism/collectivism. Asian Journal of Social Psychology, *2*, 311-341.

Taylor, D. M. (1981). Stereotypes and intergroup relations. In R. C. Gardner & R. Kalin (Eds.), A Canadian social psychology of ethnic relations, Toronto, ON: Methuen.

Ting-Toomey, S. (1991). Intimacy expressions in three cultures: France, Japan, and the U.S. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, *15*, 29-46.

Trafimow, D., Triandis, H., & Goto, S. (1991). Some tests of the distinction between the private self and the collective self. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *60*, 649-655.

Triandis, H. C. (1995). Individualism and collectivism. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Triandis, H. C. (1989). The self and social behavior in differing cultural contexts. Psychological Review, *93*, 506-520.

Triandis, H. C. (1988). Collectivism versus individualism: A reconceptualization of a basic concept in cross-cultural social psychology. In G. K. Verma & C. Bagley (Eds.), Cross-cultural studies of personality, attitudes and cognition (pp. 60-95). New York: St. Martin's.

Triandis, H. C., Bontempo, R., Betancourt, H., Bond, M., Leung, K., Brenes, A., Georgas, J., Hui, C. H., Marin, G., Setiadi, B., Sinha, J. B. P., Verma, J., Spangenberg, J., Touzard, H., & de Montmollin, G. (1986). The measurement of the etic aspects of individualism and collectivism across cultures. Australian Journal of Psychology, *38*, 257-267.

Triandis, H. C., Bontempo, R., Villareal, M., Asai, M., & Lucca, N. (1988). Individualism-colectivism: Cross-cultural perspectives on self-in-group relationships. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *54*, 323-338.

Triandis, H. C., Chen, X. P., & Chan, D. K.-S. (1998). Scenarios for the measurement of collectivism and individualism. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, *29*, 275-289.

Triandis, H. C., Leung, K., Villareal, M. V., & Clark, F. L. (1985). Allocentric versus idiocentric tendencies: Convergent and discriminant validation. Journal of Research in Personality, *19*, 395-415.

Triandis, H. C., McCusker, C., Betancourt, H., Iwao, S., Leung, K., Salazar, J. M., Setiadi, B., Sinha, J. B. P., Touzard, H., & Zaleski, Z. (1993). An etic-emic analysis of individualism and collectivism. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, *24*, 366-383.

Triandis, H. C., McCusker, C., & Hui, C. H. (1990). Multimethod probes of individualism and collectivism. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *59*, 1006-1020.

Tropp, L. R., & Wright, S. C. (2001). Ingroup identification as the inclusion of ingroup in the self. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, *27*, 585-600.

Turner, J. C., & Oakes, P. J. (1989). Self-categorization theory and social influence. In P. B. Paulus (Ed.), The psychology of group influence (2nd ed.). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Uleman, J. S., Rhee, E., Bardoliwalla, N., Semin, G., & Toyama, M. (2000). The relational self: Closeness to ingroups depends on who they are, culture, and the type of closeness. Asian Journal of Social Psychology, *3*, 1-17.

Vega, W. A. (1995). The study of Latino families: A point of departure. In R. E. Zambrana (Ed.), Understanding Latino families: Scholarship, policy, and practice, (pp. 3-17). Thousands Oaks, CA: Sage.

Verkuyten, M. (1989). Self-concept in cross-cultural perspective: Turkish and Dutch adolescents in the Netherlands. Journal of Social Psychology, *129*, 184-185.

Verkuyten, M., & Kwa, G. (1996). Ethnic self-identification, ethnic involvement, and group differentiation among Chinese youth in the Netherlands. The Journal of Social Psychology, *136*, 35-48.

Wang, C. L., Bristol, T., Mowen, J. C., & Chakraborty, G. (2000). Alternative modes of self-construal: Dimensions of connectedness-separateness and advertising appeals to the cultural and gender-specific self. Journal of Consumer Psychology, *9*, 107-115.

Watkins, D., Adair, J., Akande, A., Gerong, A., McInerney, D., Sunar, D., Watson, S., Wen, Q., & Wondimu, H. (1998). Individualism-collectivism, gender and the self-concept: A nine-culture investigation. Psychologia, *41*, 259-271.

Watkins, D., Adair, J., Akande, A., Cheng, C., Fleming, J., Gerong, A., Ismail, M., McInerney, D., Lefner, K., Mpofu, E., Regmi, M., Singh-Sengupta, S., Watson, S., Wondimu, H., & Yu, J. (1998). Cultural orientations, gender, and the nature of self-concept: A fourteen-country study. International Journal of Psychology, *33*, 17-31.

Watkins, D., & Gerong, A. (1997). Culture and spontaneous self-concept among Filipino college students. Journal of Social Psychology, *137*, 480-488.

Watkins, D., & Regmi, M. (1996). Within-culture and gender differences in self-concept: an investigation with rural and urban Nepalese school children. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 27, 692-699.

Watkins, D., Yau, J., Dahlin, B., & Wondimu, H. (1997). The twenty statements test: Some measurement issues. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 28, 626-633.

Williams, E. J. (1959). The comparison of regression variables. Journal of the Royal Statistical Society (Series B), 21, 396-399.

Williams, T. P., & Sogon, S. (1984). Group composition and conforming behavior in Japanese students. Japanese Psychological Research, 26, 231-234.

Wintre, M. G., Sugar, L. A., Yaffe, M., Costin, D. (2000). Generational status: A Canadian response to the editors' consortium statement with regard to race/ethnicity. Canadian Psychology, 41, 244-256.

Wylie, R. C. (1989). Measures of self-concept. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Yamada, A-M., & Singelis, T. M. (1999). Biculturalism and self-construal. International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 23, 607-709.

Yamagishi, T. (1988a). The provision of a sanctioning system in the United States and Japan. Social Psychology Quarterly, 51, 265-271.

Yamagishi, T. (1988b). Exit from the group as an individualistic solution to the free rider problem in the United States and Japan. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 24, 530-542.

Yamaguchi, S. (1994). Collectivism among the Japanese: A perspective from the self. In U. Kim, H. C. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S.-C. Choi, & G. Good (Eds.),

Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and applications (pp. 175-188).

Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Yamaguchi, S., Kuhlman, D. M., & Sugimori, S. (1995). Personality correlations of allocentric tendencies in individualistic and collective cultures. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, *26*, 658-672.

Ybarra, O., & Trafimow, D. (1998). How priming the private self or collective self affects the relative weights of attitudes and subjective norms. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, *24*, 362-370.

Yoo, S. H., & Sung, K-T. (1997). Elderly Koreans tendency to live independently from their adult children: Adaptation to cultural differences in America. Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology, *12*, 225-244.

Youn, G., Knight, B. G., Jeong, H.-S., & Benton, D. (1999). Differences in familism values and caregiving outcomes among Korean, Korean American, and White American dementia caregivers. Psychology and Aging, *14*, 355-364.

Appendix A

Sociodemographic Questionnaire

Please answer the following questions as accurately as you can.

1. What is your sex? Female Male
2. Year of Birth: _____
- 3a. In what country were you born? _____
 b. If **NOT** in Canada, how many years did you live in your country of birth before coming to Canada? _____ years
4. In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be: _____
5. In what country was your biological mother born? _____
6. In what country was your biological father born? _____
7. Describe your biological mother's racial/ethnic background: _____
8. Describe your biological father's racial/ethnic background: _____
9. What is your present marital status (check one) ?
 Never married
 Married
 Living with your Partner
 Divorced / Separated
 Widowed
 Other (specify: _____)

10. Indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statement by circling the appropriate number:

I'm sure I'm going to marry for love.

Strongly Disagree					Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	

11. Have you ever been in love?

Yes

No

11b. If YES, how many times have you been in love? _____ times

12. What does being in love mean to you (i.e., how does it feel, what do you think about)?

13. What characteristics do you feel are important in a life partner?

14. Describe your ideal mate, and how you would know that he or she was the one for you.

Would religious background make a difference in your choice of life partner?

Yes

No

15. Would members of your family influence your decision when choosing a life partner?

Yes

No

Appendix B Self-Constraint Scale

Indicate your agreement with the items on the following scale:

- 1 = strongly disagree
- 2 = disagree
- 3 = disagree somewhat
- 4 = neither disagree nor agree
- 5 = agree somewhat
- 6 = agree
- 7 = strongly agree

Interdependent Items

1. I have respect for the authority figures with whom I interact.
2. It is important for me to maintain harmony within my group.
3. My happiness depends on the happiness of those around me.
4. I would offer my seat in a bus to my professor.
5. I respect people who are modest about themselves.
6. I will sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of the group I am in.
7. I often have the feeling that my relationships with others are more important than my own accomplishments.
8. I should take into consideration my parents' advice when making education / career plans.
9. It is important to me to respect decisions made by the group.
10. I will stay in a group if they need me, even when I'm not happy with the group.
11. If my brother or sister fails, I feel responsible.
12. Even when I strongly disagree with group members, I avoid an argument.

Independent Items

13. I'd rather say "No" directly, than risk being misunderstood.
14. Speaking up during a class is not a problem for me.
15. Having a lively imagination is important to me.
16. I am comfortable with being singled out for praise or rewards.
17. I am the same person at home that I am at school.
18. Being able to take care of myself is a primary concern for me.
19. I act the same way no matter who I am with.
20. I feel comfortable using someone's first name soon after I meet them, even when they are much older than I am.
21. I prefer to be direct and forthright when dealing with people I've just met.
22. I enjoy being unique and different from others in many respects.
23. My personal identity independent of others, is very important to me.
24. I value being in good health above everything.

Appendix C

Familism Scale

Answer the following 20 questions below on a scale from:

1=disagree strongly

2=disagree

3=neither disagree nor agree

4=agree

5= agree strongly

1. When it comes to social responsibility, blood really is thicker than water.
2. My family always is there for me in times of need.
3. I owe it to my parents to do well in life.
4. I know that my family has my best interests in mind.
5. I cherish the time that I spend with my relatives.
6. I will do all that I can to keep alive the traditions passed on to me by my parents and my grandparents.
7. Even when I'm far away from home, my family ties keep me feeling safe and secure.
8. To this day, my parents' teachings serve as my best guide to behaviour.
9. In my opinion, the family is the most important social institution of all.
10. I cannot imagine what I would do without my family.

Appendix D**Romanticism – Romantic Beliefs Scale**

Please answer the questions below on the following scale:

1=strongly disagree

2=disagree

3=disagree somewhat

4=neither disagree nor agree

5=agree somewhat

6=agree

7=strongly agree

1. I need to know someone for a period of time before I fall in love with him or her.
2. If I were in love with someone, I would commit myself to him or her even if my parents and friends disapproved of the relationship.
3. Once I experience 'true love', I could never experience it again, to the same degree, with another person.
4. I believe that to be truly in love is to be in love forever.
5. If I love someone, I know I can make the relationship work, despite any obstacles.
6. When I find my 'true love' I will probably know it soon after we meet.
7. I'm sure that every new thing I learn about the person I choose for a long-term commitment will please me.
8. The relationship I will have with my 'true love' will be nearly perfect.
9. If I love someone, I will find a way for us to be together regardless of the opposition to the relationship, physical distance between us or any other barrier.

10. There will be only one real love for me.
11. If a relationship I have was meant to be, any obstacle (e.g. lack of money, physical distance, career conflicts) can be overcome.
12. I am likely to fall in love almost immediately if I meet the right person.
13. I expect that in my relationship, romantic love will really last; it won't fade with time.
14. The person I love will make a perfect romantic partner; for example, he/she will be completely accepting, loving, and understanding.
15. I believe if another person and I love each other we can overcome any differences and problems that may arise.

Appendix E – Twenty Statements Test

There are twenty numbered blanks on the page below. Please write twenty answers to the simple question 'Who Am I?' in the blanks. Just give twenty different answers to this question. Answer as if you are giving the answers to yourself, not to somebody else. Write the answers in the order that they occur to you. Don't worry about logic or 'importance.' Go along fairly fast, for time is limited.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____
9. _____
10. _____
11. _____
12. _____
13. _____
14. _____
15. _____
16. _____
17. _____
18. _____
19. _____
20. _____

Appendix F – Informed Consent

My name is Sherry Grace and I am a graduate student in the Psychology Department at the University of Windsor and for my Ph.D. dissertation research, directed by Dr. Ken Cramer, I am exploring issues related to self and identity.

I would like you to complete a questionnaire dealing with your experience of self, and how this may be experienced differently for different groups. You will be asked about your feelings regarding self-awareness and your opinions toward some of your relationships. This study provides you with an opportunity to explore your personal relationships and better understand your thoughts and feelings about who you are.

In this study, you complete a two-part survey, which will take approximately 15 minutes of your time. On the **first part**, you fill in your answers on the op-scan sheet provided. On the **second part**, you write in your responses on the spaces provided.

I want to emphasize that your responses to this questionnaire will be completely confidential, so please do not put your name on the questionnaire. If at any time you have any questions or concerns about this questionnaire, do not hesitate to ask me. I want to emphasize that your participation is completely voluntary, and you have no obligation to complete the questionnaire or any portion thereof.

The Psychology Department's Ethics Committee at the University of Windsor has approved this research project. If you have any ethical concerns about this research, you may contact the Chair of the Ethics Committee (Dr. S. Page: 253-3000 ext. 2243). Should you have any questions or comments regarding this research project, please e-mail me at sherrygrace@hotmail.com. You may keep a copy of this Informed Consent for your records.

Consent Form

I have read the above Informed Consent and understand this information, and I agree to take part in this study. The procedure and its possible risks have been explained to me by the researcher and I understand them. I understand that I am free to withdraw from this study at any time without penalty of any type. I also understand that although the data from this study may be published, only aggregate data will be used and that my identity will be kept confidential.

Name of participant Signature Date

Appendix G

Experimental Feedback

Thank you very much for your participation. The study you just completed investigates the nature of self, and how you view yourself in relation to others based on your gender and ethnocultural background. Because Canada is a highly multicultural and diverse society, we need to learn how to live with each other respectfully.

Some research shows that people from different backgrounds may think about themselves, and define themselves, differently based on these backgrounds. For instance, some individuals may experience the self in an individual way, while others may define themselves in terms of their family, or romantic relationship. Often we think of the self as an independent entity, but some individuals may experience the self in a more relational manner. Still others may think of themselves in an independent way while at work, but their selves may be more relational in nature when they are at home with their family.

Thank you for your participation. Your responses have provided a valuable contribution to the field. Considering the globalization and diversity which is ever-present in Canada, your contribution has allowed us to look at the ways different experiences of self can affect things like business or intimate relationships. When the results are available, you will be informed of their posted location by communication through your psychology professor. If you have any questions, please contact Sherry Grace at sherrygrace@hotmail.com. You can request a copy of the research results.

Appendix H

Self-Construal Items with Factor Loadings Greater Than .30

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Ind 22 I enjoy being unique and different from others in many respects.	.736		
Ind 15 Having a lively imagination is important to me.	.641		
Ind 21 I prefer to be direct and forthright when dealing with people I've just met.	.623		
Ind 23 My personal identity independent of others, is very important to me.	.585		.327
Ind 18 Being able to take care of myself is a primary concern for me.	.507		
Ind 20 I feel comfortable using someone's first name soon after I meet them, even when they are much older than I am.	.466		
Ind 16 I am comfortable with being singled out for praise or rewards.	.432		.348
Ind 17 I am the same person at home that I am at school.	.413		
Inter 5 I respect people who are modest about themselves.		.689	
Inter 11 If my brother or sister fails, I feel responsible.		.679	
Inter 8 I should take into consideration my parents' advice when making education / career plans.		.621	
Inter 9 It is important to me to respect decisions made by the group.		.575	
Inter 3 My happiness depends on the happiness of those around me.		.558	
Inter 10 I will stay in a group if they need me, even when I'm not happy with the group.		.527	

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
Inter 7 I often have the feeling that my relationships with others are more important than my own accomplishments.		.514	
Inter 12 Even when I strongly disagree with group members, I avoid an argument.		.345	
Inter 1 I have respect for the authority figures with whom I interact.			.688
Inter 2 It is important for me to maintain harmony within my group.		.304	.666
Ind 14 Speaking up during class is not a problem for me.			.614
Inter 4 I would offer my seat in a bus to my professor.			.504
Ind 13 I'd rather say "No" directly, than risk being misunderstood.			.398
Inter 6 I will sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of the group I am in.		.328	.387
Ind 19 I act the same way no matter who I am with.	.353		.376
Ind 24 I value being in good health above everything.			.365

VITA AUCTORIS

Sherry L. Grace was born in 1972 in Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario. She graduated from Forest Heights Collegiate Institute in 1991. From there, she went on to the University of Waterloo where she obtained an Honours B.A. in Psychology in 1995, and Lakehead University where she obtained an M.A. in Experimental Psychology in 1997. She has currently completed her Ph.D. in Applied Social Psychology at the University of Windsor in 2001.