Intergroup Comparison Versus Intragroup Relationships: A Cross-Cultural Examination of Social Identity Theory in North American and East Asian Cultural Contexts

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A review of the theoretical and empirical literature suggests that social identity theory does not account well for collectivistic behaviors among East Asians. I hypothesize that the central theme of East Asian group behavior is cooperation within a group; this is represented cognitively as an interpersonal network among the members, with the emphasis on the relational self. Results of a survey of 122 Japanese and 126 American respondents largely supported this hypothesis. For Americans, in-group loyalty and identity with their small and large in-groups were correlated positively with perceived in-group homogeneity and in-group status. No such correlation was found for Japanese respondents, however. Instead, Japanese in-group loyalty and identity were predicted by respondents' knowledge of the relational structure within the group, knowledge of the individual differences between members of the group, and feelings of personal connectedness with in-group members. I discuss the meaningfulness of comparing group processes in different cultural contexts.

Social identity theory (e.g., Tajfel and Turner 1979) now provides perhaps the most widely accepted psychological social psychology theory of group behavior. This theoretical framework has received considerable support from many studies conducted in Western countries. (For a review, see Abrams and Hogg 2001; Hogg 2001; 2003.) Yet the extent to which the theory is applicable in different cultural contexts, including Eastern societies, is a matter of ongoing debate (Brown et al. 1992; Feather 1994; Hinkle and Brown 1990; Jackson and Smith 1999; Jetten, Postmes, and McAuliffe 2002; McAuliffe et al. forthcoming; Morales, Lopez-Saez, and Vega 1999; Sedikides and Gaertner 2001). In this paper I theoretically and empirically evaluate how well social identity theory accounts for group behaviors of people in East Asian countries, as compared with those of people in Western countries.

SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

Social identity theory in conjunction with self-categorization theory provides a single comprehensive theory of group behavior and of the cognitive processes underlying an array of intergroup and group phenomena (Tajfel and Turner 1979; Turner et al. 1987). The basic tenet of these theories is that group behaviors derive from cognitive representations of the self in terms of membership in a shared social category, in which, in effect, there is no psychological separation between self and the group as a whole. This phenomenon is known as *depersonalization of self-representation*. Individuals "come to perceive themselves more as the interchangeable exemplars of a social category than as unique personalities defined by their individual differences from others" (Turner et al. 198750); thus the cognitive representation of the self shifts from *personal self to collective self*

(Brewer and Gardner 1996; Hogg and Abrams 1988).

This form of depersonalization occurs in a comparative context between in-groups and out-groups. That is, categorization of self as a group member is more likely to occur insofar as the perceived differences between in-group members are less than the perceived differences between them and out-group members (Turner et al. 1987). In other words, according to social identity theory, in-groups cannot be defined in isolation from out-groups; they gain their definition from comparisons with and contrasts to out-groups. Because self is defined at the level of the in-group, value is derived from maximizing evaluatively positive distinctiveness between in-group and out-groups (Turner 1975; Turner and Brown 1978). Thus group status and intergroup status differentials are critical.

Social identity theory articulates how cognitive representations of self and of a relevant in-group correspond when in-group identification (social identity) is psychologically salient. When individuals categorize the self and view themselves as indistinguishable from the in-group, they also view other in-group members as interchangeable with one another. In other words, depersonalization takes place at the collective level.

The representation of the in-group is embodied in a "prototype," defined by features that are shared by group members. Such prototypical features capture in-group similarities as well as intergroup differences that distinguish the in-group from comparison out-groups. Perceptions of the self and of other in-group members then are assimilated to this in-group prototype. In-group members are perceived as more similar to one another, and the in-group as a whole is perceived to be more homogeneous (Doosje, Ellemers, and Spears 1995; Haslam et al. 1996; Hogg and Turner 1987; Simon and Hamilton 1994). Some recent developments of social identity theory, however, have focused on how groups are differentiated internally with regard to prototypicality. Some members are more prototypical than others; relative prototypicality is associated with differential influence within the group and with processes of leadership and margin-

alization (e.g., Abrams et al. 2000; Abrams, Marques, and Hogg forthcoming; Hogg 1996, 2001b; Hogg and van Knippenberg forthcoming; Jetten et al. 2001). Nevertheless, social identity implicates a depersonalized perception of the in-group, by viewing group members either as interchangeable (Turner et al. 1987) or as different in terms of their prototype-based position in the group.

Collectivism and Social Identity: A Traditional View

Theorists in cross-cultural psychology have identified a number of dimensions along which the major cultures of the world might be distinguished (Chinese Culture Connection 1987; Hofstede 1980; Schwartz 1994). Among these differences, the one that has received most attention is the distinction between societies that emphasize *collectivistic* values and those which emphasize *individualistic* values (Triandis 1995). Both collectivism and individualism are multidimensional constructs (Triandis et al. 1986), but theorists largely agree that the principal distinction between individualist and collectivist values is in the level of in-group loyalty and identity (Triandis et al. 1988; Yamaguchi 1994). Individualists show less group loyalty; they give priority to personal goals over the goals of collectives. In contrast, collectivists either make no distinction between personal and collective goals or, if they do so, they subordinate their personal goals to collective goals (Triandis 1989). With regard to in-group identity, the central theme of individualism is the conception of individuals as autonomous beings who are separate from groups; the central theme of collectivism is the conception of individuals as aspects of groups or collectives (Triandis, Chan, et al. 1995).

At the extremes of the two poles, the United States and East Asia have been treated respectively as prototypic representatives of individualistic and collectivist cultures. Most empirical investigations into these constructs have compared samples from these two geographical areas (Fiske et al. 1998; Kim et al. 1994; Oyserman, Coon, and Kemmelmeier 2002; Smith and Bond 1999). Although some research within Western populations has investigated the relationship

between social identity and collectivism in terms of temporary or chronic individual differences (Brown et al. 1992; Capozza, Voci, and Licciardello 2000; Feather 1994; Hinkle and Brown 1990; Jackson and Smith 1999; Jetten et al. 2002, studies 2 and 3; McAuliffe et al. forthcoming; Morales et al. 1999), no one has yet determined how far social identity theory can be applied to the collectivistic behaviors of East Asians. At least one study, with Indonesians as the collectivist sample, concluded that both individualism and collectivism can function as local group norms (Jetten et al. 2002, study 1); this finding suggests that further empirical exploration is needed.

Despite the lack of empirical evidence, however, numerous observers have interpreted East Asian collectivism from the perspective of social identity theory. Triandis, McCusker, and Hui (1990), for instance, maintained that the self in collectivist cultures is defined as an "appendage of the in-group" (p. 1008), and predicted that perceived in-group homogeneity would be higher in collectivist cultures than in individualistic cultures. These applications, however, may overlook some critical differences between social identity theory and the pattern of East Asian collectivism.

EAST ASIAN COLLECTIVISM: COOPERATION WITHIN A GROUP AS AN INTERPERSONAL NETWORK

Intragroup Rather Than Intergroup Orientation

Social identity theory is primarily intergroup-focused, rather than focusing on intragroup relations. It identifies intergroup comparison as a key source of in-group identification. In contrast, East Asian collectivism is based largely on the promotion of cooperative behaviors and maintenance of relational harmony within in-groups. As a result, in East Asians' cognitive representations of self, the self is personally connected with other members of the in-group. East Asians' in-group representations involve a network of such interpersonal connections rather than a differentiation between in-groups and out-groups.

On the basis of this conceptualization, one can argue that in contrast to group identification as understood by social identity theory, East Asian collectivism is an intragroup rather than an intergroup phenomenon. Confucianism, which has exerted a profound influence on East Asian thought and behavior for more than two thousand years, focuses almost exclusively on intragroup relationships (Kim and Lee 1994; King and Bond 1985). In keeping with this perspective, there is virtually no support for the claim that people in collectivistic cultures tend to show greater in-group favoritism than do people in individualistic cultures (Smith and Bond 1999; Triandis 1989). Moreover, evidence suggests that discrimination against out-groups in fact is more pronounced in individualistic cultures (Gudykunst 1988).

Bond and Hewstone (1988),for example, found that British high school students in Hong Kong perceived social identity and intergroup differentiation to be more important than did Chinese high school students. The British students also perceived group membership to be more important, and had more positive images of the in-group than did the Chinese. Although the results for the Chinese did not contradict social identity theory, they suggested that social differentiation among Chinese was weaker than among British. In another study, Wetherell (1982) found that although both Europeans (individualists) and Polynesians (collectivists) in New Zealand displayed in-group bias in the minimal-group situation; Polynesians' discrimination was more moderate. Polynesians also showed greater generosity to out-group members (i.e., the strategy of maximizing joint profit) than did Europeans. These findings are consistent with the argument proposed here, that intergroup comparison is not a primary concern for East Asians.

If we adopt the terminology of Brown et al. (1992), East Asian social groups should be understood as autonomous groups, in which intergroup comparison is of little value, rather than as relational groups, whose very reason for existence is to promote successful intergroup comparisons. (For a parallel distinction between secure and insecure social identity, see Jackson and Smith 1999.)

Relational Self-Representation Rather Than Collective Self

The second discrepancy between social identity theory and East Asian collectivism is in the conceptualization of the self. Since the early days of research on the self, theorists have hypothesized that the self involves multiple components (e.g., Cooley 1902; Loevinger 1976; Mead 1934). The primary distinction is between the personal or individual self and the social or group self. More recent research has explored various implications of this view, and more attention has been given to multiple forms of the social self. Although different distinctions among types of social selves have been made (e.g., Breckler and Greenwald 1986; Deaux et al. 1995), the distinction most relevant to the present argument was made by Brewer and Gardner (1996) between the *collective* and the *relational* self (also see Gabriel and Gardner 1999; Kashima and Hardie 2000). The collective self is the self defined in terms of prototypical properties that are shared among depersonalized members of a common in-group (Brewer 1991). The relational self is the self defined in terms of connections and role relationships with significant others (Aron, Aron, and Smollan 1992; Cross and Madson 1997; Gilligan 1982; Markus and Kitayama 1991; McGuire and McGuire 1982). The relational self generally is associated with a psychological tendency to emphasize interpersonal relatedness, intimacy, and interdependence (Baumeister and Leary 1995).

Although collectivistic values focus on interpersonal relationships, the term *collectivism* is sometimes used as if it were equivalent to the concept of collective self as defined by Brewer and Gardner (1996) and others. Other scholars, however, who have applied more indigenous theoretical perspectives, define the East Asian self in terms that refer more specifically to its relational aspect (Choi, Kim, and Choi 1993; Hamaguchi 1985; Lebra 1976; Markus and Kitayama 1991). Among many such terms, the best known is interdependent self, proposed by Markus and Kitayama (1991). These authors state that Asian cultures "are organized according to meanings and practices that promote the fun-damental connectedness among individuals within a significant relationship (e.g., family, workplace, and classroom)"and that "the self is made meaningful primarily in reference to those social relations of which the self is a participating part" (Kitayama et al. 1997:1247). Both *jen*, a concept of person in China, and jibun, a notion of self in Japan, imply that the self is located in social relations (Hamaguchi 1985; Hsu 1971; Lebra 1976). In the Confucian paradigm, individuals see themselves situated symbolically in the web of a relational network through which they define themselves (King and Bond 1985).

Consistent with this perspective is evidence that East Asians' group behaviors are more likely than those of Westerners to be influenced by significant others. Abrams, Ando, and Hinkle (1998) found that both British and Japanese workers' intentions to quit their jobs were predicted by level of identification with the company they worked for. Japanese workers' intentions, however, also were predicted by subjective norms: that is, their perception of significant others' expectations of them to continue working for. the company. This finding is consistent with the present argument: East Asians are more susceptible than Westerners to social influence from significant others, and thus may be influenced less strongly by identification.

Although this idea is often misunderstood, maintaining an "interdependent" self is not the same as self-representation at the category level (Turner et al. l987), nor is it the same as self-extension, to include significant others as part of the self (Aron et al. 1992; Wright, Aron, and Tropp 2002). People with an interdependent self believe that individuals, including themselves, are distinct personalities who are mutually connected via stable and visible relationships (Chang and Koh 1999; Hamaguchi 1985; Ho and Chiu 1994; Vignoles, Chryssochoou, and Breakwell 2000).

Kim (1994) distinguished between three models of collectivism involving different representations of the relation between individual and group. The traditional conceptualization of collectivism focuses on the undifferentiated mode, characterized by firm and explicit group boundaries coupled with

undifferentiated boundaries between self and group. This is the model most consistent with social identity theory. The *relational mode* is characterized by porous boundaries between in-group members, which allow thoughts, ideas, and emotions to flow freely, and focuses on the relationships shared by the in-group members. The *coexistence mode* is characterized by a separation between publicly collectivist and privately individual and relational selves. Kim (1994) argued that East Asian cultures are characterized by the relational and the coexistence modes.

In the words of Fiske et al. (1998), "[L]iving interdependently does not mean the loss of self, the fusion of self with other, or the absence of self-interests. What it does mean is that attention, cognition, affect, and motivation are organized with respect to relationship and norms" (p. 925). Although East Asian selves are embedded in social relations, they are attributed with "the capacity to do right or wrong, and, ultimately, the individual alone is responsible for what he is" (King and Bond 1985:31).

If individuals were depersonalized in group contexts so greatly that they did not distinguish between fellow in-group members and themselves, the active expression of concern towards others and the striving to maintain harmonious relationships with other in-group members would be relatively unnecessary. Evidence from cross-cultural psychology, however, shows that East Asians are concerned about maintaining intragroup harmony (Ho and Chiu 1994; Kwan, Bond, and Singelis 1997; Smith and Bond 1999). This is evident in East Asians' tendency to prefer the principle of equality over equity in reward allocation within the in-group (Bond, Leung, and Wan 1982; Hui, Triandis, and Yee 1991; Kashima et al. 1988; Kim, Park, and Suzuki 1990; Leung and Bond 1982; Leung and Park 1986; Mann, Radford, and Kanagawa 1985), in their effort to discern and understand other members' personal thoughts and feelings (Azuma 1994; Choi et al. 1993), and in the priority they give to reducing animosity in conflict resolution (Kirkbride, Tang, and Westwood 1991; Leung 1987; Leung et al. 1992; Leung and Lind 1986; Ohbuchi and Takahashi 1994). Even the absence of self-enhancement and the empha-

sis on self-critical attitudes are interpreted as designed to maintain good relationships with others (Heine and Lehman 1997; Kitayama et al. 1997). Yet although East Asians are critical of themselves, they expect that significant others will negate such criticism (Muramoto 2001); this is further evidence of interpersonal distinctiveness and mutual support (also see Kitayama and Uchida 2002).

On the basis of their review of indigenous literature on East Asians' sense of self, Vignoles et al. (2000) suggest that the traditional notion of distinctiveness, defined as boundedness and uniqueness of self from others, including other persons as well as out-groups (Breakwell 1986; Brewer 1991), may not apply well to East Asian cultural contexts. Instead they propose another, relational model of distinctiveness, which is derived from a person's location in a social or natural enviroment. In sum, an examination of the literature suggests that East Asians' self-concept is perceptually distinct from, but firmly connected to, fellow in-group members via interpersonal relations.

In-group Representation as a Network Rather Than As a Depersonalized Entity

The prevalence of the relational self among East Asians does not imply that East Asians downplay the in-group as a meaningful social unit. In fact, they impose boundaries between in-groups and out-groups (Gudykunst 1988; Smith and Bond 1999). East Asians, however, do not depict individuals' perceptions of their in-groups as depersonalized entities, as social identity theory would predict; rather, they perceive their in-groups as complex networks of interrelated individual members (Choi et al. 1993; Hamaguchi 1977; Ho 1993; Kim and Lee 1994; Lebra 1976; Nakane 1970).

Confucius conceptualized a family as a network consisting of three of the "Five Cardinal Relations": those between father and son, elder brother and younger brother, and husband and wife. This representation is the basis for East Asians' conception of larger groups. Confucianism actually considers the ideal society as a "massive and complicated role system" (King and Bond 1985:30). Even today, people often use the metaphor of

a family when they speak of other kinds of groups, in which vertical and horizontal roles are clearly differentiated (Chang, Lee, and Koh 1996; Nakane 1970).

The East Asian way of perceiving the in-group as a network can be described in more theoretical terms, congruent with an alternative form of the idea of group entitativity. The term entitativity was coined by Donald Campbell (1958) to denote the degree to which a social collective is viewed as a single unit or entity (Brewer and Harasty 1996; Gaertner and Schopler 1998; Hamilton and Sherman 1996; Hamilton, Sherman, and Lickel 1998; Insko, Schopler, and Sedikides 1998; Lickel et al. 2000; McConnell, Sherman, and Hamilton 1994; McGarty et al. 1995; Sherman, Hamilton, and Lewis 1999; Welbourne 1999; Yzerbyt, Corneille, and Estrada 2001). Among factors that determine entitativity, perceived similarity or homogeneity has attracted the most attention (Brewer and Harasty 1996; McGarty et al. 1995). From this perspective, entitativity is equated readily with the perception of a group as a depersonalized entity.

Hamilton et al. (1998), however, recently proposed an alternative basis for perceived entitativity, namely perceived organization and structure among the members. Organization and structure may be manifested in several ways: as a hierarchical structure within the group, as a differentiation of roles and functions among the members, as a purposive integration of activity, and/or as clear differences in leadership, power, status, and responsibility. In contrast to the conceptualization of an entitative group as a homogeneous, undifferentiated unit, Hamilton and colleagues conceptualize such a group as a stable and coherent network among individuated group members. (For a related distinction between social categories and dynamic groups, see Lickel et al. 2000.)

The contrast between the depersonalized and the network view of in-groups also may be somewhat consistent with the distinction between *common-identity* and *cmmon-bond* groups (Prentice, Miller, and Lightdale 1994). In common-identity group, members are attached more strongly to the group per se than to fellow group members. In common-bond group, members are attached to individual members of the group; their in-group identification and their evaluation of individual members are closely correlated. Evidence suggests that attachment to and identification with the in-group as a whole and to individual in-group members are empirically distinguishable from each other (Hogg 1993; Karasawa 1991; Prentice et al. 1994). The common-identity group is similar to social identity theory's view of in-groups as undifferentiated and depersonalized, whereas the common-bond group may be consistent with the East Asian view of in-groups as composed of cognitively differentiated members.

If we assume that East Asian collectivists conceive of groups as social networks rather than as depersonalized wholes, it should follow that East Asians would be concerned about maintaining a high level of knowledge about the complex relational structure within the in-group, both horizontally and vertically, and about locating themselves at some specific point within this structure. Confucius advised that social interaction should begin with an assessment of the role relationship between oneself and others, so that individuals can select behavior that is appropriate to the relationship (Hwang 1999). Yamagishi and Kosugi's (1999) experimental findings provide indirect evidence for this claim. They found that participants who were better at judging good and bad relationships within in-groups possessed characteristics that were considered adaptive in stable interpersonal relations; such stability is characteristic of collectivistic societies.

In accordance with this point, social groups in East Asian societies are often constructed so that members can monitor one another's behavior. The high visibility of individual members may serve as a mechanism for inhibiting potential freeriding (Miller and Kanazawa 2000; Yamagishi 1998). Yamagishi's cross-cultural experiments showed that Japanese became less cooperative and less trusting toward the in-group when there was no system of in-group monitoring and sanctioning, whereas Americans did not change their level of cooperation and trust in the presence or absence of a monitoring and sanctioning system (Yamagishi 1988a, 1988b).

If Japanese participants' self-concepts were depersonalized, they would have no reason to be afraid of a freerider (Kramer and Brewer 1984). In line with this perspective, another series of experiments by Yamagishi and colleagues (Jin, Yamagishi, and Kiyonari 1996; Karp et al. 1993; Yamagishi, Jin, and Kiyonari 1999) showed that Japanese participants did not engage in in-group favoritism in the minimal-group paradigm when the chance of receiving a reciprocal reward for the favor was eliminated. These findings are consistent with Benedict's (1946) suggestion that the source of Japanese in-group loyalty is the maintenance of strictly reciprocal relationships with fellow in-group members.

Other evidence suggests that East Asians are less ready to engage in discriminative behaviors against out-groups, in minimal-group settings, when discrimination does not manifestly benefit the in-group (Jin 1995, cited in Yamagishi et al. 1999). In contrast to the principle of positive intergroup distinctiveness governing intergroup behaviors as depicted by social identity theory, East Asian intergroup behaviors can be characterized as strategies that maximize one's own personal interest by maintaining mutually beneficial relationships with fellow in-group members (Hamaguchi 1977; Yamagishi 1998).

Some recent develoments of social identity theory also deal with intragroup differentiation, largely on the basis of members' differential prototypicality (Hogg 2001b; Hogg and van Knippenberg forthcoming) and relationships among subgroups and cross-cutting categories (Hornsey and Hogg 2000; Mummendey and Wenzel 1999). The East Asian model of intragroup orientation presented here is different: in this model, the nodes in the networks are *personal* identities; thus the connections are interpersonal relations, which are clearly differentiated from each other.

Social Identity Versus Intragroup Relationships: A Summary of Two Models

The key argument presented here is that an alternative model may be required to describe East Asian collectivism—a model that incorporates a set of cognitive representations of self and in-group that are not depicted by social identity theory. Figure 1 illustrates social identity theory and an intragroup relational model of East Asian collectivism. Social identity theory focuses primarily on intergroup rather than intragroup relations. In this representation, groups are depicted as entities consisting of members whose identities are perceptually undifferentiated and interchangeable, or are defined concentrically in terms of ,their relative typicality.

In contrast, East Asians' group behaviors derive from a focus on *intra*group rather than *inter*group relations. The in-group is represented as a structured network among group members. Identities are personalized from, but also connected with, those of other members, and each individual is aware of the exact location of the self within such a network. To empirically test the proposed distinction

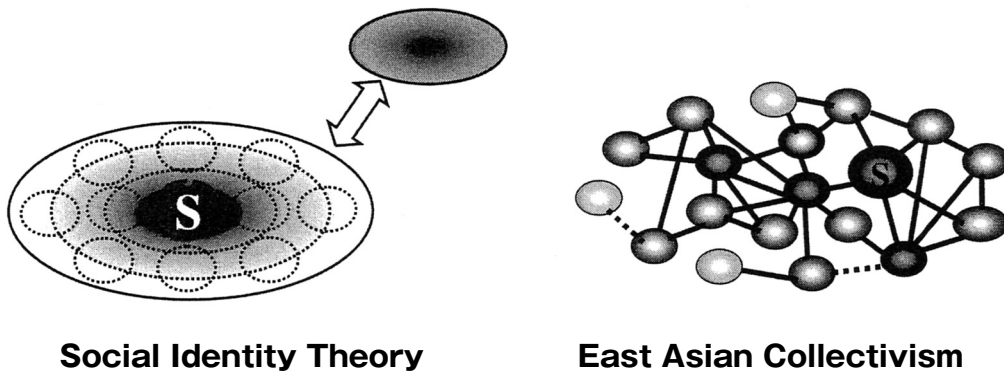**Social Identity Theory   East Asian Collectivism**

Figure 1. Social Identity Theory and Intragroup Relational Model of East Asian Collectivism

between these two types of collectivism, I conducted a study focusing on the relationship between in-group representation, on the one hand, and identity and loyalty, on the other.

CULTURE AND PERCEPTUAL BASES OF IN-GROUP LOYALTY AND IDENTITY: AN INITIAL INVESTIGATION

As an initial exploration of the psychology of East Asian group behaviors, particularly in-group loyalty, I conducted a survey of university students in Japan and the United States. I predicted that the strength of in-group loyalty and in-group identity among Japanese would be correlated positively with the degree to which they understood the relational structure of the group and the personalities of the group members. I measured this subjective sociometric knowledge with questionnaire items such as the extent to which respondents believed they correctly understood the relationship structure within the in-group and group members' individual differences, and the degree to which they felt personally connected to group members.

Perceived in-group homogeneity, which social identity theory considers a key cognitive foundation of group behaviors, was predicted to have no relationship to Japanese in-group loyalty and identity. Despite some evidence to the contrary (Triandis et al. 1990), most of the evidence suggests that in-group homogeneity is more important for Westerners than for East Asians (Baumgarte, Lee, and Kulich 1998; Choi et al. 1993; Crystal, Watanabe, and Chen 2000; Heine et al. 1999; Kashima et al. 1995; Satterwhite et al. 2000; Uleman et al. 2000). Uleman et al. (2000), for instance, found that, although Japanese respondents' perceptions of intra-group harmony were the highest among five cultural groups (Euro-Americans, Asian Americans, Dutch, Turkish, and Japanese), their perceived in-group similarity was the lowest.

The predictors of in-group loyalty in Japan were expected to differ from those which contribute to the loyalty and identity of people in "individualistic cultures" such as the United States. The question of what

determines Americans' group loyalty (or collectivism) has become even more important since recent empirical evidence has cast doubt on the traditional belief that Americans are less loyal to, and less strongly identified with, their in-groups (Matsumoto 1999; Oyserman et al. 2002; Takano and Osaka 1999). Oyserman et al. (2002), for instance, in their extensive review of cross-cultural literature, found that Americans not only are no less collectivistic than people in other parts of the world, but even, in some domains, are *more* group-oriented than others. Thus it is meaningful to examine psychological processes of in-group loyalty and identity among Americans and to compare them with those of Japanese.

Nevertheless, the abundance of evidence obtained in Western countries is congruent with social identity theory. Thus I predicted that American in-group loyalty and identity would be predicted by perceived in-group homogeneity rather than by subjective sociometric knowledge. In addition, I expected to find a positive relationship, for Americans, between in-group loyalty/identity and perceived in-group status. Social identity theory emphasizes intergroup comparison; thus I predicted that the more strongly individuals identify themselves with the in-group, the higher they will perceive the in-group's status to be. This relationship between in-group identification and perceived in-group status, however, should be strong among American but not among Japanese respondents.

Methods

One hundred twenty-two students (72 men and 50 women: average age, 19.7 years old) at Hokkaido University and 126 students (62 men and 64 women: average age, 19.3 years old) at Ohio State University completed survey questionnaires assessing their perceptions of specific social groups to which they belonged. Both small and large target groups were included in the questionnaires. Small groups were social clubs or other small-scale affiliations that participants identified as most important to themselves. The large group was one's country (Japan or the United States). I made this selection because I expected that the psychological process

underlying in-group loyalty might differ depending on group size (Brewer and Gardner 1996). Participants with non-American citizenship in the U.S. sample and non-Japanese participants in the Japanese sample were excluded from analyses.

The questionnaire was constructed simultaneously in English and in Japanese; equivalence was checked by a back-translation from the Japanese version. Questionnaires were administered to the participants in their native language. For each item, participants were asked to answer whether they agreed with the statement on a six-point scale (1 = strongly disagree; 6 = strongly agree).

Variables

In-group loyalty. The first dependent variable included five items from a group loyalty scale (Silver and Brewer 1997) that measured participants' willingness to sacrifice for the in-group. Sample items were "If the group really needed me, I would be willing to donate my free time to it" and "If the group were threatened, I would be willing to risk my life fighting to defend it." (In the "country" questionnaire, "my country" was substituted for "the group"; this is also true of all the other scales.) The internal alpha reliability of the scale derived from these five items, for Culture x Target, was .85 on average; the lowest alpha was .84.

In-group identity. The ID_{GROUP} subscale of Karasawa's (1991) identification scale was administered to measure how strongly participants identified with the two in-groups. This scale covers both cognitive and affective aspects of in-group identification, and has been found to have high reliability and discriminant validity (Jackson and Smith 1999; Karasawa 1991). Items were "I think it is accurate if I am described as a typical member of the group," "I often acknowledge the fact that I am a member of the group," "I would feel good if I were described as a typical member of the group," and "I often refer to the name of the group when I introduce myself." I excluded the last of these four items from further analysis because it correlated poorly with the others. The internal alpha reliability of the final three-item scale,

for Culture x Target, was .83 on average; the lowest alpha was .82.

Subjective sociometric knowledge. Because there was no preexisting scale assessing intragroup structure and knowledge, I created a new scale. This measured the degree to which participants felt they correctly understood the relationship structure within the in-group, individual differences among members, and the degree of perceived interconnectedness. The items were "I know the personality differences among members of the group,""I know very well which members of the group know each other," "I know very well which members of the group are friends with each other and/or which members don't like each other," "I think all the members of the group are somehow personally connected to each other," and "I think all the members of the group are somehow personally connected to me." This five-item scale showed good internal reliability for all Culture x Target combinations: the average alpha was .79, and the lowest was .69.

Perceived in-group homogeneity. Two items measured perceived in-group homogeneity: "Most people in the group are similar to each other in their values and in preferences" and "Most people in the group behave in a similar way." The average interitem correlation for Culture x Target was $r = .70$; the lowest was .61, $p < .001$.

Perceived status. Finally, two items measured how prestigious participants considered their in-groups to be in comparison with other groups. Respondents were asked whether they agreed with the statements "People in other similar groups generally admire the group" and "In general, the group is not respected by others in other similar groups" (reverse scored). Average interitem correlation was $r = .56$; the lowest was .40, $p < .001$.

Bases of In-Group Loyalty and Identity: Some Findings

Mean differences on the five scales as a function of respondent's culture and target group are reported in Table 1. Americans consistently gave higher ratings than Japanese respondents on all but one scale: they were significantly higher in small-group

Table 1. Mean Ratings of Five In-Group Measures, by Culture and Target Group

| | Target | | | |
| | Small Group | | Country | |
Scale	Japan	U.S.	Japan	U.S.
Loyalty	3.67 (.97)	4.57 (1.06)	2.93 (1.04)	4.05 (1.20)
Identity	3.36 (1.20)	4.65 (1.08)	3.44 (1.12)	4.35 (1 .28)
Homogeneity	2.81 (1.09)	4.08 (1.33)	3.75 (1.15)	2.34 (1.24)
Sociometric knowledge	3.79 (1.07)	4.78 (.96)	2.40 (.94)	3.16 (.96)
Status	4.06 (33)	4.53 (.98)	3.19 (1.10)	4.96 (1.09)

Notes: Parentheses delineate standard deviations. $N = 122$ for Japan and 126 for the United States. All scales can take values from 1 through 6.

loyalty, $F (1,232) = 46.09$, $p < .001$; national loyalty, $F (1, 235) = 59.19$, $p < .001$; small-group identity, $F (1, 233) = 74.12$, $p < .001$; national identity, $F (1,235) = 34.18$, $p < 001$; small-group homogeneity, $F (1,233) = 64.73$, $p < 001$; small-group sociometric knowledge, $F (1,232) = 55.31$, $p < 001$; national sociometric knowledge $F (1,234) = 37.149$, $p < .001$; small-group status, $F(1,233) = 15.38$, $p < .001$; and national status $F (1, 235) = 153.63$, $p < .001$. The only exception was that Americans perceived their country as significantly less homogeneous than did Japanese, $F (1,236) = 82.14$, $p < .001$.

The finding that American in-group loyalty and identity were higher than Japanese is consistent with recent findings in cross-cultural psychology discussed earlier (Matsumoto 1999; Oyserman et al. 2002; Takano and Osaka 1999). Also, the finding that Japanese are less loyal to and less strongly identified with their country, while at the same time they perceive higher within-country homogeneity than Americans, is consistent with the argument that perceived homogeneity is not an important factor in East Asians' in-group loyalty and identity. The perceived homogeneity finding also may reflect the fact that the United States actually is a much more ethnically and racially diverse and heterogeneous country than Japan, and that respondents simply reported this fact.

It is difficult to explain why Japanese small-group sociometric knowledge was poorer than that of Americans. This finding may reflect issues of comparability due to translation (Brislin 1970), possible differences in use of response scales (Peng, Nisbett, and Wong 1997), or the "reference group effect" (Heine et al. 2002). In any event, interpreting mean differences across cultures in an absolute sense is problematic. An examination of the relationship among variables within a culture is more informative.

For each target group within each culture, I performed separate multiple regressions to assess the relative contribution of perceived in-group homogeneity and subjective sociometric knowledge as predictors of variance in in-group loyalty and identity. I also entered gender as a predictor variable to control for the possible effect of unequal gender ratios between the Japanese and the U.S.' samples. Table 2 reports beta values and R^2 statistics associated with these eight regression analyses.

In line with predictions, Japanese national loyalty and Japanese small-group loyalty and identity were predicted significantly by subjective sociometric knowledge but not by perceived in-group homogeneity. Japanese national identity, however, was not predicted by either factor. Results for the U.S. sample were more varied: perceived group homogeneity contributed to the prediction of small-group identity and national loyalty, but the effect of subjective sociometric knowledge also was significant, as for the Japanese, in three out of four multiple regressions. (National loyalty was the exception.)

Finally, I examined the relationship between in-group loyalty and identity, on the one hand, and perceived in-group status, on the other. Table 3 reports partial correlations, with controls for gender. As predicted, Americans' loyalty to and identification with both the small in-group and the country were correlated significantly with the perceived

Table 2. Beta Values and R^2 Statistics Associated With the Multiple Regression of Homogeneity, Sociometric Knowledge, and Gender Onto Eight Outcome Variables Formed by DV x Culture x Target Group

	Japan		U.S.	
	Small Group	Country	Small Group	Country
DV = Loyalty				
Homogeneity	.00	-.10	.12	.17 †
Sociometric knowledge	.28**	.34***	.49***	.05
Gender	-.04	.01	-.04	-.04
R^2	.08*	.11*	.29***	0.04
DV = Identity				
Homogeneity	.13	.02	.23*	.15 †
Sociometric knowledge	.28**	-.06	.38***	.17 †
Gender	-.09	.08	-.04	.24*
R^2	.13***	.00	.25***	.13**

† $p < .10$;* $p < .05$;** $p < .01$;*** $p < .001$

status of the groups. Again as predicted, three out of four correlations for Japanese respondents were not significant.

In summary, most of these results are consistent with the hypothesis that East Asian collectivism is not based on the cognitive underpinnings depicted by social identity theory; instead it is based on an understanding of the in-group as a network of individuals. The more accurately the Japanese understood intragroup relational structures and differentiated the representations of in-group members, and the stronger their sense of personal connectedness, the greater their loyalty to and identification with the in-group. The contributions of factors deemed critical according to social identity theory, such as perceiving in-group members to share attributes, and believing the in-group to be of higher status than the out-group, were weak for the Japanese sample. On the other hand, the results for Americans were mixed: both homogeneity and sociometric knowledge were related to in-group loyalty and identity, particularly for the small in-group.

DISCUSSION

Implications

Some theoretical implications can be drawn from the present review of theoretical and empirical literature, and from the results of the survey. First, I suggest that a problem in the conventional conceptualization of individualism and collectivism is that it fails to distinguish different psychological processes underlying "collectivistic behavior' in different cultures. Although the psychological processes of East Asian and Western collectivism (or allocentrism as an individual-level construct) are often considered to be identical, the present evidence suggests that group behaviors in the two cultures may derive partly from different cognitive foundations. It is still unknown, however, what types of collectivism or other constructs predominate in regions other than Western countries and East Asia, such as southern Europe and Latin America. Further research is needed to explore group behavior in other regions of the world. (For a related discussion, also see Kagitcibasi 1997; Schwartz 1994).

Second, the present findings suggest that social identity theory may have limited

Table 3. Partial Correlations (With Controls for Gender) Between Perceived In-Group Status and In-Group Loyalty. and Between Status and Identity, by Culture and Target Group

Scale	Loyalty		Identity	
	Japan	U.S.	Japan	U.S.
Small Group	.05	.25**	.15 †	.27**
Country	.15	.16 †	.02	.17 †

† $p < .10$;** $p < .01$

applicability as a general model encompassing all group behaviors. As stated earlier, social identity theory was developed to analyze group behaviors and psychology when the comparison out-group is cognitively salient (Haslam et al. 1996). Still undermined, however, is its applicability to behaviors in which individuals are not paying attention to intergroup comparisons but rather to complex intragroup structures. The present findings suggest that cognitions at both the intergroup level (homogeneity and relative status) and the intragroup level (sociometric knowledge) can affect individuals' group behaviors. Therefore a full theory of group behavior and psychology must incorporate both intergroup and intragroup aspects.

Conclusions

In this paper I have reviewed the theoretical and empirical literature on East Asian collectivism from an indigenous perspective. Social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 1979; Turner et al. 1987), which emphasizes intergroup comparison and depersonalized representation of the collective self, may not accurately represent group behaviors among East Asians; therefore an alternative model may be required to explain group processes in an East Asian context. The intragroup relational model is such a model. It postulates that the goal of East Asian group behaviors is to maintain mutually beneficial relationships with fellow in-group members, based primarily on the self as a relational unit and on an awareness of one's in-groups as networks of relationships.

Most of the results from the Japanese sample tended to support this analysis. The results from the American sample were less clear-cut, and identified a psychological complexity underlying American group behavior. For Americans, loyalty to groups may derive both from social identity and from intragroup relationship processes. This interpretation is by no means unusual; it is consistent with western researchers' recent argument that social identity and group cognition processes possess a duality. These processes can operate at the collective or category level, or at the relational or structural level (Brewer and Gardner 1996; Hamilton et al. 1998; Prentice

et al. 1994; Vignoles et al. 2000). The present study indicates that in East Asian cultural contexts, the collective or category processes may operate less strongly.

The human species is highly adapted to group living; thus behaviors that can serve one's groups, such as cooperation, favoritism, norm adherence, and loyalty, should be universal phenomena (Brewer 1997; Caporael 1997; Sumner 1906; Wilson and Sober 1994). As suggested by the present study, however, many variations of psychological processes have emerged in different societies. Future research should investigate the social and structural factors that have contributed to the emergence of different processes in different regions. Cross-cultural psychology should be a useful tool in discovering those variations and in providing a path to a genuinely universal theory of inter- and intragroup behaviors.

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