

## Presentation of independent self in Europe and relational self in Asia: Enhancement and effacement of ingroup and self among Italians and Japanese

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### **Abstract**

Ingroup- and self-presentation among Italians, who belong to Western culture, is considered to be fixed on their self-categorization with the ingroup. On the other hand, among Japanese, in Asian culture, both ingroup- and self-presentation are hypothesized to have an important function in presenting the reciprocal relations between the ingroup and themselves. Group-enhancement among Italians was positively correlated with their ingroup identity, while the higher group-enhancement among Japanese is observed in spite of their negative identity only when the target person was ignorant of the ingroup inferiority. Group-effacement and self-effacement were consistently higher among Japanese than other intentions, but self-enhancement was lower in Japan. Based on these results, ingroup- and self-presentation is discussed theoretically as a strategy to show either the Western independent self or the Asian relative self.

**Keywords:** Self-presentation, Group-enhancement, Self-enhancement, Independent or relative self

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## Introduction

Various researches in cultural psychology have underlined that the psychological processes of people are not universal, and that their cognition with regard to persons, groups, and themselves is influenced by culture. Cross-cultural research on the presentation of ingroup and self is an important domain.

Ingroup- and self-presentations are an important adaptive tool for people in maintaining their self-esteem and adapting to society, and will vary according to the cultural environment surrounding them. For instance, a self-enhancing bias, in which people attribute their own successes to internal factors such as ability but attribute their failures to external factors such as misfortune, is evident in the West (Greenberg, Pyszczynski, & Solomon, 1982; Schlenker, 1975; Zuckerman, 1979). On the other hand, people in Asian countries such as China or Japan evaluated favorably an individual who attributes his/her own successes to external factors, which shows the existence of self-effacing presentation (Bond, Leung, & Wan, 1982; Yoshida, Kojo, & Kaku, 1982). Several experiments have also indicated a group-enhancing presentation in Asia on the basis of reports in which Chinese students thought highly of members who attributed the performance of the ingroup to the internal factors of the group (Bond, Chiu, & Wan, 1984; Hewstone, Bond, & Wan, 1983). According to Muramoto & Yamaguchi (1999), Japanese individuals attribute the success of the ingroup to internal factors such as the abilities of the members, but attribute failures to external factors such as the group's external environment. Thus, a group-serving tendency is found, even though a self-effacing tendency is observed in terms of individual performance (in Muramoto & Yamaguchi, 2003). Such group-serving bias is also conspicuous in the West, especially in North America (Lau, & Russel, 1980; Cialdini, Borden, Thorne, Walker, Freeman, & Sloan, 1976). Yet some studies in China and Japan have reported a group-effacing bias in which the ingroup is evaluated as being lower than outgroups. Bond, Hewstone, Wan, & Chiu (1985) indicated that the group-serving bias regarding sex-typed behavior was more marked among North American students than Chinese students. Moreover, Heine, & Lehman (1997) reported that Japanese students evaluated their university lower than another university, in a self-effacing style, while Canadian students showed self-enhancing cognition as a result of their higher evaluation of their own university than another university.

To summarize the above regarding self-presentation, self-enhancement is conspicuous in the West, while self-effacement is more prevalent in Asia. However, the ingroup-presentation that results from the group-enhancing bias is common both in the West and Asia. In addition, and especially in Asia, a group-effacing presentation is also thought to be adopted. Bond et al. (1984) said that a positive evaluation of people who

make a group-enhancing presentation is a pancultural response arising from the interdependence of group members. Positive group reputation from an ingroup member may exalt the social identity of other members on the basis of the social categorization process. The group-enhancing presentation is said to be preferred, because it enhances ingroup members indirectly.

However, many reports have indicated the group-effacement in Asia can not be understood only by suggestions that are based on the social categorization process. This study investigates the difference of the self- and ingroup-presentations between Europe and Asia, based on the unique view of self in each of these cultures.

Most Western people reinforce and maintain their self-esteem by becoming independent as an individual unique from other persons in accordance with the independent view of self, while the interdependent view of self that is evident among Asian people leads them maintain self-esteem on the basis of mutual cooperation in a network including many persons (Markus, & Kitayama, 1991). In the cognitive pattern related to the external environment, moreover, Europeans pay attention to the categories that contain or classify plural objects according to a certain rule, whereas Asian people are said to focus on the relationships that exist among objects (Nisbett, Peng, Choi, & Norenzayan, 2001). For example, the basis of social identity varies between Europeans and Asians, according to these differences in the view of self and cognitive pattern. Ingroup status itself correlates with the social identity of North American members, while knowledge of the cooperation structure in the group correlates with social identity among Japanese (Yuki, 2003). Moreover, Menon, Morris, Chiu, & Hong (1999) reported that Chinese attributed the failure of a group member to group factors, while North Americans emphasized the internal and private factors related to him/herself. In other words, it is recognized that an individual in Asia is closely connected with the ingroup, whereas an individual in the West is positioned as a free agent who is independent from the ingroup even though s/he shares the category with the ingroup. Individuals in the West will be recognized as independent entities, and individuals in Asia will be positioned as relational entities.

Therefore, it is predicted that the group-enhancing presentation among Western people is a strategy to emphasize the shared superiority between the ingroup and themselves under the assumption that they are able to self-categorize with the ingroup (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherill, 1987). Western people as members of an ingroup, including its positive features, position themselves subjectively as individuals possessing these features, and next will adopt a group-enhancing presentation so that other people categorize them in the ingroup based on a presentation of shared features. Because people will avoid another person's categorization of them in a negative group, a group-effacing presentation is thought to be avoided in the West. This is a process of 'basking in reflected glory' among members of a superior group (Cialdini et al., 1976).

Therefore, identification with the ingroup is needed first in order to make a group-enhancing presentation among Western people. Their group-enhancement is thought to decline when they belong to a negative group that is difficult to identify. For instance, Western people distance themselves from the negative image produced when group performance results in a failure (Cialdini et al., 1976; Snyder, Lassengard, & Ford, 1986). The prediction that only the individuals who have positive identities will present the ingroup positively to other persons is consistent with the social identity theory (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel, & Turner, 1986).

On the other hand, it is predicted that ingroup-presentation in Asia will be grounded on individuals' recognition of the relationship between the group and themselves, not on their self-categorization in the group. Muramoto & Yamaguchi (1997) empirically suggested that Japanese ingroup members construct the reciprocal relations in which they maintain and improve mutual social identity through a group-enhancing presentation. It is conceivable that Asian people make the group-enhancing presentation to emphasize the connection between the group and themselves, by showing other persons that they are in a reciprocal relation which the group and they support each other mutually. For Asian people, making other people acknowledge that they have reciprocal relations with the ingroup or group members is a desirable strategy in order to improve the public evaluation of themselves in societies where an interdependent view of self is conspicuous. In this case, their identification with the ingroup is not always a precondition for group-enhancement. Because the presentation of the reciprocal relation is important, individuals will present the ingroup positively to other persons, and indicate indirectly the smooth reciprocity between the group and themselves, even though they belong to a negative group which is difficult to identify. In other words, the group-enhancing presentation of Asians is hypothesized to be highly maintained irrespective of their degree of ingroup identity, unlike the Western people.

According to Muramoto (2003), moreover, the self-effacing presentation among Japanese is said to be made even while expecting important others to reject it. She reported that Japanese attributed their own success to external factors while expecting that family members and friends would reject that attribution. This research suggests that Japanese in a reciprocal network including other persons make indirect self-enhancing presentations through a filter that consists of their denials of self-effacement.

The above tendency is thought to be observed even in the ingroup-presentation. As suggested by Muramoto & Yamaguchi (1997), if Japanese make a group-enhancing presentation in order to maintain a mutual social identity, the individual who makes the group-effacing presentation will fail to obtain a desirable public evaluation because s/he decreases the social identity of other members. Yet this was a case wherein the

target person (TP) of the ingroup-presentation was an ingroup member.<sup>1)</sup> In the first place, people have no reciprocal relations with others outside their ingroup which would improve their social identity mutually through a group-enhancing presentation. When Asian people make only a group-enhancing presentation that has an aspect of emphasizing their own performance and ability indirectly, this will be to their disadvantage in reinforcing a relationship with a person outside of the ingroup, because self-effacement is favored in Asia. In this case, in addition to a group-enhancing presentation, Japanese people will even use a group-effacing presentation with the expectation of refusal by a TP outside of the ingroup. Therefore, when Europeans and Japanese are compared, it is predicted that the latter will have a greater tendency for group-effacing presentation than the former.

In this study, people in Europe are hypothesized to let other persons categorize the independent self through the ingroup-presentation, but the Japanese people are supposed to make ingroup-presentation in order to show the relational self that has a reciprocal relation with the ingroup. The difference in the view of self between Europe and Japan is predicted to produce the following differences not only in the ingroup-presentation but also in the self-presentation.

Although people are motivated to evaluate their own desirable characteristics actively in Western culture where the independent view of self is obvious, they are motivated to set themselves into valuable social relations in Asian culture where the interdependent view of self is dominant (Kitayama, 1998). Such differences in the view of self should be important factors in leading Western people make self-enhancing presentation, but increase the evaluation among Asian people of those who make self-effacing presentations over those who make self-enhancing presentations, as mentioned in the introduction of this study. Therefore, this study supposes that the tendency to make self-enhancing presentation is higher than that to make self-effacing presentation among Western people. In contrast with this, the intention to make self-effacing presentation among Asian people is supposed to be higher than that to make self-enhancing presentation.

Admission to a superior group improves the self-esteem of Western people (Tajfel, & Turner, 1986). This suggests that their self-categorization to a group including a positive feature will be counted as a basis for a person's own desirableness. It is predicted that self-enhancing presentation among Westerners should be higher in cases when they belong to a superior group than an inferior group, because of their motivation to evaluate such a desirable feature positively. When the TP notices the superiority of the presenter's ingroup, furthermore, this tendency may be more marked. A cognitive pattern that classifies plural entities on the basis of a common feature is

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1) Although the condition wherein the ingroup evaluation was disclosed to a member of ingroup was established in study 2 of Muramoto & Yamaguchi (1997), the result was not clear.

evident among Western people (Nisbett, et al., 2001). Therefore, by emphasizing their own advantages to a TP who is aware of the superiority of the ingroup, they expect the TP to categorize them in the ingroup. The self-enhancing presentation in the West is predicted to function as a strategy that causes the TP to categorize individuals in the superior group.

On the other hand, a self-enhancing presentation is viewed unfavorably in Asia, and the reciprocal relation between Asian people is maintained and strengthened by a self-effacing presentation involving the expectation that it will be rejected by other persons (Muramoto, 2003). As mentioned above, Asians are hypothesized to strongly maintain group-enhancing presentations independently from the degree of social identity. It is conceivable that they will accentuate the superiority of the ingroup relatively, by adopting group-enhancement together with self-effacement, and also will show the TP indirectly but intensely the reciprocal relation between the ingroup and themselves. In other words, the self-effacing presentation among Asians could be defined as a strategy to underscore the relationship between the ingroup and themselves. This tendency may be more observable in cases where the ingroup is superior. Therefore, the tendency for self-effacing rather than self-enhancing presentation among Asians should be higher in the superior group than in the inferior group, in contrast with the pattern seen in Western people. Furthermore, the tendency to make self-effacing presentation will be higher when the TP is aware of the superiority of ingroup than when the TP is ignorant of it.

Based on the above, the following hypotheses are examined in this study, which recruited Italians from Europe and Japanese from Asia.

Hypothesis 1: The intention of Italians to make group-enhancing presentation will be heightened according to their ingroup identity. On the other hand, the group-enhancing presentation will be consistently maintained among Japanese irrespective of the degree of their identity.

Hypothesis 2: The tendency to make group-enhancing presentation will be higher than that to make group-effacing presentation among Italians, while both will be highly maintained among Japanese.

Hypothesis 3: The intention to make self-enhancing presentation will be higher than that of self-effacing presentation among Italians, but the reverse will be observed among Japanese.

Hypothesis 4: The tendency to make self-enhancing presentation among Italians will be higher in the superior group. And it will be even higher when the superiority of the ingroup is known by the TP. The tendency to make self-effacing presentation among the Japanese will be higher in the superior group, and further heightened when the TP is aware of the superiority.

## Methods

### *Participants*

Eighty-two university students in Italy (35 males and 47 females) and 120 students in Japan (51 males and 69 females) participated in this experiment.

### *Materials and Designs*

First, all participants were instructed to read the following description of a business scene on the questionnaire: "You work in a major company. One day, a client visits your office to ask about your company's products. You wait on him, and are asked to tell about the achievements of yourself and your company." Each participant played the role of the employee who presents the achievements of him/herself and the company to the client. The TP was set up as client so that the participants would imagine a scene wherein they present themselves and their ingroup to a person outside the ingroup.

In accordance with a 2 (ingroup: superior vs. inferior)  $\times$  2 (TP: aware vs. ignorant) between-subjects design in Italy and Japan, respectively the scene was described as follows. First, they read that the products of their company in the superior group condition had a higher quality than those of other companies, and had established a good reputation among customers. Moreover, participants read a description in which their company had greater achievements than others. On the other hand, the products of their company in the inferior group condition were not as good as others, and their reputation among customers was worse. Participants in this condition were notified that the business results of their company were worse than others. In the condition where the features of the ingroup were noticed by the TP, the client was presented on the basis of the following description: "he had visited a lot of companies in this field, and already has sufficient information about your company." In another condition where the TP was ignorant of the ingroup's features, he was described as follows: "he is visiting a company in this field for the first time, and has no information regarding your company."

### *Dependent Measures*

Four items asking the degree of intention in talking about the achievement of the company, such as "I will insist that our company's business results are superior to those of others," were set up to measure the group-enhancing presentation. In order to measure the intention to make a self-enhancing presentation, there were also 4 items regarding the presentation of the personal business results, such as "I will insist my results are superior to those of other employees in the company." The group-effacing presentation was measured by 2 items, such as "I am going to speak that our

company's business results are not so very well." Three items such as "I am going to speak that my business results are not so very well" were used to measure the intention to make a self-effacing presentation. In addition to these, 4 items such as "I feel my company familiar to myself" or "I would feel proud if I was described as a member of this company" measured the ingroup identity.

All these items were marked on 5-point scales (1 = do not agree at all, 5 = strongly agree). The participant responded to them after reading the scenario corresponding to the experiment cell to which they were assigned.

## Results

### *Manipulation Check*

A check of the manipulation confirmed that no participants in either Italy or Japan had made an error in understanding the scenario. There were no significant differences in the sex ratio between the 2 cultures,  $\chi^2(1, n = 202) < 1.0$ , *ns*. The mean ages among the Italians and Japanese were 23.73 and 20.49 years, respectively, which was a significant difference ( $t_{198} = 11.14$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

An ANOVA of culture (2)  $\times$  ingroup (2)  $\times$  TP (2) on the means of 4 items ( $\alpha = 0.91$ ) measuring the identity to the ingroup indicated the significant interaction of culture  $\times$  ingroup,  $F_{1,193} = 19.95$ ,  $p < 0.001$ . Although the identity was significantly higher in the superior group condition than in the inferior group condition among both the Italians and Japanese, the difference was more evident among Japanese (the simple main effect of ingroup among the Italians was  $F_{1,77} = 61.48$ , the effect among Japanese was  $F_{1,116} = 398.02$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). The identity to the inferior group was higher among the Italians than among Japanese ( $M = 2.64$  among the Italians, but 1.92 among Japanese,  $F_{1,98} = 21.26$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), while there was no significant difference in the identity to the superior group between the Italians and Japanese ( $M = 4.01$  among the Italians, and 4.18 among Japanese,  $F_{1,98} = 1.85$ , *ns*).

The ingroup identity was lower in the inferior group than in the superior group in both Italy and Japan, and it was below the medium response (3.0). Therefore, the manipulation of ingroup identity was successful.

### *Ingroup- and self- presentation intentions*

Factor analyses were conducted for the items measuring the respective intentions for enhancement and effacement regarding the ingroup and self. Tables 1 and 2 show the results of analysis on 6 or 7 items regarding enhancement and effacement, respectively. On the basis of these results, the respective means for the self-enhancing presentation ( $\alpha = 0.53$ ), group-enhancing presentation ( $\alpha = 0.65$ ), self-effacing presentation ( $\alpha = 0.81$ ) and group-effacing presentation ( $\alpha = 0.75$ ) were calculated.



Because a significant difference was found in age between the sample in Italy and that in Japan, the 4 presentation intentions were submitted to a culture (2)  $\times$  ingroup (2)  $\times$  TP (2)  $\times$  presentation (4) ANACOVA including age as a covariate. Although no significant effect of age was observed, the interaction of culture  $\times$  ingroup  $\times$  TP  $\times$  presentation was significant,  $F_{3,576} = 4.31, p < 0.01$ . Table 3 shows the means for self-enhancement, group-enhancement, self-effacement, and group-effacement in the Italian and Japanese participants.

Based on the above result, ANOVAs of ingroup (2)  $\times$  TP (2)  $\times$  presentation (4) were conducted in the Italians and Japanese, respectively.

Among Italians, there were significant main effects of TP ( $F_{1,78} = 5.75, p < 0.05$ ), presentation ( $F_{3,228} = 134.14, p < 0.001$ ), interaction of ingroup  $\times$  presentation ( $F_{3,228} = 33.84, p < 0.001$ ), and TP  $\times$  presentation ( $F_{3,228} = 3.40, p < 0.05$ ). As a result of analyzing the 4 kinds of presentation intention respectively, a significant simple main effect of ingroup on the group-effacing presentation intention revealed that, firstly, it was higher in the inferior group ( $M = 2.63$ ) than in the superior group ( $M = 1.43$ ),  $F_{1,80} = 70.74, p < 0.001$ . A simple main effect of TP was not found,  $F_{1,80} < 1.0, ns$ . Similarly, on the intention to make a group-enhancing presentation, only the simple main effect of ingroup was significant,  $F_{1,80} = 23.92, p < 0.001$ . It was higher in the superior group condition ( $M = 3.83$ ) than in the inferior group condition ( $M = 3.05$ ). Neither effects of ingroup nor TP were significant in terms of the self-effacing presentation. On the tendency to make a self-enhancing presentation, finally, only a simple main effect of TP was found,  $F_{1,80} = 17.31, p < 0.001$ . It was increased significantly in the condition where the features of ingroup were known by the TP ( $M = 3.08$ ) than in the other condition wherein the TP was ignorant of it ( $M = 2.50$ ).

Among the Italians, a main effect of the TP was observed only on the self-enhancing presentation. It was increased when the TP knew the features of the ingroup in both the superior group,  $F_{1,36} = 7.54, p < 0.01$ , and the inferior group condition,  $F_{1,36} = 9.65, p < 0.01$ . Moreover, both the group-effacement and self-effacement in the superior group condition were significantly decreased in comparison with group-enhancement and self-enhancement. In the inferior group condition, however, the group-effacing presentation was increased significantly in comparison with the self-effacing presentation, and no differences were seen in either group-enhancement or self-enhancement (see Table 3).

In Japan, main effects of presentation ( $F_{3,348} = 84.97, p < 0.001$ ), interaction of ingroup  $\times$  presentation ( $F_{3,348} = 42.45, p < 0.001$ ), TP  $\times$  presentation ( $F_{3,348} = 21.44, p < 0.001$ ), and ingroup  $\times$  TP  $\times$  presentation ( $F_{3,348} = 13.62, p < 0.001$ ) were found.

No main effects and interactions on their group-effacement were found as a result of analyzing each of the 4 presentation intentions. Only a simple main effect of ingroup was shown on the self-effacing presentation,  $F_{1,116} = 4.46, p < 0.05$ . Intention to make

a self-effacing presentation was higher in the superior group condition ( $M = 3.81$ ) than in the inferior group condition ( $M = 3.54$ ).

In the group-enhancing presentation, an interaction of ingroup  $\times$  TP was found,  $F_{1,116} = 16.64$ ,  $p < 0.001$ . The simple main effect of TP in the inferior group was significant ( $F_{1,58} = 37.11$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), and it was a significant tendency in the superior group ( $F_{1,58} = 3.32$ ,  $p < 0.08$ ). In both these cases the group-enhancing presentation of Japanese was seen to be increased when the TP was ignorant of the features of the ingroup. Even when the TP was unaware of the inferiority in the inferior group condition, the tendency to make a group-enhancing presentation was stronger than that to make a self-enhancing presentation among Japanese, similar to the pattern in the superior group condition. Furthermore, the simple main effect of ingroup was significant in both conditions wherein the TP noticed or did not notice the features of the ingroup ( $F_{1,58} = 42.40$ ,  $p < 0.001$  in the former, and  $F_{1,58} = 4.38$ ,  $p < 0.05$  in the latter). Their group-enhancing presentation was higher in the superior group condition than in the inferior group condition, which was the same pattern as among the Italians (see Table 3).

In respect to a self-enhancing presentation, interaction of ingroup  $\times$  TP was found in the Japanese participants,  $F_{1,116} = 19.58$ ,  $p < 0.01$ . The simple main effect of the TP was significant only in the inferior group,  $F_{1,58} = 29.75$ ,  $p < 0.01$ , not significant in the superior group,  $F_{1,58} < 1.0$ , *ns*. Only in a case wherein the TP was aware of the ingroup inferiority the self-enhancing presentation intention of Japanese was higher than other intentions. Moreover, the significant simple main effect of ingroup on the self-enhancing presentation indicated that it was always higher in the inferior group than in the superior group regardless whether the TP was aware or ignorant of the ingroup features ( $F_{1,58} = 64.70$ ,  $p < 0.001$  in the aware TP condition, and  $F_{1,58} = 10.03$ ,  $p < 0.01$  in the ignorant TP condition).

The group-effacement, self-effacement, and group-enhancement in the superior group condition were all significantly higher than the group-effacing presentation intention among Japanese. On the other hand, both intentions of group-enhancement and self-enhancement were influenced by whether or not the inferiority of the ingroup was known to the TP, while both the group-effacement and self-effacement were highly maintained in the inferior group condition (see Table 3).

#### *Correlations between identity and presentation intention*

The partial correlation coefficients controlling the age were calculated to examine the relation between each presentation intention and ingroup identity in Italy and Japan, respectively. It is predicted that the group-enhancing presentation among the Italian people, who belong to European culture, will correlate with the ingroup identity in both the superior and inferior group condition, because their group-enhancing presentation is fixed in the self-categorization to ingroup. On the other hand, based on

the independence of the group-enhancing presentation from the ingroup identity of Japanese, who adopt the presentation as a strategy to show their reciprocal relationship with the ingroup, the correlations between those variables are hypothesized to decrease, especially in the inferior group.

Table 4 reveals the partial correlation coefficients between the ingroup identity and 4 kinds of presentation intention in Italy and Japan, respectively. Neither the group-effacement nor self-effacement correlated significantly with the identity in either Italy and Japan. However, the group-enhancing presentation of the Italians correlated significantly with the identity in both the superior group ( $r = 0.35, p < .05$ ) and inferior group ( $r = 0.32, p < .05$ ) condition, while significant correlations among Japanese were found only in the superior group ( $r = 0.66, p < .001$ ). This supported the above prediction. The partial correlation coefficient between the self-enhancing presentation and identity among Japanese was significant only in the superior group ( $r = 0.30, p < .05$ ), whereas the coefficient among the Italians was significant only in the inferior group ( $r = 0.42, p < .05$ ).

## Discussion

In both Italy and Japan, this study examined the cultural pattern of both ingroup- and self-presentation that were affected by an individual's ingroup identity, and the TP's information about the ingroup. It was hypothesized that the important function of both ingroup- and self-presentation among the Italians, who belong to European culture, was to get the TP to categorize them in the ingroup, on the basis of their self-categorization process to the ingroup. On the other hand, it was supposed that the important function of both presentations among the Japanese, who are part of Asian culture, was to present the reciprocal relationship between the ingroup or group member and themselves.

In the superior group condition wherein the ingroup identity was positive, the group-enhancing presentation intention of the Italians was higher than other intentions such as self-enhancement. However, their group-enhancing presentation was decreased in the inferior group condition where the identity was negative. Among Japanese, this was similar to the Italians in that the high group-enhancing presentation was indicated in the superior group. However, a remarkable group-enhancing presentation was also found in a case where the TP was not aware of the inferiority of the ingroup, in spite of their negative ingroup identity. Hypothesis 1 is supported by these results. Italians, who decide the ingroup-presentation on the basis of their self-categorization in the ingroup, need a positive identity to make a group-enhancing presentation, whereas this is not a necessary factor to make such a presentation among the Japanese, who adopt the ingroup-presentation to show their reciprocal relation between the ingroup and

themselves. This was also supported by the significant correlation between the identity and group-enhancement in both the superior and inferior group condition among the Italian participants, against the significant correlation between those variables only in the superior group among the Japanese.

Moreover, the tendency to make a group-effacing presentation among the Italians was weak in the superior group condition. The presentation in the inferior group was increased to the level of the group-enhancing presentation. But this is interpreted as an ingroup protective response which reflects the attribution of the ingroup inferiority to an external factor. Focusing on the pattern in the superior group condition to eliminate such opposite interpretations, the tendency to make group-enhancing presentation among the Italians was consistently higher than that to make a group-effacing presentation. On the other hand, the tendencies for group-enhancement and group-effacement were both high among Japanese superior members, which suggests their double-sided presentation in which they show the TP the ingroup not only enhancingly but also effacingly. These findings supported hypothesis 2. Although the group-serving bias was robust in the West, a lot of researches in Asia differed because both results, a group-serving and a group-effacing bias, were reported (Heine, & Lehman, 1997). Most Japanese are thought to adopt a group-enhancing presentation to emphasize the reciprocal relation between the ingroup and themselves, but they will also make the group-effacing presentation in parallel in order to prevent the decline of their public standing that results from the frequent group-enhancing presentation including the indirect enhancement of themselves. Their group-effacement may be offered with the anticipation that the TP will reject it, like the self-effacing presentation (Muramoto, 2003).

In a comparison of self-enhancement and self-effacement among Italian people, the former was more consistently evident than the latter. This is in accord with other researches suggesting the advantages of both a self-enhancing presentation and self-serving bias in the West (Greenberg, et al., 1982; Schlenker, 1975). On the other hand, the tendency to make a self-effacing presentation among Japanese was consistently higher than that to make a self-enhancing presentation, except in one condition wherein the inferiority of the ingroup is known to the TP. This is consistent with researches indicating that individuals who made the self-effacing presentation were evaluated favorably in Asia (Bond, et al., 1982; Yoshida, et al., 1982). Therefore, hypothesis 3 was supported.

In order to examine hypothesis 4, each intention of self-enhancement and self-effacement was compared between the superior group and inferior group condition. No significant differences between the superior and inferior group were found in either of these presentations among the Italian participants. Therefore, the prediction that the admission to the superior group is a desirable distinction for

European individuals and increases their self-enhancing presentation was not supported. Yet their tendency to make a self-enhancing presentation in the superior group was higher in the case where the superiority was known to the TP than in the other case where it was not known by the TP. This suggests the possibility that Italians adopt the self-enhancing presentation as a strategy to prompt the TP to categorize them to the superior group, by emphasizing that they have superiority in common with the ingroup. Furthermore, the self-effacing presentation intention of superior group members in Japan was higher than that of inferior group members. This result suggests that even superior group members in Japan adopt a self-effacing presentation, in addition to their robust group-enhancing presentation that was revealed through the investigation of hypothesis 2 in the above. They are thought to adopt these two types of presentations simultaneously to accentuate the ingroup superiority to the TP relatively and show the reciprocal relation between the group and themselves. However, their self-effacing presentation was not influenced by whether the TP was aware of the superiority of the ingroup. This result is inconsistent with the prediction that the self-effacing presentation among Japanese will increase when the ingroup superiority is known by the TP. Thus, hypothesis 4 was supported partially in both Italy and Japan. Two functions of self-presentation on the basis of the relationship between the ingroup and individuals could be suggested here. One is a function of the self-enhancing presentation among Western people as a strategy to prompt the other person to categorize them in the ingroup, and the other is the function of the self-effacing presentation among Asian people as a strategy to show the other person the reciprocal relation between the ingroup and themselves.

In spite of the negative ingroup identity among Japanese members of inferior ingroups in this study, their group-enhancement and self-effacement were higher than the self-enhancement when the TP was ignorant of the ingroup inferiority. In contrast with Schlenker (1975), which reported the advantage of self-enhancing presentation in North America, this study reinforced again the advantage of self-effacing presentation in Asia. When the inferiority of the ingroup was known to the TP, however, their unique response in which the degree of self-enhancement was greater than group-enhancement was shown. This pattern is explained as follows. In a case where the TP is aware of the inferiority of the ingroup, people are not able to adopt the group-enhancing presentation because ingroup enhancement is inconsistent with the information that the TP has. On the other hand, they have to exclude other person's cognition of them as a member of an inferior group in order to maintain and improve their public standing. Therefore, they will try to get the TP to separate them from the inferior ingroup through a self-enhancing presentation. This process among Japanese agrees with the five-stage model (Taylor & McKirnan, 1984) in the social identity theory wherein the members with the negative identity are said to socially distance

themselves from the ingroup.

The above cognitive social movement away from the inferior group by the self-enhancing presentation should be observed among Italian people. Although it was supposed that the self-enhancing presentation intention of Italians in the superior group would be higher than that of the inferior group in this study, no significant difference was found between these two groups. Because self-enhancement among Italians on the basis of the self-categorization occurred in the superior group while a different self-enhancement aiming at the social movement was increased in the inferior group, the differences in the degree of self-enhancing presentation could be interpreted to disappear between these group conditions. Their self-enhancing presentation in this study was increased in both the superior and the inferior group when the TP was aware of the features of the ingroup. This may support the above interpretation.

However, attention must be paid to the fact that the tendencies for self-enhancement and group-enhancement were almost equal in the Italian participants when the inferiority of the ingroup was known by the TP, whereas the Japanese people moved conspicuously from the group-enhancing presentation to the self-enhancing presentation in that case. From these results, it is hypothesized that self-enhancement for cognitive social movement is not as robust among Italians as among Japanese. This suggests that the consciousness of Italians to other persons' categorization of them in the inferior group is lower than that among Japanese.

Individuals in the West are considered to have independent decision making processes even when they belong to a group, while individuals in Asia are thought to be related with the group (Menon, et al., 1999). People in the West where such a view of self as an independent entity is always dominant will be able to have greater expectations that the other person will separate them from the ingroup, in comparison with people in Asia where they are positioned as the relational entities. For instance, inferior group members in the West as compared with inferior members in Asia will consider there to be a lesser possibility that the other person will see them as inferior individuals on the basis of sharing a category with the inferior group. Such expectations are presumed to decrease the self-enhancing presentation for social movement of European inferior group members in comparison to inferior members in Asia.

On the other hand, when individuals intend to make the other person categorize them in the superior ingroup, the above process will stimulate Western people to positively present the common features between the ingroup and themselves. The self-enhancing presentation intention of Italian people in the superior group was higher than that of Japanese in this study, and supported the above prediction. The estimation of the degree of another person's categorization of individuals to the ingroup differs culturally between the West and Asia, and this may result in the differences in self-enhancing presentation between these cultures.

However, the ingroup identity of the Italians in the inferior group was higher than

that of the Japanese in this study. The possibility that such differences between their identities influences the ingroup- and self-presentation cannot be ruled out. Future experiments including the exact control of such variables and the improvement of scales are needed to investigate the above prediction.

Both Italy and Japan are said to have cultures of collectivism, not individualism (Triandis, 1995). This study also indicated that the tendency to make group-enhancing presentation was generally higher than that to make self-enhancing presentation in both Italians and Japanese. Thus, both are suggested to be cultures of collectivism. However, the differences in the pattern of ingroup-presentation and self-presentation were examined on the basis of the difference of 2 kinds of view of self, not on the basis of the differences between collectivism and individualism.

One view is that of the European self as an individual who is independent from the ingroup even though s/he shares a category with the ingroup, and the other is that of the Asian self as an individual who is established in a reciprocal relation with ingroup. Further researches are necessary to investigate the cultural differences regarding ingroup-presentation and self-presentation, according to the differences between the 2 views of self of the independent self and the relational self.

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**Table 1 Result of factor analysis to 6 items measuring the group-enhancing and group-effacing presentation (after varimax rotation)**

Items	Means	Group-enhancement	Group-effacement
I intend to tell him that we are confident of our company's business results.	3.34	<u>0.825</u>	0.043
I will insist that our company's business results are superior to those of others.	3.13	<u>0.772</u>	0.134
I will tell him that all members work hardly to raise the results of company.	3.65	<u>0.723</u>	0.004
I will mention actually some positive points of our company besides the results.	4.10	<u>0.684</u>	-0.284
I intend to speak that our company's good results are accomplished by chance.	2.99	0.121	<u>0.829</u>
I am going to speak that our company's business results are not so very well.	3.28	-0.114	<u>0.791</u>
Eigenvalues		2.297	1.411
Proportion		38.28%	23.52%

**Table 2 Result of factor analysis to 7 items measuring the self-enhancing and self-effacing presentation (after varimax rotation)**

Items	Means	Self-effacement	Self-enhancement
I intend to speak that my good results are accomplished by chance.	2.86	<u>0.882</u>	0.017
I will explain our company's results are good whereas my results are not so.	3.15	<u>0.815</u>	-0.023
I am going to speak that my business results are not so very well.	2.50	<u>0.811</u>	0.010
I will tell him that my good results are attained by my own hard works.	2.78	-0.284	<u>0.769</u>
I will insist my results are superior to those of other members in my company.	2.09	0.272	<u>0.753</u>
I intend to tell him that I'm confident of my own business results.	2.74	-0.437	<u>0.635</u>
I will mention actually some positive points of me besides my results.	3.16	0.123	<u>0.607</u>
Eigenvalues		2.535	1.858
Proportion		36.21%	26.54%

**Table 3 Means of each presentation intention among Italians and Japanese**

Ingroup and TP condition	Presentation intentions				
	Group-effacement	Self-effacement	Group-enhancement / Self-enhancement		
Italians	Superior group / Aware TP	1.43a (0.59)	1.53a (0.66)	3.89b (0.61)	2.95c (0.44)
	Superior group / Ignorant TP	1.43a (0.58)	1.63a (0.71)	3.78b (0.85)	2.50c (0.56)
	Inferior group / Aware TP	2.71a (0.44)	1.68b (0.58)	3.17ac (0.62)	3.20c (0.69)
Italians	Inferior group / Ignorant TP	2.55a (0.93)	1.60b (0.81)	2.94a (0.77)	2.50a (0.70)
	Superior group / Aware TP	3.95a (0.66)	3.93a (0.63)	3.94a (0.62)	2.08b (0.64)
	Superior group / Ignorant TP	3.90ab (0.52)	3.68a (0.77)	4.22b (0.54)	2.13c (0.56)
Japanese	Inferior group / Aware TP	3.83a (0.80)	3.58a (0.80)	2.49b (1.05)	3.67a (0.86)
	Inferior group / Ignorant TP	3.88a (0.67)	3.50a (0.53)	3.88a (0.68)	2.61b (0.62)

Table 4 Partial correlation coefficients between ingroup identity and presentation intention among Italians and Japanese

Ingroup condition	Presentation intentions				
	Group-effacement	Self-effacement	Group-enhancement	Self-enhancement	
Italians	Superior group members	-0.25 (n=40)	-0.28 (n=40)	0.35* (n=40)	-0.26 (n=37)
	Inferior group members	0.07 (n=39)	0.08 (n=39)	0.32* (n=39)	0.42* (n=39)
	Superior group members	0.03 (n=60)	-0.11 (n=60)	0.66*** (n=60)	0.30* (n=60)
	Inferior group members	-0.16 (n=60)	0.10 (n=60)	-0.12 (n=60)	0.20 (n=60)