

The Individual-Oriented and Social-Oriented Chinese Bicultural Self: Testing the Theory

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ABSTRACT. The author proposes a bicultural self theory for contemporary Chinese individuals, encompassing 2 main components: the individual-oriented self and the social-oriented self. The social orientation is rooted in traditional Chinese conceptualization of the self, whereas the individual orientation has evolved and developed under Western influences along with recent societal modernization. The author conducted a series of 5 studies to test the theory and relate the model to important issues in current personality and social psychological research, such as cultural individualism–collectivism, self-construals, motivation, cognition, emotion, and well-being. A total of 977 university students in Taiwan participated. The author found that contrasting self-aspects were differentially associated with the aforementioned constructs, as theoretically predicted. This evidence thus generally supported the bicultural self model.

Keywords: Chinese bicultural self, individual orientation, social orientation

AGAINST THE GREATER SOCIOECONOMIC BACKGROUND of globalization, Lu and Yang (2004, 2006) recently drew attention to a distinct phenomenon of biculturalism that is scarcely noticed by Western mainstream psychology but nonetheless is vitally meaningful for the vast population of people living in the non-Western developing world. The phenomenon is the traditional–modern bicultural self among presumed monoculturals such as the Taiwanese (cultural Chinese). Lu and Yang (2004, 2006) asserted that (a) the traditional (*social-oriented*) Chinese self differs from the modern (*individual-oriented*) Chinese self and (b) as a result of modernization, the modern Chinese self has become more widely distributed in contemporary culturally Chinese societies so that both the

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traditional self and the modern self are now available to most Chinese individuals. Although Lu and Yang conducted a systematic review of relevant literature to support their proposal, their model was in the form of preliminary theoretical statements; they did not delineate specific, discrete contents of the two selves, nor did they develop measures for them. In previous research (Lu, 2007), I systematically and comprehensively delineated the main contents of the individual-oriented and social-oriented self and developed and conducted initial validation of the Individual- and Social-oriented Self (ISS) Scale. The primary objective of the present article is to report the results of a series of studies designed to further validate the construct of the individual-oriented and social-oriented self and to test implications of this bicultural self model for several contemporary issues in the field of self psychology.

The Bicultural Model: Individual- and Social-Oriented Self

The present conceptualization of the Chinese bicultural self relies most heavily on Lu (2003), Lu and Yang (2004, 2006), and Yang (2004) but also borrows widely from the related literature. I focus the present discussion on the core ideas of each self-view.

The *social-oriented self*, also referred to as the relational, collective, allocentric, or interdependent self, involves the conception of oneself as a connected, fluid, flexible, committed being who is bound to others (E. S. Kashima & Hardie, 2000; Lu, 2003; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Sedikides & Brewer, 2001; Triandis, 1989; Yang, 2004). This self-view is derived from a belief in the individual's connectedness and interdependence with others and locates crucial self-representations not within unique individual attributes, but within social relationships. The essence of the traditional Chinese self is its social-oriented nature that emphasizes roles, statuses, positions, commitments, and responsibilities. Confucian culture strongly advocates the priority of collective (especially family) welfare and rewards self-control, diligent role performance, and rigorous self-cultivation. A person in the Confucian tradition is primarily a relational being defined in terms of specific dyadic relationships, such as being a son, brother, husband, or father. The relational and social way of being is thus the core of the traditional Chinese self (Tu, 1985).

In addition to the relational and social aspects of the self as emphasized in theoretical constructs such as the interdependent self, the traditional Chinese self has the following defining features. (a) The Chinese self is not only the original source of the individual's behavior but also a tool for realizing an ideal society; thus, the gradual formation of a moral self through the internalization of prevailing moral codes and social norms constitutes the Chinese style of self-autonomy (Tu, 1985). (b) The ultimate aim of the Chinese self is to achieve unity between the self and society via self-cultivation, self-control, and self-transcendence (Lu & Yang, 2005). (c) The Chinese self is fundamentally a moral being who must

strive for continuous moral improvement to overtake itself (Tu, 1985). (d) The boundary of the Chinese self is constantly extended to include more others as a result of the self-cultivation process (Lu & Yang, 2005). In sum, morality and self-cultivation are central to the traditional Chinese self but are not included in other theoretical formulations of social–collectivist ways of selfhood. These characteristics of the Chinese self are markedly different from those of the Western self.

In sharp contrast to the traditional Chinese self, the *individual-oriented self*, also referred to as the *personal, private, individual, idiocentric, or independent self*, involves the conception of the person as a bounded, coherent, stable, autonomous, independent, and free entity (E. S. Kashima & Hardie, 2000; Lu, 2003; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Sedikides & Brewer, 2001; Triandis, 1989; Yang, 2004). This self-view is derived from a belief in the wholeness and separateness of an individual's configuration of internal attributes, which locates crucial self-representations within the individual. The essence of the Western self is its emphasis on personal talents, potentialities, needs, strivings, and rights. Thus, the independent and individual way of being is the core of the Western self (Geertz, 1975).

As argued by Lu and Yang (2004, 2006), researchers should include the individual-oriented self in the representation of the modern Chinese self. This inclusion is justified by the theoretical proposition that contrasting self systems can coexist within an individual (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Thus, the social-oriented self retains the essence of the traditional Chinese self, whereas the individual-oriented self represents the increasing influence of the Western culture in the process of societal modernization (Lu, 2003; Lu & Gilmour, 2004; Yang, 1996).

Measuring the Bicultural Self: The ISS Scale

In a direct attempt to analyze and measure the contents of the Chinese bicultural self, I (Lu, 2007) constructed two comprehensive conceptual frameworks based on the previously outlined theoretical analysis of traditional Chinese and Western conceptions of the self. I organized the frameworks around two themes. The first theme—*ontological and structural features of the self*—theorizes that viewing the self as changeable, moral, and spiritual with a flexible boundary is a key characteristic of the traditional Chinese social-oriented self, whereas viewing the self as fixed with a firm boundary is a key characteristic of the Western individual-oriented self. I divided the second theme—*functional and operative features of the self*—into three subthemes: (a) the self–other relationship, (b) the self–group relationship, and (c) the self–society relationship (including the self–environment relationship). Specifically, emphasizing communal orientation, face-to-face work, and sensitivity to others (traditional Chinese social orientation) versus emphasizing exchange orientation, interpersonal competition, and direct expression (Western individual orientation) indicates diverse views on the self–other relationship; emphasizing in-group integration and superiority of group goals (traditional Chinese social orientation) versus emphasizing

separation from the group and superiority of personal goals (Western individual orientation) indicates diverse views on the self–group relationship; and emphasizing rules, norms, and situational sensitivity (traditional Chinese social orientation) versus emphasizing self-consistency (Western individual orientation) indicates diverse views on the self–society (environment) relationship.

I subsequently carried out scale development and initial evaluation following rigorous psychometric procedures. I wrote a total of 125 and 124 items to represent the individual-oriented self and social-oriented self, respectively. I adopted some items from existing measures of independence–interdependence and individualism–collectivism (I–C) and constructed the rest anew. I then conducted item analysis and exploratory factor analysis (EFA) on this initial pool of items using data from students and adults in Taiwan ($N = 839$). I retained 41 items measuring the individual-oriented self and 44 items measuring the social-oriented self. The EFA results indicated stable factor structures across the student and adult samples. For the individual-oriented self, I found four factors with clear psychological meanings: independence, self-determination, competition, and consistency. For the social-oriented self, I again found four factors with clear psychological meanings: contextual self, interpersonal relatedness, self-cultivation, and social sensitivity. On this basis, I constructed a short version of the ISS Scale, with 20 items measuring individual-oriented self and 20 measuring social-oriented self. The correlations among the individual-oriented and social-oriented factors were low ($r = -.02$) to moderate ($r = .63$), with a median correlation of .10, indicating that the two self-aspects are clearly distinguishable and can be measured unambiguously using the ISS scales.

Lu's (2007) report of initial scale validation showed that all ISS subscales had satisfactory internal consistency reliability (Cronbach's $\alpha = .70-.90$). The social desirability bias was negligible. Convergent and divergent validity with the independent–interdependent self-construals were acceptable. Furthermore, across gender and cohort (students, adults), Chinese participants more strongly endorsed the social-oriented self (item $M = 4.43$ on a scale of 1 to 6) than the individual-oriented self (item $M = 4.03$; paired $t[760] = 21.71, p < .001$). This pattern was consistent with theoretical expectations, and I regarded it as preliminary support for the construct validation of the bicultural self model.

In sum, I found satisfactory reliability and some initial support for the validity of the ISS Scale. The dual 4-factor structure of the ISS subscales encompasses the key components of the initial theoretical frameworks and broadly covers well-documented cultural differences in the self, including independence versus interdependence, cross-situational consistency versus context sensitivity, and other- versus self-focus. The 40-item ISS Scale is a conglomeration of the individual- versus social-oriented self dichotomy and has the potential to contribute to the literature by unifying the wealth of research on related constructs by categorizing them into individual and social orientations and providing a single instrument to capture all of these self-aspects. To this end, researchers need to carry out systematic scale validations.

The Present Research

I report a series of five studies in this article. Study 1 focused on the convergent and divergent validity of the ISS Scale with references to other well-established measures of related constructs such as independent–interdependent self-construals and I–C. Studies 2, 3, and 4 focused on the associations between the self and social relationships, emotions, cognition, and motivation. Study 5 was a priming experiment examining the impact of laboratory activation of one self system on ISS Scale scores. I conducted this experimental manipulation to search for the convergence of research findings beyond self-report studies.

STUDY 1: CONVERGENT AND DIVERGENT VALIDITY

To test the convergent and divergent validity of the ISS Scale, I selected two sets of scales that are relevant to the individual-oriented and social-oriented self: (a) the Independent–Interdependent Self-Construal Scale (SCS; Singelis, 1994) and (b) scenarios for I–C (Triandis, Chen, & Chan, 1998). I describe these scales in more detail in the following sections and discuss their expected relationships with each ISS subscale (abbreviated as *ISS-I* for overall individual-oriented self and *ISS-S* for overall social-oriented self). For easy reference, ISS-I1, ISS-I2, ISS-I3, and ISS-I4 respectively represent each of the four ISS-I factors: independence, self-determination, competition, and consistency. Similarly, ISS-S1, ISS-S2, ISS-S3, and ISS-S4 respectively represent each of the four ISS-S factors: contextual self, interpersonal relatedness, self-cultivation, and social sensitivity.

ISS and SCS

Based on the framework of Markus and Kitayama (1991), the SCS is arguably the most widely used measure in the literature of self-construals. According to Singelis (1994), the independent self-construal emphasizes the separateness, internal attributes, and uniqueness of individuals, whereas the interdependent self-construal emphasizes connectedness, social context, and relationships with significant others. Allowing for imperfect reliability and inherent overlap between aspects of the self, I predicted that the SCS independence scale (SCS-ind) would correlate positively and more strongly with all ISS-I subscales than with all ISS-S subscales, whereas the SCS interdependence scale (SCS-inter) would correlate positively and more strongly with all ISS-S subscales than with all ISS-I subscales.

ISS and I–C Scenarios

To reduce the potential social desirability bias inherent in many attitudinal measures of I–C, Triandis et al. (1998) proposed a method of using scenarios with multiple choices to represent each of the four cultural types: horizontal

individualism (HI), horizontal collectivism (HC), vertical individualism (VI), and vertical collectivism (VC). A further advantage of the scenario approach is its ability to sample real-life encounters. According to Triandis (1995), HI indicates autonomy of the self and equality among individuals (e.g., American culture), HC indicates priority of in-group membership but equality in power and status among members, VI differs from HI in its acceptance of inequality and emphasis on competition, and VC differs from HC in that in-group members accept and emphasize status inequality and power differences among themselves (e.g., Chinese culture). Thus, I predicted that VI (emphasizing competition) would positively correlate with ISS-I and ISS-I3 (competition), whereas HI (emphasizing autonomy) would positively correlate with ISS-I and ISS-I2 (self-determination). I also predicted that HC and VC (both emphasizing interdependence) would positively correlate with ISS-S, ISS-S2 (interpersonal relatedness), and ISS-S4 (social sensitivity). All other possible correlations should be zero or negative. (This statement applies to all studies reported in this article). Because I tested students, I omitted 5 scenarios concerning work situations and used only the remaining 11.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Chinese students ($N = 287$) from various universities in Taiwan took part in the study on a voluntary basis. They received a small gift for their participation. Slightly more women ($n = 166, 58.2\%$) than men ($n = 119, 41.8\%$) participated. Two did not identify their gender. The average age of participants was 22.17 years ($SD = 1.51$ years). They completed the questionnaire during class.

I used Chinese as the testing language. Researchers developed some measures originally in Chinese, such as the ISS, and other researchers translated some into Chinese and tested their usability. Thus, no serious concerns for equivalence issues exist. Throughout Studies 1, 2, 3, and 4, I told participants that the questionnaire was a general value survey, and I fully debriefed them afterward. The recruiting and testing procedure was the same for all five studies.

Materials

The questionnaire booklet contained the 40 items of the ISS Scale, plus items from the SCS and I-C scenarios. I counterbalanced the order of presentation, with half of participants completing the ISS first followed by other measures and the other half of participants completing the instruments in reverse order. I followed the same counterbalancing procedure in Studies 2-4.

For both the ISS and SCS items, responses ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). Four possible response choices followed each of 11 scenarios

for I–C. To simplify scoring and analysis, participants in this study selected only one response that they thought was the best for the situation. I coded their responses as HI, HC, VI, or VC. At the end of the questionnaire, participants provided demographic data, including age, gender, and religion, in all five studies.

Results and Discussion

I examined the pattern of correlations between each ISS subscale and other measures to test for predictions. I computed both zero-order and partial correlations, because Lu's (2007) initial study noted low to moderate correlations among ISS-I factors and ISS-S factors. Although there was a high degree of consistency between the two sets, most partial correlations were smaller than the corresponding zero-order correlations, suggesting that the latter involved a degree of confound between the two self-aspects. This trend was consistent across all five studies. For this reason, I present and summarize the results using only partial correlations throughout this article.

The results of Study 1 are summarized in Table 1. On the one hand, SCS-ind correlated significantly, positively, and more strongly with ISS-I and its four subscales than did the ISS-S cluster. On the other hand, SCS-inter correlated significantly, positively, and more strongly with ISS-S and its four subscales than did the ISS-I cluster. These patterns generally supported my predictions regarding the SCS, indicating both convergent validity for the ISS through strong, positive relations between (a) independence and individual-oriented self and (b) interdependence and social-oriented self; and divergent validity for the ISS through no or weak relations between (a) independence and social-oriented self and (b) interdependence and individual-oriented self.

As I predicted, HI correlated positively with ISS-I2 (self-determination), whereas VI correlated positively with ISS-I3 (competition). However, HI and VI failed to correlate with the overall ISS-I scale. Both HC and VC correlated positively with the overall ISS-S, ISS-S2 (interpersonal relatedness), and ISS-S4 (social sensitivity), as I predicted. Other correlations involving HI, HC, VI, and VC were either not significant or negative, again as predicted. In sum, the ISS Scale showed good convergent and divergent validity with independent–interdependent self-construals and with I–C as measured in a scenarios approach.

STUDY 2: SELF AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

The essential characteristics of the social-oriented self involve a strong orientation toward interpersonal connectedness and interdependence, an eclectic boundary between the self and other, and an emphasis on relationship harmony and continuance. To test the possible differing impact of individual-oriented self and social-oriented self on cognitions, feelings, and behaviors pertaining to social relationships, I selected four measures that are relevant to relationship experiences:

TABLE 1. Correlations Between Individual- and Social-oriented Self (ISS) Subscales and Other Measures in Study 1 (*N* = 287)

ISS subscale	α	SCS-ind ^a	SCS-inter ^b	HI	HC	VI	VC
ISS-I	.76	.57***	.10	.11	-.15*	.08	.00
ISS-I1	.73	.24***	.14*	.06	-.03	-.04	-.02
ISS-I2	.78	.46***	.13*	.15*	-.12*	-.04	.00
ISS-I3	.65	.15***	-.18**	.00	-.12*	.24***	-.03
ISS-I4	.76	.47***	.12*	-.02	-.03	.03	.05
ISS-S	.79	.19**	.66***	-.26***	.14*	-.01	.20**
ISS-S1	.62	.20**	.23***	-.05	.01	-.02	.08
ISS-S2	.64	.10	.53***	-.14*	.13*	-.11	.13*
ISS-S3	.69	.10	.39***	-.11	.01	.03	.11
ISS-S4	.58	.16**	.50***	-.21**	.13*	-.05	.16**

Note. SCS-ind = Independent–Interdependent Self-Construal Scale, independence subscale (T. M. Singelis, 1994); SCS-inter = Independent–Interdependent Self-Construal Scale, interdependence subscale (T. M. Singelis); HI = horizontal collectivism (H. C. Triandis, X. P. Chen, & D. K. S. Chan, 1998); HC = horizontal collectivism (H. C. Triandis et al.); VI = vertical individualism (H. C. Triandis et al.); VC = vertical collectivism (H. C. Triandis et al.); ISS-I = overall individual-oriented self; ISS-I1 = independence; ISS-I2 = self-determination; ISS-I3 = competition; ISS-I4 = consistency; ISS-S = overall social-oriented self; ISS-S1 = contextual self; ISS-S2 = interpersonal relatedness; ISS-S3 = self-cultivation; ISS-S4 = social sensitivity. Values in bold type supported study predictions; values in italics did not support study predictions.

^a α = .72. ^b α = .78.

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

(a) the Communal Orientation Scale (COS; Clark, Ouellette, Powell, & Milberg, 1987), (b) the Relationship Closeness Inventory (RCI; Berscheid, Snyder, & Omoto, 1989), (c) the Inclusion of Other in the Self Scale (IOS; Aron, Aron, & Smollman, 1992), and (d) the Harmony Beliefs Scale (HBS; Lu & Gilmour, 2004).

ISS and COS

Based on the theoretical distinction between communal and exchange relationships, Clark and Mills (1979) developed the COS as a dispositional measure of the communal orientation. Characteristics of people in communal relationships are their responsiveness to the other's welfare; desire and willingness to please, care for, and benefit the other person; and expectations for reciprocity from the other person. According to Clark et al. (1987), the COS assesses whether an individual typically behaves in a communal fashion toward others, as well as whether an individual expects others to behave in a communal fashion toward him or her. Thus, I predicted that the COS (emphasizing interdependence) would correlate with ISS-S, ISS-S2 (interpersonal relatedness), and ISS-S4 (social sensitivity).

ISS and RCI

Drawing on the conceptualization of closeness as high interdependence between two people's activities, Kelley et al. (1983) developed the RCI to assess frequency, diversity, and strength of social relationships and to form an overall index of closeness based on their combination. In this study, I used subscales assessing the frequency (RCI-F) of joint activities with a particular person and perceived strength (RCI-S) of that particular relationship. I predicted that both RCI-F and RCI-S (emphasizing interdependence) would correlate with ISS-S and ISS-S2 (interpersonal relatedness).

ISS and IOS

The IOS is a succinct measure of interpersonal closeness conceptualized as one's sense of being interconnected with another (Aron et al., 1992). I presented the test in Venn-like diagrams with varying degrees of overlap between the circles. A key characteristic of the Chinese conception of the self is exercising self-restraint to cultivate the mind, respecting social rules, and looking after others' welfare (Lu, 2003; Lu & Yang, 2005). I predicted that scores on the IOS (indicating interdependence) would correlate with ISS-S, ISS-S2 (interpersonal relatedness), ISS-S3 (self-cultivation), and ISS-S4 (social sensitivity).

ISS and HBS

Relationship harmony is a concept borrowed from Confucian philosophy, referring to the balance achieved in relationships. The major focus of this concept is on the relationship, rather than on the satisfaction of its constituent individuals or the support derived by an individual from that relationship (Ho, 1993). Based on this conceptualization, Lu and Gilmour (2004) developed the HBS by paraphrasing Chinese idioms depicting interpersonal harmony into belief statements to tap generic harmony beliefs. They wrote items in reference to general social interactions without specifying a particular type of relationship. Because this measure is unique in its theoretical basis rooted in the Confucian philosophy and Chinese cultural tradition, I predicted that the HBS would correlate with ISS-S and its four subscales.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Chinese students ($N = 219$) took part in this study. More women ($n = 160$, 73.1%) than men ($n = 59$, 26.9%) participated. The average age of the participants was 22.20 years ($SD = 1.80$ years).

Materials

The questionnaire booklet contained the 40 ISS items, plus the items of the COS, RCI, IOS, and HBS. To answer the two RCI subscales, participants thought of one particular person, *X*, with whom they had the closest, deepest, most involved, and most intimate relationship. Participants wrote down the name or a code name for *X* and used him or her as the target person while answering all subsequent questions. I summed the reported typical amount of time per day spent alone with *X* in the morning, afternoon, and evening within the past week as the raw score for RCI-F. Following Berscheid et al. (1989), I converted this raw score to a 1–10 frequency scale in later analyses. The RCI-S lists 34 activities, decisions, and plans through which both current (e.g., “*X* influences what I watch on TV”) and future (“*X* affects my vacation plans”) strengths of impact of *X* are assessed. The 6-point rating scale ranges from 1 (*strongly disagree or not at all*) to 6 (*strongly agree or a great extent*). I converted the sum score to a 1–10 scale, following the original designers’ procedure.

For the IOS, participants selected one pair of circles from seven to graphically represent their relationship with *X*. I coded these from 1 (*no overlap*) to 7 (*greatest extent of overlap*). For both the COS (14 items) and the HBS (9 items), I used the 6-point response scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*).

Results and Discussion

As in Study 1, I examined the pattern of correlations between each ISS subscale and the other measures to test the predictions. Table 2 presents the results. As I predicted, the COS correlated significantly and positively with ISS-S, ISS-S2 (interpersonal relatedness), and ISS-S4 (social sensitivity). IOS correlated positively with ISS-S, ISS-S2 (interpersonal relatedness), ISS-S3 (self-cultivation), and ISS-S4 (social sensitivity), again as predicted. HBS scores consistently correlated positively with the ISS-S and its four subscales, in complete accordance with my prediction.

RCI-S correlated positively with ISS-S but did not correlate with ISS-S2, failing to support my prediction. Also contrary to my prediction, RCI-F did not correlate with either ISS-S or ISS-S2. As pointed out by Berscheid et al. (1989), the notion of frequency of impact that two people have on each other’s activities is perhaps the most difficult property of interaction to assess. They conceded that researchers should regard the indicators in the RCI as a heuristic for any actual measure. Three potential pitfalls may exist in my attempt to assess frequency. First, using time as a rough indicator of frequency of casual impact could introduce memory bias and even resistance in the form of missing data. Second, face-to-face interaction is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for one person to influence another’s activities. For people who do not live together, this time-diary method may produce a serious underestimation of closeness. Third, focusing on time spent alone with the other person excludes other opportunities

TABLE 2. Correlations Between Individual- and Social-oriented Self (ISS) Subscales and Relationship Measures in Study 2 ($N = 219$)

ISS subscale	α	COS ^a	RCI-F ^b	RCI-S ^c	IOS	HBS ^d
ISS-I	.75	-.11	-.02	-.06	-.01	.06
ISS-I1	.72	.05	-.02	-.04	-.02	-.05
ISS-I2	.78	-.18	-.07	-.08	-.03	.06
ISS-I3	.57	-.34**	.06	.14	.02	.00
ISS-I4	.77	.15	-.06	.13	.10	.18
ISS-S	.83	.37***	<i>.11</i>	.22*	.38***	.71***
ISS-S1	.73	.16	.03	.09	.14	.44***
ISS-S2	.72	.32**	<i>.06</i>	.18	.23*	.40***
ISS-S3	.72	.20	.10	.08	.23*	.57***
ISS-S4	.61	.24*	.00	.11	.32**	.52***

Note. COS = Communal Orientation Scale (M. S. Clark, R. Ouellette, M. C. Powell, & S. Milberg, 1987); RCI-F = frequency of joint activities in relationship (E. Berscheid, M. Snyder, & A. M. Omoto, 1989); RCI-S = perceived strength of relationship (E. Berscheid et al.); IOS = Inclusion of Other in the Self Scale (A. Aron, E. N. Aron, & D. Smollan, 1992); HBS = Harmony Beliefs Scale (L. Lu & R. Gilmour, 2004); ISS-I = overall individual-oriented self; ISS-I1 = independence; ISS-I2 = self-determination; ISS-I3 = competition; ISS-I4 = consistency; ISS-S = overall social-oriented self; ISS-S1 = contextual self; ISS-S2 = interpersonal relatedness; ISS-S3 = self-cultivation; ISS-S4 = social sensitivity. Values in bold type supported study predictions; values in italics did not support study predictions.

^a $\alpha = .74$. ^b $\alpha = .70$. ^c $\alpha = .90$. ^d $\alpha = .84$.

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

for closeness (e.g., in the presence of other people) that are prevalent in collectivistic societies. Taking into account these conceptual and methodological issues underlying the RCI, I concluded that the social-oriented self did not seem to have a direct effect on relationship closeness as assessed by RCI, in terms of time invested exclusively with and perceived influence of the partner.

In sum, the social-oriented self showed a consistent and strong relation with generalized harmony beliefs, a moderate relation with dispositional communal orientation, and the tendency to include a significant other in one's self-sphere. However, the social-oriented self had only a small impact on perceived strength of a significant relationship and had no behavioral impact on the actual amount of time committed in this relationship. The individual-oriented self, in contrast, was largely unrelated to these relationship issues.

STUDY 3: SELF AND EMOTION

One essential characteristic of the social-oriented self is its strong emphasis on maintaining interpersonal and in-group harmony. People with a social-oriented self tend to value restraint in emotional expression, rather than direct and open

expression of personal feelings, to ensure interpersonal harmony. In contrast, people with an individual-oriented self value emotional expression, especially of positive, self-focused emotions. Oyserman, Coon, and Kimmelmeier (2002) found in their review that emotional expression was positively associated with individualism. Other researchers found that individualism was positively related to happiness at the national level (Diener, Diener, & Diener, 1995). Lu, Gilmour, Kao, Weng, et al. (2001) also found that independent self-construal contributed positively to the subjective well-being (SWB) of Chinese participants. Although there is not yet sufficient empirical evidence linking different self-aspects (or I-C) with emotional expression and well-being at the individual level, I nonetheless endeavored to explore these issues with two measures: (a) the Ego-focused and Other-focused Emotions Scale (EOES; Kitayama & Markus, 1990) and (b) the Chinese Happiness Inventory (CHI; Lu, 1998).

ISS and EOES

Kitayama and Markus (1990) proposed a new ego-focused versus other-focused dimension of emotional experiences and sampled 15 emotions in the EOES to form five theoretically derived types. *Ego-focused emotions* are those that foster and create independence, whereas *other-focused emotions* create and foster interdependence. Based on this conceptualization, ego-focused positive emotions (e.g., pride; E-POS) are those that are most typically associated with confirmation or fulfillment of one's internal attributes. Ego-focused negative emotions (e.g., anger) occur primarily when these internal attributes are blocked or threatened. Other-focused positive emotions (e.g., feelings of connection with someone; O-POS) are commonly associated with affirmation or completion of interdependent relationships. One's failure to offer or reciprocate favors to relevant others and thus to fully participate in the relationship typically arouses other-focused negative emotions (e.g., shame). Other-focused ambivalent emotions (e.g., feeling like relying on someone) are typically associated with ambivalence regarding one's interdependent status with some relevant others; I did not include this subscale in the present study. As Markus and Kitayama (1991) reported strong correlations between positive and negative emotions ($r = .70$ for ego-focused), I decided to use only positive emotions to avoid theoretical pitfalls. I predicted that ego-focused positive emotions (affirming internal attributes) would positively correlate with ISS-I, ISS-I1 (independence), ISS-I2 (self-determination), and ISS-I3 (competition). I also predicted that other-focused positive emotions (affirming interdependence) would correlate with ISS-S and ISS-S2 (interpersonal relatedness).

ISS and CHI

Lu (1998) developed the CHI to measure perceived level of happiness. Based on previous research, I predicted that CHI (SWB) would positively correlate with

ISS-I and all of its four subscales. However, Lu, Gilmour, and Kao (2001) found that endorsing Chinese cultural values, such as social integration, was associated with higher levels of SWB for Chinese participants. I thus predicted that CHI (SWB) would positively correlate with ISS-S2 (interpersonal relatedness) but not with other ISS-S subscales.

Method

Participants and Procedure

Chinese students ($N = 244$) took part in this study. Slightly more women ($n = 141, 57.8\%$) than men ($n = 103, 42.2\%$) participated. The average age of the participants was 22.27 years ($SD = 1.70$ years).

Materials

The questionnaire booklet contained 40 ISS items, plus the items of the EOES and CHI. For the 6 items from the EOES, participants rated the frequency of experiencing each emotion in the past week. Response options ranged from 1 (*rarely*) to 3 (*often*). There were 3 items each in E-POS and O-POS subscales, and I summed the scores. For the five items of the CHI, respondents chose one of the four statements composing each item to represent their feelings of SWB. I converted the responses into a score of 0–3, and thus a high aggregated score indicated high levels of SWB.

Results and Discussion

As in the previous two studies, I examined the pattern of correlations between each ISS subscale and other measures to test my predictions. Table 3 shows the results of Study 3. As predicted, E-POS correlated significantly and positively with ISS-I and all of the three designated subscales. The ISS-S clusters produced either negative or not significant correlations with E-POS, as predicted. O-POS positively correlated with ISS-S, as predicted, but did not correlate with ISS-S2. O-POS also did not correlate with the ISS-I scales. CHI correlated significantly and positively almost across the board with ISS-I except for ISS-I3 (competition). CHI did correlate positively with ISS-S2. These correlations were as predicted.

It seemed conceivable that the frequency of experiencing ego-focused positive emotions would increase with individual-oriented self scores, because these emotions tend to affirm one's internal attributes. The frequency of experiencing other-focused positive emotions, however, seemed unrelated to the social-oriented self. The individual-oriented self has a clear advantage regarding SWB, although one characteristic of the Chinese social-oriented self (interpersonal relatedness) was also associated with an inflated level of SWB.

TABLE 3. Correlations Between Individual- and Social-oriented Self (ISS) Subscales and Emotion Measures in Study 3 (N = 244)

ISS subscale	α	E-POS ^a	O-POS ^b	CHI ^c
ISS-I	.80	.32^{***}	.06	.26^{***}
ISS-I1	.68	.18^{**}	.05	.24^{**}
ISS-I2	.82	.23^{***}	-.01	.21^{***}
ISS-I3	.68	.32^{***}	.10	<i>-.09</i>
ISS-I4	.80	.08	-.04	.22^{**}
ISS-S	.86	<i>-.22^{**}</i>	.12[*]	<i>-.02</i>
ISS-S1	.78	<i>-.15[*]</i>	.03	<i>-.16[*]</i>
ISS-S2	.75	<i>-.09</i>	.09	.16[*]
ISS-S3	.70	<i>-.27^{***}</i>	.08	.01
ISS-S4	.69	<i>-.24^{***}</i>	-.01	-.01

Note. E-POS = ego-focused positive emotions (S. L. Kitayama & H. Markus, 1990); O-POS = feelings of connection with someone (S. L. Kitayama & H. Markus); CHI = Chinese Happiness Inventory (L. Lu, 1998); ISS-I = overall individual-oriented self; ISS-I1 = independence; ISS-I2 = self-determination; ISS-I3 = competition; ISS-I4 = consistency; ISS-S = overall social-oriented self; ISS-S1 = contextual self; ISS-S2 = interpersonal relatedness; ISS-S3 = self-cultivation; ISS-S4 = social sensitivity. Values in bold type supported study predictions; values in italics did not support study predictions.

^a $\alpha = .70$. ^b $\alpha = .45$. ^c $\alpha = .83$.

^{*} $p < .05$. ^{**} $p < .01$. ^{***} $p < .001$.

STUDY 4: SELF, COGNITION, AND MOTIVATION

One distinctive feature of the social-oriented self is its tendency to view the self as embedded in a larger social structure, with flexible and permeable boundaries with other people. Because the self is changeable and eclectic, it may inherently have multiplicity and even contradictions within itself. Thus, one has to infer it holistically, as a popular Chinese saying puts it: "A man has to be understood in all aspects." Furthermore, because relational and contextual cues or constraints are so salient and important to people with a social-oriented self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Yang, 1995), their overt behaviors may vary widely across social situations; hence the need to view the larger picture in person judgment is more pressing and likely to foster a generic holistic thinking habit and style. Previous researchers have shown this aspect of cognition as characteristic of Chinese thinking in cross-cultural studies (Peng & Nisbett, 1999), and in the present study I examined it in relation to the bicultural self model.

With regard to motivation, I assumed that because the social-oriented self puts others in a relatively more focal position, the motivation to achieve will likely take different meanings and forms compared with those exhibiting an individual-oriented self. Yang (1986; Yu & Yang, 1994) proposed that *individually oriented*

achievement motivation is a functionally autonomous desire in which the individual strives to achieve some internalized standards of excellence. In contrast, *socially oriented achievement motivation* is not functionally autonomous; rather, individuals persevere to fulfill the expectations of significant others, typically the family. In the present study, I explored these issues with two scales: (a) the Holism Scale (HS; Choi, Dalal, Kim-Prieto, & Park, 2003) and (b) the Individually and Socially Oriented Achievement Motivation Scale (ISAM; Yu & Yang, 1994).

ISS and HS

According to Peng and Nisbett (1999), principles of change, contradiction, and relationship–holism are the distinctive features of the Chinese intellectual tradition. Choi et al. (2003) developed the 10-item HS to assess holistic–analytic thinking (e.g., “It is not possible to understand the pieces without considering the whole picture”). Based on previous research, I predicted that HS scores would positively correlate with the ISS-S and all of its subscales.

ISS and ISAM

Following Yang’s (1986) proposal for individually oriented (Ach-I) and socially oriented (Ach-S) achievement motivations, Yu and Yang (1994) developed a measure distinguishing between the two types of motivation. As is clear from their conceptualization, I predicted that the individually oriented achievement motivation (focusing on personal autonomy) would positively correlate with ISS-I, ISS-II (independence), and ISS-I2 (self-determination). I also predicted that the socially oriented achievement motivation (focusing on social expectations) would positively correlate with ISS-S, ISS-S2 (interpersonal relatedness), ISS-S3 (self-cultivation), and ISS-S4 (social sensitivity).

Method

Participants and Procedure

Chinese students ($N = 216$) took part in this study. Slightly more women ($n = 131$, 60.6%) than men ($n = 85$, 39.4%) participated. The average age of the participants was 22.54 years ($SD = 2.43$ years).

Materials

The questionnaire booklet contained 40 ISS items, plus the items of the HS and ISAM. Participants rated the 10 HS items on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*). They rated the 20 ISAM items on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

Results and Discussion

As in the previous three studies, I examined the pattern of correlations between each ISS subscale and other scales to test for predictions. Table 4 shows the results. As predicted, HS correlated significantly and positively across the board with ISS-S and its subscales. It had no significant correlations with ISS-I scales. Ach-I correlated significantly and positively with ISS-I, ISS-I1 (independence), and ISS-I2 (self-determination), as predicted. However, Ach-I also correlated significantly and positively with ISS-S and two of its subscales, going against my predictions. Ach-S correlated significantly and positively with ISS-S, ISS-S2, ISS-S3, and ISS-S4, as predicted. However, Ach-S also correlated significantly and positively with ISS-I and ISS-I3 (competition), going against my predictions.

In sum, the social-oriented self showed a consistent and strong relation with the tendency for holistic thinking, whereas the individual-oriented self was unrelated to this cognitive style. As measured in the present study, holism reflects an intellectual tradition and a general way of thinking, not the least in person (i.e., character) judgment. Thus, the social-oriented self may carry a pervasive consequence for cognition in general. With regard to achievement motivation, I found the general pattern of the individual-oriented self striving for personal fulfillment and the social-oriented self persevering to gratify others' expectations.

TABLE 4. Correlations Between Individual- and Social-oriented Self (ISS) Subscales and Cognition and Values Measures in Study 4 ($N = 216$)

ISS subscale	α	HS ^a	Ach-I ^b	Ach-S ^c
ISS-I	.84	-.02	.22**	<i>.16*</i>
ISS-I1	.76	-.03	.18*	-.04
ISS-I2	.79	-.04	.26***	.06
ISS-I3	.68	-.03	-.06	<i>.34***</i>
ISS-I4	.78	-.01	.10	.06
ISS-S	.87	.55***	.35***	.31***
ISS-S1	.75	.56***	.35***	.08
ISS-S2	.72	.25**	.06	.18*
ISS-S3	.79	.27***	.26***	.30***
ISS-S4	.61	.23**	.36***	.41***

Note. HS = Holism Scale (I. Choi, R. Dalal, C. Kim-Prieto, & H. Park, 2003); Ach-I = individually oriented achievement motivation (A. B. Yu & K. S. Yang, 1994); Ach-S = socially oriented achievement motivation (A. B. Yu & K. S. Yang); ISS-I = overall individual-oriented self; ISS-I1 = independence; ISS-I2 = self-determination; ISS-I3 = competition; ISS-I4 = consistency; ISS-S = overall social-oriented self; ISS-S1 = contextual self; ISS-S2 = interpersonal relatedness; ISS-S3 = self-cultivation; ISS-S4 = social sensitivity. Values in bold type supported study predictions; values in italics did not support study predictions.

^a $\alpha = .90$. ^b $\alpha = .81$. ^c $\alpha = .75$.

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

Nonetheless, there may be some confounding between the two types of achievement motivation; for contemporary Chinese individuals, both achievement goals are now salient and desirable (Lu & Yang, 2005).

STUDY 5: A PRIMING EXPERIMENT

I provided evidence of (a) convergent and divergent validity of the ISS Scale in this series of four studies and (b) possible consequences of individual versus social self-orientation on important psychological phenomena such as relationships, emotion, cognition, and motivation. These results are encouraging, but they are based on self-report questionnaires. If experimental manipulation could produce a convergent pattern of results, it would provide much stronger support for the ISS Scale and the bicultural self model underlying it. As there should be no doubt that members of Eastern and Western cultures are capable of displaying diverse systems of self (e.g., Lu, 2003; Sedikides & Brewer, 2001; Triandis, 1989), several researchers have further shown that the proportion of those self systems reported by an individual may be shifted by a situational prime (Gardner, Gabriel, & Lee, 1999; Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Benet-Martinez, 2000; Trafimow & Smith, 1998). Thus, although an individual's culture may strongly determine the primary self system that is chronically accessible, self systems may shift in response to situational accessibility, and Hong et al. (2000) termed that shift *frame switching* (p. 710). My goal in this experiment was to investigate whether endorsement of individual-oriented versus social-oriented self changed in response to the *I* or *we* prime (Gardner et al., 1999).

Method

Participants

Chinese students ($N = 110$) took part in this study. After removing results from individuals (a) with excessive missing data or (b) who voiced suspicion for the research purpose in postexperimental interviews, I analyzed data from 93 participants. More women ($n = 64$, 70.3%) than men ($n = 27$, 29.7%) participated, and 2 participants did not identify their gender. The average age of the participants was 23.40 years ($SD = 3.68$ years). They were randomly assigned to the I-group ($n = 31$), we-group ($n = 33$), or control group ($n = 29$), and I tested them individually in a laboratory.

Procedure

Each participant completed one version of the Twenty Statements Test (TST; Kuhn & McPartland, 1954) as the priming stimulus, according to their assigned group. The three versions differed only in the opening instruction and the probe for completing the statements of self-description. Instructions for the I-group stressed individual uniqueness in physical appearance, personality, values and

attitudes, interests, and preferences, followed by a clear (underlined) request for participants to complete the task while focusing on his or her most unique and distinctive personal characteristics. Participants then completed each statement beginning with the probe, "As an unique individual, I . . ." Instructions for the we-group stressed cross-cultural differences (Taiwanese vs. Americans) in physical appearance, personality, values and attitudes, interests, and preferences, followed by a clear (underlined) request for participants to complete the task while focusing on the collective (group) characteristics distinguishing Taiwanese from Americans. Participants then completed each statement beginning with the probe, "As a Taiwanese, I . . ." Instructions for the control group did not provide cues for any particular frame of reference; rather, they encouraged participants to think freely in completing the task. Participants then completed each statement beginning with the standard probe, "I . . ."

After completing the TST, each participant filled out a questionnaire booklet containing items for manipulation check, the 40-item ISS Scale, and demographic data. I used self-serving bias (Schlenker, Weigold, & Hallam, 1990) to check for the I-group manipulation and used in-group favoritism (Capozza & Brown, 2000) to check for the we-group manipulation. For the former, I asked participants to compare self with others on four bipolar qualities: clever–dull, good–bad, emotionally stable–emotionally unstable, and friendly–cold. I used the same four items for the we-group manipulation check, with the request to compare Taiwanese with Americans. These items covered a wide range of qualities, including intellect, morality, emotionality, and sociability. I coded responses into scales ranging from 1 to 7, with higher scores indicating more positive qualities declared for the self or in-group. I counterbalanced the presentation of these two sets of items.

I predicted that participants for whom the personal self system (*I*) was activated would endorse the individual-oriented self more, whereas participants for whom the social self system (*we*) was activated would endorse the social-oriented self more. More specifically, I predicted that the I-group would be significantly different from the we-group and the control group on ISS-I scores. I also predicted that the we-group would be significantly different from the I-group and the control group on ISS-S scores. I note that the social self is the primary self system for Chinese individuals and thus is chronically accessible.

Results and Discussion

T tests revealed that the I-group (4.83) reported significantly higher scores for self-serving bias than did the control group (4.27), $t(58) = 4.28, p < .001$. The we-group (4.40) reported significantly higher scores for in-group favoritism than did the control group (4.05), $t(60) = 2.82, p < .01$. The order of presenting the two sets of items did not yield any significant differences: for self-serving bias, $t(91) = .62, ns$; for in-group favoritism, $t(91) = .36, ns$. Thus, manipulation checks showed that the *I* and *we* primes were both successful.

Because there were more female participants than male participants, I included gender in subsequent analysis. I conducted a 2 (gender: male vs. female) \times 3 (prime type: I vs. we vs. control) analysis of variance (ANOVA) with endorsement of the individual-oriented self (ISS-I) as the dependent variable. The Gender \times Prime Type interaction was not significant, but the main effect of priming was statistically significant, $F(5, 85) = 5.36, p < .01$. Pairwise comparison revealed that participants in the I-group gave higher endorsements to the individual-oriented self (4.19) than did participants in the we-group (4.05) or the control group (3.87). I conducted a similar 2 (gender) \times 3 (prime type) ANOVA with endorsement of the social-oriented self (ISS-S) as the dependent variable. Again, the Gender \times Prime Type interaction was not significant, but the main effect of priming was statistically significant, $F(5, 85) = 3.87, p < .05$. Pairwise comparison revealed that participants in the we-group gave higher endorsements to the social-oriented self (4.89) than did participants in the I-group (4.35) or the control group (4.32). There were higher scores for ISS-S than ISS-I in all three groups, demonstrating that the social self is indeed the primary self system and thus chronically more accessible for participants.

Overall, these results indicate that the situational activation of an individual or group-collective schema within a collectivist culture resulted in differences in endorsement of self systems that reflect those commonly found between individualist and collectivist cultures. In other words, through priming bicultural individuals (e.g., Taiwanese students), I replicated the differences in self-construals previously identified in quasi-experimental comparisons of groups in different countries (e.g., Y. Kashima et al., 1995; Lu & Gilmour, 2007; Lu, Gilmour, Kao, Weng, et al., 2001; Triandis, 1989). Thus, I experimentally modeled the phenomenon of frame switching in Taiwanese Chinese participants. I also demonstrated that the individual-oriented and social-oriented selves, as measured by the ISS Scale, not only exist in Chinese individuals but also can be activated at differing strengths in response to different situational primes. Thus, the present experimental evidence converged with previous findings based on self-report questionnaire data to support the construct validity of the bicultural model and the ISS Scale that measures its components.

ADDITIONAL ANALYSES OF ISS SCALE STRUCTURE

As I administered the ISS throughout Studies 1–4, I pooled the four independent samples ($N = 884$) for additional analyses on the structural properties of the ISS Scale, to replicate and confirm the 4-factor structure for each self-aspect as found previously (Lu, 2007). I also examined reliability of the ISS Scale.

Exploratory Factor Analysis

An EFA of the 20 individual-oriented self items supported a 4-factor structure. I used the oblimin rotation. The initial eigenvalues and amount of variance accounted for by the first four factors were 8.77 (21.38%), 3.92 (9.56%), 3.26

(7.94%), and 2.60 (6.34%), respectively, together accounting for 45.23% of the variance. All 20 items loaded on their designated subscales (factors) with negligible cross-loadings on multiple factors. Thus, I replicated the initial 4-factor structure for ISS-I in this large, independent sample.

I followed the same procedure for EFA of the 20 social-oriented self items. Again, I found support for a 4-factor structure. The initial eigenvalues and amount of variance accounted for by the first four factors were 11.03 (25.07%), 3.17 (7.19%), 2.22 (5.04%), and 1.73 (3.93%), respectively, together accounting for 41.24% of the variance. All 20 items loaded on their designated subscales (factors) with negligible cross-loadings on multiple factors. Thus, I replicated the initial 4-factor structure for ISS-S in this large, independent sample.

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

With eight subscales (factors) as observed variables, I conducted a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to test the expected higher order, 2-factor (bicultural) model, using AMOS 5.0. Although all eight subscales had highly significant factor loadings to their designated latent variables, the overall fit of the model was not satisfactory. Figure 1 represents this model with parameter estimates, and Table 5 summarizes the models I tested.

Because the estimated correlation between the latent variables was substantial, I further compared this bicultural model with two alternative models. An equivalence model fixed the correlation between two self-aspects as 1.0, assuming that they indicated the same construct. The model indicated a poor overall

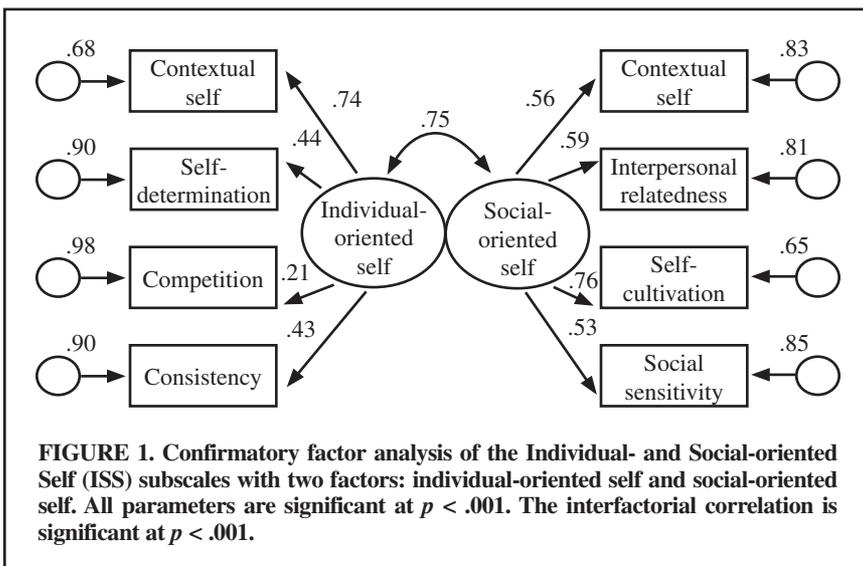


TABLE 5. Results of Confirmatory Factor Analysis for the Individual- and Social-oriented Self (ISS) Scale

Model	χ^2	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	GFI	CFI	NFI
1. Bicultural self (2-factor)	608.05	19	< .001	.86	.64	.64
2. Equivalence ($r_{IS} = 1$)	649.33	20	< .001	.85	.62	.61
3. Independence ($r_{IS} = 0$)	753.10	20	< .001	.84	.56	.55

Note. GFI = goodness of fit index; CFI = comparative fit index; NFI = Bentler-Bonett normed fit index; r_{IS} = correlation between individual and social orientations of the SSI Scale. $\Delta\chi^2_{2-1}(1, N = 884) = 41.28, p < .001$. $\Delta\chi^2_{3-1}(1, N = 884) = 145.05, p < .001$.

fit, and I found it inferior to the bicultural model, $\Delta\chi^2(1, N = 884) = 41.28, p < .001$. An independence model fixed the correlation between two self-aspects as 0, assuming that they were completely independent. The overall fit of this model was also much poorer than that of the bicultural model, $\Delta\chi^2(1, N = 884) = 145.05, p < .001$. These results indicate that the ISS Scale measures theoretically distinct yet correlated constructs.

Reliability and Scale Means

Table 6 shows that internal consistency reliability was adequate for the ISS subscales, ranging from .64 to .84. Intercorrelations among subscales were generally low to moderate. A subsample of students ($n = 82$) completed the ISS Scale twice in a 1-month interval. The test–retest correlations for all ISS subscales were highly significant ($r = .44$ – $.82, p < .001$; see Table 6).

In this sample, ISS-I1 (independence) had the highest item mean (24.40/5 = 4.88), followed by ISS-S1 (contextual self, 4.86), ISS-S3 (self-cultivation, 4.46), ISS-S2 (interpersonal relatedness, 4.25), ISS-S4 (social sensitivity, 4.15), ISS-I2 (self-determination, 3.72), ISS-I3 (competition, 3.66), and ISS-I4 (consistency, 3.54); $F(7, 645) = 526.26, p < .001$. Differences between the first two subscale scores and the last three subscales scores were not statistically significant, whereas all other pairs were significantly different at $p < .001$. The rank order was the same for men and women.

In sum, EFA replicated the 4-factor structure for the ISS-I and ISS-S subscales, indicating that the individual-oriented and social-oriented selves both have four main components. CFA further supported the 2-factor structure assumed in the bicultural model, indicating that the ISS Scale as a whole measures theoretically distinct yet correlated constructs: individual-oriented self and social-oriented self. Both internal consistency and test–retest reliability were satisfactory for the ISS Scale. Last, the Chinese participants generally but consistently endorsed the social-oriented self more strongly than the individual-oriented self. This pattern

TABLE 6. Correlations Between and Reliabilities of Individual- and Social-oriented Self (ISS) Subscales in Pooled Samples (N = 884)

Subscale	6	7	8	9	10	α	Test-retest <i>r</i>	Scale <i>M</i>	Scale <i>SD</i>
1. ISS-I	.41***	.28***	.32***	.43***	.16***	.79	.70***	79.05	10.25
2. ISS-II	.48***	.54***	.24***	.49***	.17***	.73	.44***	24.40	3.28
3. ISS-12	.09	.12***	.12***	.17***	-.15***	.79	.66***	18.59	4.30
4. ISS-I3	.28***	.13***	.19***	.15***	.35***	.65	.64***	18.31	3.94
5. ISSI-4	.24***	.03	.26***	.34***	.06	.78	.82***	17.73	4.34
6. ISS-S						.84	.57***	88.61	10.36
7. ISS-S1						.72	.44***	24.32	3.05
8. ISS-S2						.74	.66***	21.27	3.94
9. ISS-S3						.73	.73***	22.29	3.60
10. ISS-S4						.64	.55***	20.73	3.48

Note. ISS-I = overall individual-oriented self; ISS-II = independence; ISS-12 = self-determination; ISS-I3 = competition; ISS-I4 = consistency; ISS-S = overall social-oriented self; ISS-S1 = contextual self; ISS-S2 = interpersonal relatedness; ISS-S3 = self-cultivation; ISS-S4 = social sensitivity. For test-retest correlations, *n* = 82.
 p* < .01. *p* < .001.

corroborates previous findings (Lu, 2007), indicating that the social-oriented self may still be the primary self-orientation in the Chinese bicultural self.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

I gained a degree of support for the bicultural self model and the ISS Scale that measures its main components. I identified and replicated four main components each for the individual-oriented and social-oriented self by using two large, independent samples (Lu, 2007, and the present article). I thus suggest that independence, self-determination, competition, and consistency are the essential elements of the individual-oriented self, whereas contextual self, interpersonal relatedness, self-cultivation, and social sensitivity are the essential elements of the social-oriented self. Although these two self-aspects were distinctive and discernible, they still correlated substantially in CFA. However, this correlated model was superior to an alternative model that assumed them to be perfectly correlated, thus completely redundant, and superior to another model that assumed them to be completely unrelated.

A possible explanation for the substantial intercorrelations between ISS-I and ISS-S may be common self-evaluation. Someone with a positive self-evaluation may consistently rate the self more positively, as someone who “makes important decisions in life” (ISS-I2), “outperforms other people” (ISS-I3), “understands people in all aspects” (ISS-S1), and “puts family welfare up front” (ISS-S2). Similarly, one with a more negative self-evaluation may consistently rate the self in the reverse. Thus, the two self-aspect ratings may go up or down simultaneously. Future researchers need to examine this possibility. However, for the moment, the use of partial correlation in this study was successful in controlling for the built-in overlap, and I strongly recommend using this method.

My main purpose in this article was to examine the construct validity of the bicultural self model through correlational analyses of the ISS Scale with existing relevant scales. As predicted, the bicultural model converged with another well-known two-part model of the self: independent versus interdependent self-construal. However, this convergence was not perfect, indicating the distinctiveness of each theoretical model. As I stated previously, the bicultural model covers a full range of self-conceptualization, including both the ontological structure and the functional operations of the self. The model encompasses the self–other relationship, self–group relationship, and self–society (environment) relationship. The independent versus interdependent self-construal, in contrast, focuses solely on the self–other relation (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). I rooted my conceptualization of the social-oriented self in the Chinese cultural tradition, and the ISS Scale thus includes unique characteristics of the Chinese self, such as self-cultivation, which Markus and Kitayama’s (1991) model did not address. The two models are thus different in scope, comprehensiveness, and (Chinese) cultural thrust.

The ISS Scale also mirrors the contrast between individualism and collectivism. However, convergence between the two models was even weaker, indicating

that a greater underlying theoretical difference may exist. This is not surprising, because researchers proposed the I–C construct to represent two broadly different cultural types, or psychological syndromes, encompassing wide-ranging values, attitudes, norms, and behavioral habits (e.g., Triandis, 1995), not in the least related to the self. The I–C model is thus broader in scope than the bicultural self model. However, the latter is a more clearly defined special case of the former applied to the self.

Correlations with other measures revealed that the individual-oriented self was generally associated with ego-focused positive emotions, happiness, and individual-oriented achievement motivation. In contrast, the social-oriented self was generally associated with relationship strength, inclusion of others in the self, communal orientation, harmony beliefs, holistic thinking, and social-oriented achievement motivation. It is clear that the individual-oriented self and the social-oriented self each has a distinctive network of associations and influences on some fundamental psychological phenomena. Such evidence supports the reliability and validity of the bicultural model and the ISS Scale. Furthermore, in Study 5, the successful experimental manipulation of activating one self system using the priming method provided valuable evidence of methodological convergence. These results give me sufficient support to claim that contemporary Chinese individuals may use two separate ways of construing the self—individual-oriented and social-oriented—and thus may possess a bicultural self. The 40-item ISS Scale has also to a great extent performed as a conglomeration of the dichotomy between individual-oriented and social-oriented self. As a single instrument capturing all of the important self-aspects, the ISS Scale can unify all related concepts and research. Also, researchers can use the ISS subscales to make specific and fine-tuned predictions. Thus, the ISS Scale has incremental value over existing measures of the self.

Finally, it is necessary to comment on some limitations of the present series of studies. Although Study 5 provided valuable experimental evidence, I cannot completely rule out the potential for common-method bias. Future researchers should use alternative ways of collecting data, such as informant reports and experience sampling. Another limitation is also an opportunity for future research. There is unequivocal evidence indicating that almost everyone is essentially bicultural (Gardner et al., 1999; Hong et al., 2000; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Trafimow & Smith, 1998). The present series of studies involved only the Chinese culture. Future researchers should use the ISS Scale in cross-cultural comparisons to further develop the field of culture and self.

AUTHOR NOTE

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