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#### SOCIAL IDENTITY AND IN-GROUP FAVORITISM: THE EFFECT OF RELATIVE PRESTIGE DIFFERENCES ON SELF-CONSTRUALS AND IN-GROUP FAVORITISM AMONG JAPANESE COLLEGE STUDENTS

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# SOCIAL IDENTITY AND IN-GROUP FAVORITISM: THE EFFECT OF RELATIVE PRESTIGE DIFFERENCES ON SELF-CONSTRUALS AND IN-GROUP FAVORITISM AMONG JAPANESE COLLEGE STUDENTS

By

Chiharu Kato

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#### **ABSTRACT**

# SOCIAL IDENTITY AND IN-GROUP FAVORITISM: THE EFFECT OF RELATIVE PRESTIGE DIFFERENCES ON SELF-CONSTRUALS AND IN-GROUP FAVORITISM AMONG JAPANESE COLLEGE STUDENTS

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Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) states that people establish collective identity through membership in a social group. This social identity constitutes one aspect of their self-concepts. Conceptualizing oneself through memberships is one of the central features of Markus and Kitayama's (1991) construct, interdependent selfconstrual. Thus, it was hypothesized that the people with high interdependent selfconstrual will have higher collective esteem compared to general self-esteem. Considering the importance of the social order in Japanese culture, it was also hypothesized that people with higher interdependent self-construal would evaluate their own school more favorably when their school was relatively higher in status, and would evaluate their own school less favorably when their school was relatively lower in status than the other school. The data were consistent with the first hypothesis. People with higher interdependent self-construal had higher collective self-esteem than those with lower interdependent self-construal. The result of the second hypothesis test showed a significant effect of the ranking difference on how people evaluate their own school regardless of their self-orientations.

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#### INTRODUCTION

In contrast to the traditional view of the self in psychological research, cross cultural scholars maintain that the self is a cultural product in which cultural norms affect beliefs and behavior (Asai & Barnlund, 1998). Extending this idea, Markus and Kitayama (1991) posited two dimensions of the self: independent self-construals and interdependent self-construals. According to Markus and Kitayama (1991), interdependent self-construals dominate the self concept of East Asian countries, with their cultural emphasis on harmony and connectedness among group members. Independent self construals, on the other hand, dominate that of Western countries with their strong emphasis on individual autonomy.

Social Identity Theory (SIT) claims that people develop social identity through membership in social groups (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Seeing oneself through memberships is one the central feature of Markus and Kitayama's (1991) conception of interdependent self-construals. Therefore, integrating Markus and Kitayama's (1991) independent and interdependent self-construal into the SIT, it can be argued that those high in interdependent self-construal will emphasize social identity, and consequently may exhibit more in-group favoritism. In fact, anecdotal evidence suggests that Japanese frequently exhibit in-group favoritism for the school they attend, although the majority of cross cultural researchers claim the scarcity of self, as well as in-group favoritism, as an explanation of Japanese behavior. For example, Nakane (1970) referred to the tendency that Japanese have to classify individuals based on the institutions to which they belong, and wrote that this tendency is especially evident for

university graduates such that, "Among university graduates, what matters most, and functions the strongest socially, is not whether a man holds or does not hold a Ph.D., but rather from which university he graduated (p. 3). Also, Takeuchi (1997) reflected on the competitiveness of the Japanese school entrance examination system as "Examination hell," and commented that the competitive nature of the entrance examination is prompted by the ranking itself rather than the function of education in determining socio-economic status. He observed that this ranking system is a reflection of the highly bureaucratic nature of Japanese companies, for their recruitment is based on the school rankings. Therefore, entering the higher ranking university is the first step toward a promising future, which in turn assigns more value to ranking itself. For this reason, Japanese students are encouraged to seek a university that is ranked higher than the one into which they are confident of being admitted. When the applicants successfully enter the universities they were striving for, students develop the sense of pride in the membership. With a socially promised future resulting from holding a membership in the university, students in higher ranking universities show greater self-esteem because of the membership (Takeuchi, 1997).

In this study, the relationship between self-construals and in-group favoritism among Japanese will be examined. The relative ranking difference between universities is predicted to be a moderating factor.

Self-consturals, cultural and individual variation of self-orientation

In contrast to a traditional view of self-concept as a unitary construct, cross-cultural scholars claim that self is a cultural product, shaped and defined through communication with other people. That is to say that people learn to think, believe, and

behave according to their cultural norms (Asai & Barnlund, 1998). Therefore, people may process several different selves depending on the external factors that surround their lives. One of the most frequently cited studies of such self-conception is Markus and Kitayama (1991). They introduced two different construals that reflect how people see themselves in relation to other people. Markus and Kitavama (1991) explained that such different views of self foster two dimensions of the self: independent self-construals and interdependent self-construals. Singelis (1994) conceptualized self-construals as "constellation of thoughts, feelings, and actions concerning one's relationship to others. and the self as distinct from others" (Singelis, 1994, p. 581). Self-construals are the aspects of self-knowledge and self-concept that define people as being independent from others or in relation to others. An independent self-construal is defined as a "bounded, unitary, and stable" self that is separate from social context (Singelis, 1994, p. 581), and people with high independent self-construal see themselves as independent and unique entities. Because people high in independent self-construal perceive themselves as being autonomous from others, their self representation usually consists of individual desires, abilities, and dispositional attributes.

An interdependent self-construal is defined as a "flexible and variable" self that emphasize connectedness with others (Singelis, 1994, p.581). Therefore, people high in interdependent self-construals see themselves to be a relational and contextual entity. Membership in social groups and keeping harmony with others within such groups at the expense of one's own aspiration is highly valued among people high in interdependent self-construal. Cousins's study (1986), for example, illustrates the flexible and variable nature of the Japanese self (1986). He examined the self-descriptions of American and

Japanese subjects and reported that the self-description of the Japanese was situation specific, such as "I play tennis on Saturday," when asked to make a sentence that describes themselves. American subjects, in contrast showed the tendency to define themselves in the opposite direction. In other words, they describe themselves with more trait-like and stable depictions without contextual cues, and when they were asked to answer within a specific interpersonal context, they qualified their description, such as "I am sometimes lazy at home." Cousins (1989) commented that his results exemplified Japanese selves' connectedness with their social world, and concluded that in Japan the self and other are culturally constituted entities. Extending his findings he concluded that there will be varieties of self concepts among different groups of people. Such research findings suggest that culture predicts the divergent view of self. In sum, an individualistic culture (e.g., North America and Europe) nurtures the development of independent self-construals, and a collectivistic culture (e.g., East Asia, Africa, and Latin America) promotes the development of interdependent self-construals.

Although self-construals have been introduced as a predictor of cultural differences in cross-cultural settings, a recent trend suggests that the self-construals are a stronger predictor of individual differences within the same culture (Gudykunst, et. al., 1996; Park and Levine, 1999). For example, Ellis and Wittenbaum (2000) found that high independent construal was positively associated with self-promotion tactics that include attributing success to dispositional factors such as hard work and ability. Interdependent self-construal, on the other hand, was correlated with other promotion tactics that include attributing one's success to situational factors (e.g., support from family, luck, and friend's advice).

Many research findings indicate that people hold unrealistically positive views that favor their own group, believing that their group is more productive than out-groups. attributing their success to internal and dispositional factors (e.g., ability and hard work). and attributing the success of out-groups to external and situational factors. Social Identity Theory (SIT) explains such in-group favoritism as the way people promote and retain their self-esteem as well as the esteem of their fellow group members (Taifel. 1981). Holding favorable views of their in-group, people develop and maintain their self-esteem through memberships. Crocker and Luhtanen (1990) defined such self-esteem as collective self-esteem and suggested that higher collective esteem is associated with more in-group favoritism. In order to maintain the favorable views of their in-group, people also engage in out-group derogation by evaluating the out-group less favorable, or attributing the success of out-groups to situational factors such as luck and lower task difficulty. In fact, Chatman and von Hippel (2001) showed that people exhibit in-group favoring biases when evaluating people outside of their social group. Interestingly, several research findings suggest that people even develop in-group favoritism for arbitrary assigned groups in experimental settings (Branscombe, Spears, Ellemer, & Doosie, 2002; Lam, Shaubroeck, & Brown, 2004; Levine, can Laar, & Sidanius, 2003; Sherman, & Kim, 2002).

Self-construal, group-esteem, and in-group favoritism

SIT explains in-group favoritism as a reflection of our fundamental need for positive self-regard. The two dimensions of self-construals suggest that people define themselves differently depending on the predominate dimension of self-construal.

Combining two theoretical assumptions, it is expected that people with high interdependent self-construals establish their self-concept more through membership than people with higher independent self-construals, because people who are higher in interdependent self-construals put more emphasis on their memberships and relationships with others than people with independent self-construals. Moreover, people who are higher in interdependent self-construals, who place more value on memberships in groups, are expected to have higher collective esteem than personal self-esteem. People with high independent self-construal, on the other hand, are expected to hold similarly high degrees of personal self esteem and collective self-esteem.

Therefore,

H1) people with high interdependent self-construals exhibit more collective self-esteem than personal self-esteem, whereas people with high independent self-construals hold similar degrees of personal self-esteem and collective self-esteem.

Relative difference in prestige and in-group favoritism

Status is a "widely accepted, and socially valued characteristic that forms the basis for a broad range of attributions and expectations (p. 7)" (Ellyson & Dovidio, 1985). In any society, one's relative social status is a driving force of people's communication tactics and behavior (Patterson, 1983). If status influences the way we communicate, it may be expected that the status differences among groups motivates each member to hold in-group favoritism. In fact, Mullen et al. (1992) examined 137 studies of in-group favoritism and reported that the in-group bias effect was significantly stronger when the group classification is realistic, such as when the differences between the groups were salience, and the in-group bias was highest among people in relatively higher status

groups. They defined the in-group bias to be the test of the difference between the evaluation of the in-group and evaluation of the out-group. Therefore, their findings suggest that the members of the relatively higher status groups tend to show more in-group bias by evaluating their own group higher than other groups.

According to Markus and Kitayama (1991), interdependent self-construals represent relational, as well as contextual selves. Considering the situational and relational sensitivity of interdependent self-construals, it can be predicted that relative status differences modify the way people with high interdependent self-construals evaluate themselves, as well as the way they evaluate others. Kowner and Wiseman (2003) examined how the differences in status affect dyadic interaction patterns in Japan and in the United States, and showed that Japanese participants' communication patterns were altered to a great extent as a function of the relative status differences. The authors explained that the presence of relative status differences altered Japanese communication norms, leading higher status individuals to exhibit more dominance over their lower status counterparts. Nakane (1997) pointed out the significance of the status and ranking in Japanese society and commented that "Without consciousness of ranking, life could not be carried on smoothly in Japan, for rank is the social norm on which Japanese life is based (p.31)."

Given the importance of status and ranking in Japanese society, and the assumption that the presence of relative status differences alters individual role expectations of Japanese, it can be expected that the relative rankings will affect Japanese self-concepts, which alternatively lead individuals to hold higher or lower self, as well as collective, self-esteem. A society, in which rank and the social order are highly valued

(Doi, 1986), should find their situated identity affected by relative status. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the status ranking becomes a source of one's self-evaluation. Holding a higher status will naturally lead one to have higher self-esteem. Moreover, it is natural to assume that one's self, as well as collective self, esteem will be elevated when one holds higher status than lower status. This tendency should be more evident with people with interdependent self-construal, because people who are high in interdependent self-construal are more prone to be flexible with their self-conception. And if this premise is true, it can be expected that the higher one's interdependent self-construals, the greater the endorsement of in-group favoritism when one's group is of relatively higher status.

For the past several decades, cross cultural scholars have been claiming the absence of in-group favoritism among Japanese. Moreover, the Japanese are repeatedly reported to have unrealistically negative views of in-groups (Heine, Lehman, Markus, & Kitayama, 1999; Heine, Tanaka, & Lehman, 2000). For example, Heine et al. (1997) maintained that in-group favoritism is not functional in Japan, because holding unrealistically favorable views of in-groups means detaching from larger collectives in which cultural norms value sameness. In their study, they examined how the students of two rival schools evaluated each other, and found that the Japanese students of a lower ranking school evaluated their own school less favorably than their rival school, whereas North American students evaluated their own school favorably regardless of the general reputation of the school. Snibbe and colleagues (2003) commented that Japanese students are more aware of and sensitive to general standings of their university in a larger society, and therefore, students, particularly at lower status schools, do not hold

unrealistically favorable views of their schools. Sachdev and Bourhis (1987; 1991) examined the effect of intergroup status differences on in-group favoritism and found that the members of high status groups exhibit stronger in-group bias when evaluating dispositional factors, such as ability and competence. Members of lower status groups. on the other hand, do not exhibit in-group bias on such dimensions, especially when the group is divided by ability or competence, because members of lower status groups consider their lower status as legitimate. If Japanese students are more aware of the relative standing of their own university, and acknowledge the difference between schools as legitimate, then it follows that students of lower ranking schools will show no in-group favoritism. In fact, both the Heine et al. (1997) and Snibbe et al. (2003) studies showed that students at higher ranking schools evaluated their schools more favorably. Given Snibbe et al.'s (2003) argument that Japanese students are sensitive to the general standing of their university, the absence of in-group favoritism may be due to the fact that Japanese students consider such differences of reputation as legitimate. The question remains, however, as to how such evaluations will differ when relative school standings are altered. To the extent that people see themselves as a relational and interdependent entity, they should be more aware of how other people in society view their in-groups, and therefore more inclined to evaluate their in-group and out-group based on socially recognized evaluations, rather than subjective or affective judgments. Conversely, when people see themselves as a unique entity that exists separately from larger collectives, their evaluation of the in-group, as well as out-groups, is expected to reflect such uniqueness, and therefore they are expected to evaluate the in-group favorably regardless of the standings of the school. Hence,

H2) Those with high interdependent self-construals will evaluate their schools more favorably when they are relatively higher in ranking and evaluate them less favorably when they are relatively lower in ranking. Those with high independent self-construals, on the other hand, show a similar degree of in-group favoritism regardless of the relative status differences.

#### **METHOD**

#### **Participants**

Participants were students from Mejiro University, Tokyo. The 240 copies (120 copies for each condition) of the questionnaire booklet were prepared and sent to Japan, then a teaching assistant at Mejiro University distributed the questionnaire booklet at the beginning of introductory English classes. The teaching assistant briefly explained about the nature of the study, and asked the students to read and sign the consent form. Then she asked potential participants to place completed surveys in a box situated at the door of her officer. The university is on a semester system, but the academic year in Japan is from April to March. The spring semester runs from April to August, and fall semester runs from September to March. The questionnaire was distributed at the end of December right before the Christmas break, and some respondents reported that they had lost the questionnaire during the break. Of the 240 participants solicited 59 (24.6%) responded<sup>1</sup> The mean age of participants was 19.19 years (SD = .96). Of the 59 respondents, 49 were freshmen, nine were sophomores, one was a junior, and seven did not respond to the item. Fifty-six of the participants identified themselves as Japanese, one reported being Chinese, and two did not respond to this item.

Design

One factor was varied experimentally. Respondents were asked to evaluate a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Prior to the data collection, I contacted the department chair of the English department at Mejiro University and had a permission to use class time for data collection. However, the Internal Review Board at Michigan State University deemed this procedure coercive. Therefore, the questionnaire was distributed in class and students were asked to answer at home.

university ranked higher than their own and a university that ranked lower than their own. In both conditions, they were asked to evaluate their own school in comparison with the other school. These instructions are designed to induce respondents to perceive themselves as having relatively high or low status. Of the 59 students who responded 26 received the higher ranking instruction in which they were asked to evaluate the school of lower rank, and 33 participants were in lower ranking condition in which they were asked to evaluate the school of higher rank.

#### **Procedure**

The questionnaire was translated from English to Japanese by one bilingual translator and back translated from Japanese to English by a second bilingual translator. Subsequently, two translators compared the original and back-translated questionnaire. Then, discrepancies between the two versions were resolved through discussion.

A teaching assistant was given the questionnaire and asked to distribute it in class. This teaching assistant explained the nature of the study, and asked those students who were willing to participate to return the questionnaire in a box located in the assistant's office.

#### Instrumentation

#### Self-Construals

Self-construals were measured with Kim and Leung's (1997) Self-Construal scale. This scale was designed to test for the two dimensions of self: independent self-construals and interdependent self-construals. The independent factor consists of 16 items such as "It is important for me to act as an independent person," "I act as a unique person, being separate from others," "I don't like depending on others."

interdependent factor includes 13 items such as "I feel uncomfortable disagreeing with my group," and "My relationship with those in my group is more important than my personal accomplishments." (See Appendix I &II, Q 1 to 29). The scale reliability analysis indicated that the reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of the independent and interdependent self-construals scales were .75 and .73, respectively.

For each participant, an independence score was computed by averaging the 5-point agreement ratings (from  $1=strongly\ disagree\$ to  $5=strongly\ agree\$ ) for the 16 independence items, and interdependent score was computed by averaging the 5-point agreement ratings for the 14 interdependence items. The mean independence score was  $3.36\ (SD=.51)$ , and the mean interdependence score was  $3.19\ (SD=.50)$ . Independence score and interdependence score were not significantly correlated with each other,  $r\ (55)=-.08,\ n.s.$ , showing that those two dimensions were relatively independent of one another (Gudykunst, et al. 1996; Oetzel, 1998). A repeated measures t-test indicated that participants did not differ on their independent and interdependent dimensions, t (53)=1.78, n.s.

An analysis of variance revealed that independent and interdependent self-construal scores did not vary substantially across experimental conditions (F(1, 54) = .89, n.s.) and F(1, 55) = .20, n.s. respectively). In the high rank condition the mean independence score was 3.43 (SD = .45) and the mean interdependence score was 3.22 (SD = .44). In the low ranking condition the mean independence score was 3.30 (SD = .55) and the mean interdependent score was 3.16 (SD = .55).

General Self-Esteem

General self-esteem is a positive or negative evaluation of one's self-worth. In this study it was measured with Rosenberg's (1989) Self-Esteem Scale. This scale has been shown to be highly reliable ( $\alpha = .77$  to .88, test-retest reliability is reported as .82 to .88). The Rosenberg self-esteem scale consists of 10 statements examining how people feel about themselves, such as "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself" (See Appendix I &II, Q 30 to 39). The reliability of the scale for these data was reasonably high, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .85$ . All of the items were used in the analysis. As is instructed by the author of the instrument, for each participant general self-esteem was calculated by summing up responses on the four-point response scales. The mean score was 23.11 (SD = 5.59). There was no difference in means between conditions, t (55) = -.25, n.s.

University Self-Esteem

Collective self esteem was measured using Heine and Lehman's (1997)

University Self-esteem (USE) scale. This scale is a modified version of Luhtanen and Crocker's (1992) Collective Self-Esteem Scale, for which Heine and Lehman (1997) altered the original version from "my social group" to "my university." The USE scale is composed of four, four item subscales. They are Membership, Private, Public, and Identity. Membership USE measures the extent of the individual's belief in being a worthy member of their social group. After the reliability analysis, one item, "I often feel I am a useless member of my university," was deleted and the Cronbach's  $\alpha$  of the remaining items was .83. Private USE deals with the extent of an individual's level of satisfaction with being a member of a university. The Cronbach's  $\alpha$  for this subscale was .86. The Public USE sub-scale refers to how individuals feel about other people's view of their university. The Cronbach's  $\alpha$  for these four items was .71. The identity

USE sub-scale measures the importance of the membership in the university to one's self-concept. After eliminating the item, "In general, belonging to my university is an important part of my self-image," for the remaining items Cronbach's  $\alpha$  was .67. The mean score of the summed membershipUSE was 10.75 (SD = 3.98), summed private USE was 17.50 (SD = 5.63) summed public USE was 12.10 (SD = 4.00), and summed identity USE was 12.10 (SD = 3.41).

Two items followed that served as additional measures of university-enhancing tendencies. The first item was "Overall, my university is a better school to go to than the school listed above." And the second item was "I think that the most students at my school are glad that they went to my university than the school listed above." The mean score of the first item was 4.16 (SD = 1.88), and the mean of the second item was 3.78 (SD = 1.63). With the second measure, the mean score was significantly different between conditions, t (56) = 2.14, p < .04. In the higher ranking condition, the mean was 4.27 (SD = 1.49) and in the lower ranking condition, the mean was 3.48 (SD = 1.66). This outcome implies that people in the higher ranking condition scored slightly higher on the second university serving bias item than those in the lower ranking condition.

#### In-group favoritism

Heine and Lehman (1977) examined a self serving bias among college students by asking participants to evaluate their own universities and to provide a general impression of the students at each university. In-group favoritism will be analyzed by comparing the differences of the assessment between participants' own school and their target school. In this study, in-group favoritism was measured by subtracting the response to the other school's evaluation from that of own school evaluation. (See

Appendix A & B, Q 40 - 54 for the evaluation of the other school, and Q 75 - 89 for participants' own school.)

#### University evaluations

Participants were asked to evaluate two universities and the students who attend both schools. This measure was composed of five statements about the general characteristics of the university (Appendix A & B, Q 40 - 44 and Q 75 -59) and 10 items assessing general characteristics of the students, and they were asked to indicate how accurate the statements were on a 1 (not at all accurate) to 6 (completely accurate) scale. The 10 item student characteristic scale was composed of two dimensions: independent student character (i.e. "Students at my university are very creative" and "Students at my university are highly intelligent." See also Appendix A & B, Q 45 -54 and Q 80 - 89) and interdependent character (i.e. "Student at my university are very loyal to our school", and "Students at my university are very easy to get along with.")

A reliability analysis for each scale was conducted. All three measures were shown to be reasonably reliable (Cronbach's  $\alpha$  for the university character evaluation for the other school was .89, the evaluation scale of the student character for the independent dimension  $\alpha = .86$ , interdependent dimension,  $\alpha = .85$ ). For the university character evaluation for one's own school, Cronbach's  $\alpha = .84$ , for the evaluation scale for own school student character for the independent dimension,  $\alpha = .85$ , and for the interdependent dimension,  $\alpha = .78$ . Therefore, for each participant, each score was computed by averaging six- point agreement ratings for five university character items, five independent student characteristics items, and five interdependent student characteristics items. The mean score of the general university characteristics were 2.76

(SD=.87) for own school, and 3.93 (SD=1.06) for other school, showing that the participants, when combined, evaluated the other school higher than their own school. The mean of the independent student character evaluation was 3.31 (SD=.94) for own school, and 3.69 (SD=1.05) for other school. The mean of the interdependent student character evaluation was 3.41 (SD=.78) for their own school, and 3.49 (SD=.97) for other school. Again, although it is only slight, respondents evaluated the other school higher than their own school.

#### **RESULTS**

Self-construals, General self-esteem and USE

Hypothesis 1 predicted that those who have high interdependent self-construal exhibit more collective self-esteem than personal self-esteem, whereas people with high independent self construal have similar degrees of personal self esteem and collective self esteem. To test this hypothesis the difference between the USE sub-scales and personal self esteem was calculated for each participant, and subsequently, this difference score was used for correlation analysis with both the independent and interdependent score. The mean of the difference scores for membership USE, private USE, public USE and identity USE were -12.39 (SD = 6.29), -5.61 (SD = 7.32), -11.18 (SD = 6.68), and -11.44(7.45) respectively. The negative score indicates that the respondents scored higher on the self-esteem scale, but the self-esteem scale is a summed score that ranges from 10-40, and subscales of USE is 28 at maximum when it is summed (some of the items were deleted, so some items has only 21 as a maximum. The result showed that one's interdependent score was positively correlated with the difference score for private USE, r(54) = .27, p < .04. This outcome demonstrates that the higher the participants' interdependent score, the more they are satisfied as a member of their university. independent score was negatively correlated with the difference score but the coefficient was not statistically significant, r(52) = -.14, n.s., indicating that there is no evidence of a relationship between these two variables.

The difference score for public USE was also positively correlated with the interdependent score, r(53) = .34, p < .01. The higher their interdependent score, the

more respondents are satisfied with their public perception of being identified with the university. Here again, this direction was reversed with independent score; however, it was not statistically significant, r(53) = -.25, p = .07

There was also a positive relationship between the difference score for identity USE and the interdependent score, r(54) = .27, p < .05. The higher the interdependent score, the more participants perceive their membership in the university as important to their self-concept. An effect in the opposite direction was observed with the independent score, but it was not statistically significant, r(52) = .25, p = .06.

The same trend was observed for membership USE; the interdependent score was positively correlated with the difference of membership USE and the independent score was negatively correlated with the difference of membership USE. These coefficients did not, however, reach conventional levels of statistical significance (interdependent, r(53) = .06, n.s., independent, r(51) = -.18, n.s., see Tables 1, 2, and 3).

#### Self-construals and In-group favoritism

Hypothesis 2 predicted that those with high interdependent self-construal will evaluate their school more favorably when they are relatively higher in ranking and evaluate their own school less favorably when they are relatively lower in ranking.

Those with high independent self-construal, on the other hand, will show a similar degree of evaluation of the schools regardless of their relative rankings. As was discussed in the instrumentation section, the university evaluation was measured with three instruments; five statements about the general characteristics of the university, 5 statements about the independent dimension of the student characteristics, and 5 statements about

interdependent dimension of the student characteristics

In order to test this hypothesis, each evaluation difference score was calculated by subtracting each evaluation score of the higher/lower ranking school from their own school evaluation. Thus, a positive score indicates that respondents evaluated their own school more positively than the other school, and a negative score indicates that respondents evaluated the other school more favorably than their own school.

Correlational analysis was then employed to test the relationship between the difference score and self-construals.

Evaluation of the general character of the university

The results were inconsistent with the hypothesis. The relationship between interdependent self-constual and the difference in evaluation appeared to be in the opposite direction, but the coefficients were not large and they did not reach conventional levels of statistical significance, r(16) = -.19, n.s. in the higher ranking condition and r(26) = .06, n.s. in the lower ranking condition. As predicted, the relationship between independent self-construal and the evaluation difference score did not appeared to be altered with condition, r(16) = .31, n.s. in the higher ranking condition, and r(26) = .11, n.s., in the lower ranking condition. The mean of the evaluation difference for university character was .20 (SD = .90) in the higher ranking condition, and -1.90 (SD = 1.18) in the lower ranking condition. That is, people in the lower ranking condition evaluated the other school significantly higher than their own school, t(46) = -6.47, p < .001.

#### Evaluation of the Characteristics of students

There were two dimensions of student characteristics in the student characteristic evaluation. One was an evaluation of independent characteristics, and the other was an evaluation of interdependent characteristics. Prior to hypothesis testing, the evaluation difference score was calculated by subtracting the evaluation scores of student at the other school's from that of one's own school.

#### Independent student characteristics

The mean evaluation difference score of the independent characteristics was .68 (SD = .69) in the higher ranking condition, and -1.00 (SD = 1.05) in the lower ranking condition. This result shows that people in the lower ranking condition evaluate the other school significantly higher than people in the higher ranking condition on this measure, t = (47) = -3.87, p < .001. The result appeared to be in the opposite direction from the hypothesis, however, here again, the result did not reach the conventional level of the statistical significance. In the higher ranking condition, participants' interdependent self-construal score was negatively correlated with the evaluation difference score, t = -.14, t = 0.00, and the direction of the relationship seemed to be reversed in the lower ranking condition, t = 0.00, t = 0.00, t = 0.00.

Nonetheless in the higher ranking condition, participants' independent self-construal score was positively correlated with the difference score, r(16) = .50, p < .03, and this relationship was reversed in the lower ranking condition, r(17) = -.47, p < .01. That is, in contrast to the hypothesis, the result suggested that the higher the respondents' independent score, the more likely they were to evaluate their own school favorably when they were in the higher ranking condition, and evaluate their own school

less favorably when they were in the lower ranking condition.

Interdependent student characteristics

The mean of the evaluation difference score for the interdependent student characteristics was .717 (SD = .67) in the higher ranking condition, and -.47 (SD = 1.29) in the lower ranking condition. This outcome indicates that people in the lower ranking condition evaluated the other school higher than their own school on this measure, t (45) = -3.52, p < .001. The result here also appeared to contradict the hypothesis. The interdependent student characteristics did not appear to be different depending on the condition, r(15) = -.20, n.s. in the higher ranking condition, and r(26) = -.04, n.s. in the lower ranking condition. Moreover, as was shown with the evaluation of the independent student characteristics, the result showed that there was a positive relationship between independent self-construal and the evaluation difference score in the high ranking condition, r(15) = .54, p < .03. That is, in contrast to the hypothesis, the higher the participants' score of the independent self-construal, the more likely they evaluated their own school favorably in the higher ranking condition. Although the conventional level of statistical significance was not obtained, the direction of the relationship appeared to be reversed in the lower ranking condition, r(26) = -.31, p = .12.

In sum, with all three measures, contrary to the hypothesis 2, the data suggested that the independent score was positively related with the degree of favorable school evaluations. Moreover, the result suggested that the relative standings of the university or at least the perception of the relative standing may affect how people evaluate their own school and students compared with other school (See the figure 1a, 1b, 2a, 2b, and 3a, 3b for the illustration of the relationship)

#### University Serving Bias

As an additional measure of the university serving bias for their 1997 study. Heine & Lehman created two items that directly measure university serving bias. The first item asserted, "Overall, I think that my university is a better school to go to than the school I wrote above." The second item stated, "I think that most of my university students are glad that they went to my university instead of the university I wrote above." Again, for each item the correlation analysis was conducted with the independent and interdependent self-construals scores. The result of this measure was also inconsistent with the hypothesis. The hypothesis predicted that the participants in the higher ranking condition would demonstrate higher university serving bias when they are in the higher ranking condition. The analysis of the first measure indicated that the observed relationship was contradictory to the hypothesis. That is, there was a positive relationship between interdependent self-construal and the university serving bias in the lower ranking condition, r(29) = .37, p < .04. That is, in the lower ranking condition, the higher the participants' interdependent self-construal, they are more likely to show university serving bias. Such a relationship was not observed in the higher ranking condition, r(23) = -.295, p = .16. No significant relationship was observed with independent self-construal, r(23) = .32, p = .12 in the higher ranking condition, and r(29) = -.06, p = .75.

The second measure of the university serving bias did not indicate any significant relationship with either interdependent construal, r(24) = -.22, p = n.s. in the higher ranking condition, and r(28) = .29, p = .13 in the lower ranking condition, or independent self-construal, r(24) = .04, p = .85 in the higher ranking condition, and r

(28) = -.04, p = n.s. in the lower ranking condition.

Regardless of their self-orientation scores the participants in the higher ranking condition scored higher on the first item of university serving bias than participants in lower ranking condition, (M = 4.27, SD = 1.49, and M = 3.38, SD = 1.66, respectively).

#### **DISCUSSION**

Although the study was limited by a small sample size, and the hypotheses were only partially consistent with the data, there were several major findings. The result of the study suggested that the difference between collective self-esteem and personal self-esteem was positively correlated with interdependent self-construal and negatively correlated with independent self-construal. In other words, the result seemed to indicate that highly interdependent people have higher collective self-esteem than personal self-esteem. In contrast, highly independent people have higher personal self-esteem than collective self-esteem.

This study also examined the group serving bias, measured by the evaluation difference score between other school and own school. It was found that relative ranking differences had an impact on how students evaluate schools, regardless of self-orientation. It appeared, however, that the evaluation difference was larger among those high in independent self-construal and low-interdependent self-construal than those of low in independent and high in interdependent self-construal. Given that Japanese people's behavior was determined and altered by the relative standings among people of different status (Kowner & Wiseman, 2003), and the fact that Japanese culture emphasizes social order (Doi, 1986), the findings of this study seemed to fit the cultural assumption that the rankings do play an important role in determining how persons evaluate their university affiliations. Consistent with the past research that questioned the validity of equating Asian culture and interdependent self-construal, this sample scored slightly higher in independent self-construal than in interdependent self-construal.

It should be noted that this sample was only comprised by female participants at a woman's university in Tokyo, Japan. Past research has not found significant gender difference in the group serving biases (Heine & Lehman, 1997; Takata, 2003).

#### CONCLUSION

This study suggested that the ranking system of the Japanese university affects how female students evaluate their own school and other schools. Takeuchi (1997) argued that the awareness of the ranking difference among Japanese students is a reflection of a society in which the school rankings decide how much access one can have to the future job market. The results of this study are consistent with this argument, and provide empirical evidence for it. Students who are situated in higher ranking universities may have more favorable views of themselves and their school because they perceive their future opportunity as better than students at lower ranking schools. Alternatively, the students who are situated at lower ranking schools may perceive themselves less favorable because they may not be valued as much as students in higher ranking schools. As was mentioned earlier, the study had a low return rate, which resulted in a limited sample size. The survey was printed and prepared in Japan in mid-December, and distributed in the following weeks. Some students claimed that they lost the questionnaire, took another home, and never returned it. Some left the questionnaire in the classroom. The ranking of the Mejiro University may also be another factor for the lower response rate. The university was originally a women's junior college, and recently became a four years' co-ed university. The index of the difficulty of the entrance exam, "Hensa-chi<sup>2</sup>," indicates Mejiro University is about 43 to 46 depending on the department. This university is not a research institution, and

.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hensa-chi is represented by the deviation score from the mean. The index score of 50 means that the school is about the average level of difficulty. However, most people regard the score of 55 as being average. For example, the index for the University of Tokyo, as well as University of Kyoto, is from 69 to 70. Waseda University is from 63 to 66.

students have only a limited access to research participation opportunities. Therefore, they may not value research participation.

Low response rate challenged the conclusion that can be drawn from this research; however, several future possibilities emerged. A replication study with a larger sample would provide better understanding of the relationships that this study attempted to investigate. The data from this study suggest that the ranking difference does make a difference in how Japanese students evaluate others as well as their own school; therefore, further study can be done to examine the effect of university ranking on other constructs such as change in self-concept or the difference in self-description. The findings of such a study can benefit public relations of the universities—by de-emphasizing the relative rankings of the university, and by promoting group aspects of the university such as various student activities, students at the lower university may feel more satisfied with their own school.

#### APPENDIX A

I. For the following items, please indicate your degree of agreement with each statement by circling a number that corresponds to a scale below. It may be helpful to think of "groups" as your peer group.

1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = undecided, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree

1.	I should be judged on my own merits.	1	2	3	4	5
2.	I voice my opinions in group discussions.	1	2	3	4	5
3.	I feel comfortable disagreeing with my group.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	I conceal my negative emotions so I won't cause	1	2	3	4	5
	unhappiness among the members of my group.					
5.	My personal identity, independent from others, is very	1	2	3	4	5
	important to me.					
6.	I prefer to be self-reliant rather than dependent on	1	2	3	4	5
	others.					
7.	I act as a unique person, separate from others.	1	2	3	4	5
8.	I don't like depending on others.	1	2	3	4	5
9.	My relationships with those in my group are more	1	2	3	4	5
	important than my personal accomplishments.					
10.	My happiness depends on the happiness of those in	1	2	3	4	5
	my group.					
11.	I often consider how I can be helpful to specific others	1	2	3	4	5
	in my group.					
12.	I take responsibility for my own actions.	1	2	3	4	5
13.	It is important for me to act as an independent person.	1	2	3	4	5
14.	I have an opinion about most things: I know what I	1	2	3	4	5
	like and I know what I don't like.					
15.	I enjoy being unique and different from others.	1	2	3	4	5
16.	Having a lively imagination is important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
17.	I don't change my opinions in conformity with those	1	2	3	4	5
	of the majority.					
18.	Speaking up in a work/task group is not a problem for	1	2	3	4	5
	me.					
19.	Understanding myself is a major goal in my life.	1	2	3	4	5
20.	I enjoy being unique and different from others.	1	2	3	4	5
21.	I am careful to maintain harmony in my group.	1	2	3	4	5
22.	When with my group, I watch my words so I won't	1	2	3	4	5
	offend anyone.					
23.	I would sacrifice my self-interests for the benefit of	1	2	3	4	5
	my group.					
24.	I try to meet the demands of my group, even if it	1	2	3	4	5
	means controlling my own desires.					
25.	It is important to consult close friends and get their	1	2	3	4	5

	ideas before making decisions.					
26.	I should take into consideration my parents' advice when making education and career plans.	1	2	3	4	5
27.	I act as fellow group members prefer I act.	1	2	3	4	5
28.	The security of being an accepted member of a group is very important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
29.	If my brother or sister fails, I feel responsible.	1	2	3	4	5

II. Below is a list of the statements dealing with your general feelings about yourself. Please indicate your degree of agreement by circling the number that corresponds to the scale below.

1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = disagree, 4 = strongly disagree

30.	I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on	1	2	3	4
	an equal plane with others.				
31.	I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	1	2	3	4
32.	All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.	1	2	3	4
33.	I am able to do things as well as good qualities.	1	2	3	4
34.	I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	1	2	3	4
35.	I take a positive attitude toward myself.	1	2	3	4
36.	On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	1	2	3	4
37.	I wish I could have more respect for myself.	1	2	3	4
38.	I certainly feel useless at times.	1	2	3	4
39.	All times I think I am no good at all.	1	2	3	4

III. For this section of questionnaire, please think of the university that you think it is higher in ranking than your current school. The school can be your first choice school that you wished to attend but were not admitted, or the school that you know it is highly regarded in society.

Please	indicate	your	choice	of s	chool	in the	space	provided	below

Following statements asks your general impression of the school you listed above. Please indicate your degree of agreement by circling the number that corresponds to the scale below.

1 = not at all accurate, 2 = inaccurate, 3 = somewhat inaccurate, 4 = somewhat accurate,

5 =accurate, 6 =completely accurate

40.	This university has an excellent reputation	1	2	3	4	5	6
	among universities in the United States.						

41.	The graduates of this university tend to enter the upper ranks of society.	1	2	3	4	5	6
42.	This university has top-notch facilities.	1	2	3	4	5	6
43.	The graduates of this university tend to get good jobs.	1	2	3	4	5	6
44.	This university provides high quality education.	1	2	3	4	5	6

IV. Following questionnaire asks your general impression about the student of the university you listed above. Your general impression may come from your personal acquaintances, or from a certain source such as magazines or news papers. There is no right or wrong response to any of the statements. Please indicate your degree of agreement to the statements by circling the number that corresponds to the scale below.

1 = not at all accurate, 2 = inaccurate, 3 = somewhat inaccurate, 4 = somewhat accurate,

5 = accurate, 6 = completely accurate

45.	In general, students of this university are quite interesting people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
46.	In general, students of this university are very creative.	1	2	3	4	5	6
47.	In general, students of this university are highly intelligent.	1	2	3	4	5	6
48.	In general, students of this university are quite physically attractive.	1	2	3	4	5	6
49.	In general, students of this university are athletic.	1	2	3	4	5	6
50.	In general, students of this university are very loyal to their school.	1	2	3	4	5	6
51.	In general, students of this university are considerate	1	2	3	4	5	6
52.	In general, students of this university are particularly hard-working.	1	2	3	4	5	6
53.	Students of this university are very easy to get along with.	1	2	3	4	5	6
54.	Students of this university are cooperative.	1	2	3	4	5	6

V. Following statements asks how you feel about your membership to the university.

Please consider your membership to your current university, and respond to them on the basis of how you feel about your university and your membership to it. Please read each statement carefully, and respond by using the following scale from 1 to 7.

1= strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = disagree somewhat, 4 = neutral, 5 = agree somewhat,

6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree

55.	I am a worthy member of my university.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
56.	I often regret that I belong to my university.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
57.	Overall, my university is considered good by others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
58.	Overall, my university membership have very little to do with how I feel about my self.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
59.	I feel I don't have much to offer to my university.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
60.	In general, I am glad to be a member of my university.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
61.	Most people consider my university, on average, to be more ineffective than other universities.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
62.	My university is an important reflection of who I am.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
63.	I am a cooperative participant in my university.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
64.	Overall, I often feel that my university of which I am a member is not worthwhile.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
65.	In general, others respect my university that I am a member of.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
66.	The university I belong to is unimportant to my sense of what kind of a person I am.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
67.	I often feel I am a useless member of my university.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>68</b> .	I feel good about the university I belong to.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
69.	In general, others think that the university I am a member of is unworthy.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
70.	In general, belonging to my university is an important part of my self-image.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
71.	I know students from person A's university very well.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
72.	The university I belong to was my first choice school.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
73.	Overall, I think my university is a better school to go to than the school person A goes to.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
74.	I think that most of students at my university are glad that they went to my university instead of person A's university.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

VI. This time, please indicate your degree of agreement about your own opinion and impression of your current school by circling the number that corresponds to the scale below.

1 = not at all accurate, 2 = inaccurate, 3 = somewhat inaccurate, 4 = somewhat accurate,

5 = accurate, 6 = completely accurate

75.	My university has an excellent reputation among universities in the United States.	1	2	3	4	5	6
76.	My university graduates tend to enter the upper ranks of society.	1	2	3	4	5	6
77.	My university has top-notch facilities.	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>78</b> .	My university graduates tend to get good jobs.	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>79</b> .	My university provides high quality education.	1	2	3	4	5	6

V. Following question asks your general impression about students of your current university. Please indicate your degree of agreement by circling the number that corresponds to the scale below.

1 = not at all accurate, 2 = inaccurate, 3 = somewhat inaccurate, 4 = somewhat accurate,

5 =accurate, 6 =completely accurate

80.	In general, students at my university are quite interesting people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
81.	In general, students at my university are very creative.	1	2	3	4	5	6
82.	In general, students at my university are highly intelligent.	1	2	3	4	5	6
83.	In general, students at my university are quite physically attractive.	1	2	3	4	5	6
84.	In general, students at my university are athletic.	1	2	3	4	5	6
85.	In general, students at my university are very loyal to their school.	1	2	3	4	5	6
86.	In general, students at my university are considerate	1	2	3	4	5	6
87.	In general, students at my university are particularly hard-working.	1	2	3	4	5	6
88.	In general, students at my university are very easy to get along with.	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>89</b> .	In general, students at my university are cooperative.	1	2	3	4	5	6

VI. Please prov	ide your demograpl	hic informat	ion.	
Age:				
Gender: Male	Female			
Status: Freshman	Sophomore	Junior	Senior	Other
Nationality	•			

Thank you very much for your cooperation!!!

#### **APPENDIX B**

I. For the following items, please indicate your degree of agreement with each statement by circling a number that corresponds to a scale below. It may be helpful to think of "groups" as your peer group.

1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = undecided, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly agree

1	I should be judged on my own morits	1	2	1 2	1	5
1.	I should be judged on my own merits.	1	2	3	4	
2.	I voice my opinions in group discussions.	1	2	3	4	5
3.	I feel comfortable disagreeing with my group.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	I conceal my negative emotions so I won't cause	1	2	3	4	5
	unhappiness among the members of my group.		<u> </u>	<u> </u>		اــا
5.	My personal identity, independent from others, is very	1	2	3	4	5
	important to me.			ļ		
6.	I prefer to be self-reliant rather than dependent on	1	2	3	4	5
	others.			<u> </u>		
7.	I act as a unique person, separate from others.	1	2	3	4	5
8.	I don't like depending on others.	1	2	3	4	5
9.	My relationships with those in my group are more	1	2	3	4	5
	important than my personal accomplishments.					
10.	My happiness depends on the happiness of those in my	1	2	3	4	5
	group.					
11.	I often consider how I can be helpful to specific others	1	2	3	4	5
	in my group.					
12.	I take responsibility for my own actions.	1	2	3	4	5
13.	It is important for me to act as an independent person.	1	2	3	4	5
14.	I have an opinion about most things: I know what I like	1	2	3	4	5
	and I know what I don't like.					
15.	I enjoy being unique and different from others.	1	2	3	4	5
16.	Having a lively imagination is important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
17.	I don't change my opinions in conformity with those of	1	2	3	4	5
	the majority.					
18.	Speaking up in a work/task group is not a problem for	1	2	3	4	5
	me.					
19.	Understanding myself is a major goal in my life.	1	2	3	4	5
20.	I enjoy being unique and different from others.	1	2	3	4	5
21.	I am careful to maintain harmony in my group.	1	2	3	4	5
22.	When with my group, I watch my words so I won't	1	2	3	4	5
	offend anyone.				}	
23.	I would sacrifice my self-interests for the benefit of my	1	2	3	4	5
	group.					
24.	I try to meet the demands of my group, even if it means	1	2	3	4	5
	controlling my own desires.	i				
25.	It is important to consult close friends and get their ideas	1	2	3	4	5
	before making decisions.					
					•	

26.	I should take into consideration my parents' advice when making education and career plans.	1	2	3	4	5
27.	I act as fellow group members prefer I act.	1	2	3	4	5
28.	The security of being an accepted member of a group is very important to me.		2	3	4	5
<b>29</b> .	If my brother or sister fails, I feel responsible.	1	2	3	4	5

IV. Below is a list of the statements dealing with your general feelings about yourself. Please indicate your degree of agreement by circling the number that corresponds to the scale below.

1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree, 3 = disagree, 4 = strongly disagree

30.	I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on	1	2	3	4
	an equal plane with others.				
31.	I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	1	2	3	4
32.	All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.	1	2	3	4
33.	I am able to do things as well as good qualities.	1	2	3	4
34.	I feel I do not have much to be proud of.	1	2	3	4
<b>35</b> .	I take a positive attitude toward myself.	1	2	3	4
36.	On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.	1	2	3	4
37.	I wish I could have more respect for myself.	1	2	3	4
38.	I certainly feel useless at times.	1	2	3	4
<b>39</b> .	All times I think I am no good at all.	1	2	3	4

V. For this section of questionnaire, please think of the university that you think it is lower in ranking than your current school. The school can be your choice of school that you applied as your safe guard, or the school that you know it is less selective.

Please indicate	your choice	of school i	in the space	e provided	below.
				=	

Following statements asks your general impression of the school you listed above. Please indicate your degree of agreement by circling the number that corresponds to the

scale below.

1 = not at all accurate, 2 = inaccurate, 3 = somewhat inaccurate, 4 = somewhat accurate, 5 = accurate, 6 = completely accurate

40.	This university has an excellent reputation among universities in the United States.	1	2	3	4	5	6
41.	The graduates of this university tend to enter the upper ranks of society.	1	2	3	4	5	6
42.	This university has top-notch facilities.	1	2	3	4	5	6

43.	The graduates of this university tend to get good jobs.	1	2	3	4	5	6
44.	This university provides high quality education.	1	2	3	4	5	6

IV. Following questionnaire asks your general impression about the student of the university you listed above. Your general impression may come from your personal acquaintances, or from a certain source such as magazines or news papers. There is no right or wrong response to any of the statements. Please indicate your degree of agreement to the statements by circling the number that corresponds to the scale below.

1 = not at all accurate, 2 = inaccurate, 3 = somewhat inaccurate, 4 = somewhat accurate, 5 = accurate, 6 = completely accurate

45.	In general, students of this university are quite interesting people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
46.	In general, students of this university are very creative.	1	2	3	4	5	6
47.	In general, students of this university are highly intelligent.	1	2	3	4	5	6
48.	In general, students of this university are quite physically attractive.	1	2	3	4	5	6
49.	In general, students of this university are athletic.	1	2	3	4	5	6
50.	In general, students of this university are very loyal to their school.	1	2	3	4	5	6
51.	In general, students of this university are considerate	1	2	3	4	5	6
52.	In general, students of this university are particularly hard-working.	1	2	3	4	5	6
53.	Students of this university are very easy to get along with.	1	2	3	4	5	6
54.	Students of this university are cooperative.	1	2	3	4	5	6

V. Following statements asks how you feel about your membership to the university.

Please consider your membership to your current university, and respond to them on the basis of how you feel about your university and your membership to it. Please read each statement carefully, and respond by using the following scale from 1 to 7.

1= strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = disagree somewhat, 4 = neutral, 5 = agree somewhat,

6 = agree, 7 = strongly agree

55.	I am a worthy member of my university.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
56.	I often regret that I belong to my university.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

57.	Overall, my university is considered good by others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
58.	Overall, my university membership have very little to do with how I feel about my self.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
59.	I feel I don't have much to offer to my university.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
60.	In general, I am glad to be a member of my university.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
61.	Most people consider my university, on average, to be more ineffective than other universities.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
62.	My university is an important reflection of who I am.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
63.	I am a cooperative participant in my university.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
64.	Overall, I often feel that my university of which I am a member is not worthwhile.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
65.	In general, others respect my university that I am a member of.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
66.	The university I belong to is unimportant to my sense of what kind of a person I am.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
67.	I often feel I am a useless member of my university.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
68.	I feel good about the university I belong to.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
69.	In general, others think that the university I am a member of is unworthy.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
70.	In general, belonging to my university is an important part of my self-image.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
71.	I know students from person A's university very well.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
72.	The university I belong to was my first choice school.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
73.	Overall, I think my university is a better school to go to than the school person A goes to.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
74.	I think that most of students at my university are glad that they went to my university instead of person A's university.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

This time, please indicate your degree of agreement about your own opinion VI. and impression of your current school by circling the number that corresponds to the scale below.

 $<sup>1 = \</sup>text{not}$  at all accurate, 2 = inaccurate, 3 = somewhat inaccurate, 4 = somewhat accurate, 5 = accurate, 6 = completely accurate

75.	My university has an excellent reputation among universities in the United States.	1	2	3	4	5	6
76.	My university graduates tend to enter the upper ranks of society.	1	2	3	4	5	6
77.	My university has top-notch facilities.	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>78</b> .	My university graduates tend to get good jobs.	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>79</b> .	My university provides high quality education.	1	2	3	4	5	6

V. Following question asks your general impression about students of your current university. Please indicate your degree of agreement by circling the number that corresponds to the scale below.

1 = not at all accurate, 2 = inaccurate, 3 = somewhat inaccurate, 4 = somewhat accurate,

5 = accurate, 6 = completely accurate

80.	In general, students at my university are quite interesting people.	1	2	3	4	5	6
81.	In general, students at my university are very creative.	1	2	3	4	5	6
82.	In general, students at my university are highly intelligent.	1	2	3	4	5	6
83.	In general, students at my university are quite physically attractive.	1	2	3	4	5	6
84.	In general, students at my university are athletic.	1	2	3	4	5	6
85.	In general, students at my university are very loyal to their school.	1	2	3	4	5	6
86.	In general, students at my university are considerate	1	2	3	4	5	6
87.	In general, students at my university are particularly hard-working.	1	2	3	4	5	6
88.	In general, students at my university are very easy to get along with.	1	2	3	4	5	6
<b>89</b> .	In general, students at my university are cooperative.	1	2	3	4	5	6

VI. Please provide your demographic information.  Age:								
Gender: Male	Female							
Status: Freshman	Sophomore	Junior	Senior	Other				
Nationality								

Thank you very much for your cooperation!!!

#### APPENDIX C

Table 1.

Correlation matrix with independent, interdependent score and difference score of private USE

	1	2	3
1	1.00		
2	08	1.00	
3	16	.27*	1.00

1 = independent score

2 = interdependent score

3 = private USE score - Rosenberg's self-esteem score

Table 2.

Correlation matrix with independent, interdependent score and difference score of public USE

	1	2	3
1	1.00		
2	08	1.00	
3	25	.34*	1.00

1 = independent score

2 = interdependent score

3 = public USE score - Rosenberg's self-esteem score

Table 3
Correlation matrix with independent, interdependent score and difference score of identity USE

	1	2	3
1	1.00		
2	08	1.00	
3	25	.27*	1.00

1 = independent score

2 = interdependent score

3 = identity USE score - Rosenberg's self-esteem score

\* = the correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2 -tailed)

<sup>\* =</sup> the correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2 -tailed)

<sup>\* =</sup> the correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2 -tailed)

Table 4.

Correlation matrix with independent, interdependent score and difference score of evaluation of independent student characteristics

## Lower ranking condition

	1	2	3
1	1.00		
2	15	1.00	
3	47*	.10	1.00

1 = independent score

2 = interdependent score

3 = own student evaluation – other school evaluation

\*= the correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2 -tailed)

# Higher ranking condition

	1	2	3
1	1.00		
2	02	1.00	
3	.50*	11	1.00

1 = independent score

2 = interdependent score

3 = own student evaluation – other school evaluation

\* = the correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2 -tailed)

Table 5.

Correlation matrix with independent, interdependent score and difference score of evaluation of interdependent student characteristics

Lower	ranking		
condition			

	1	2	3
1	1.00		
2	15	1.00	
3	31	.04	1.00

1 = independent score

2 = interdependent score

3 = own student evaluation – other school evaluation

## Higher ranking condition

	1	2	3
1	1.00		
2	.02	1.00	
3	.54	20	1.00

1 = independent score

2 = interdependent score

3 = own student evaluation - other school evaluation \* = the correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2 -tailed)

#### APPENDIX D

### **Evaluation difference: university character**

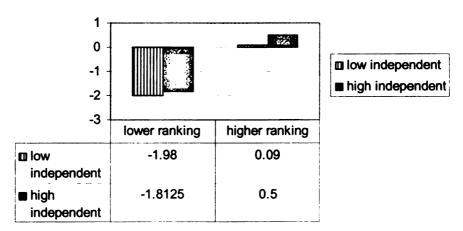


Figure 1a. The effect of ranking difference on the relationship with independent & interdependent self-orientations

## Evaluation difference: university character

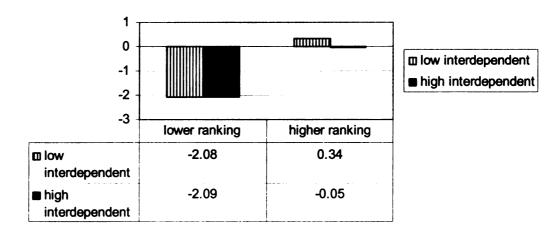


Figure 1b. The effect of ranking difference on the relationship with independent & interdependent self-orientations

#### evaluation difference

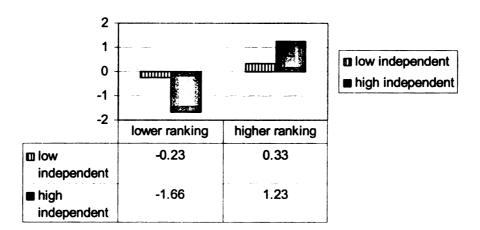


Figure 2a. The effect of ranking on the relationship between the university characteristics evaluation and the independent self-construal

#### evaluation difference

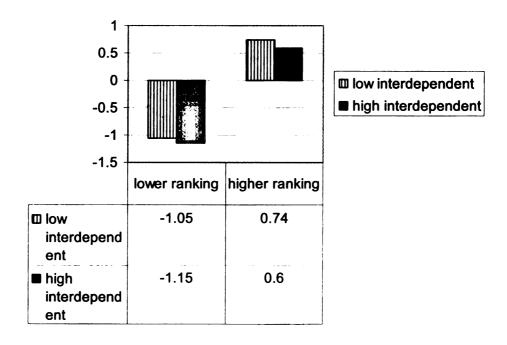


Figure 2b. The effect of ranking on the relationship between the university characteristics and the interdependent self-orientation

#### evaluation difference

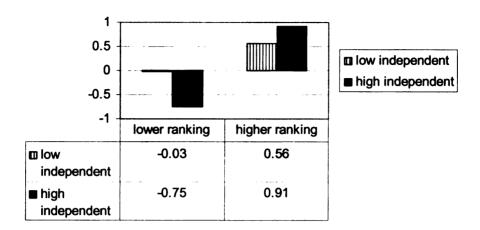


Figure 3a. The effect of ranking on the relationship between interdependent student characteristics and independent self-orientation

#### evaluation difference

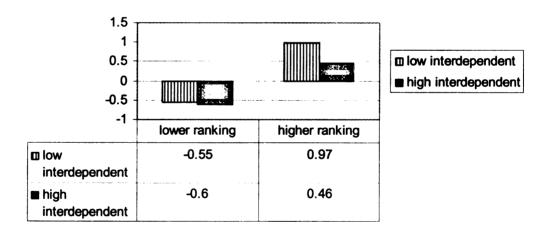


Figure 3b. The effect of ranking on the relationship between interdependent student characteristics and independent self-orientation

## university serving bias1

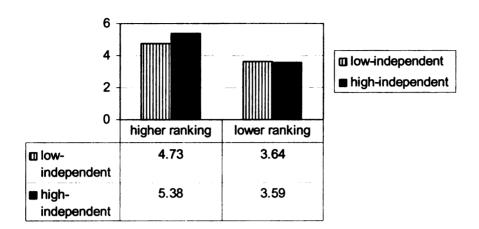


Figure 4a. Effect of ranking on the measure of university serving bias with independent self-construal

## university serving bias 1

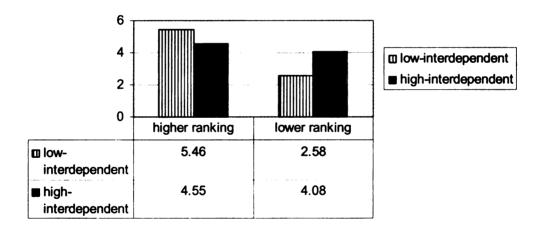


Figure 4b. Effect of ranking on the measure of university serving bias with interdependent self-construal

## university serving bias 2

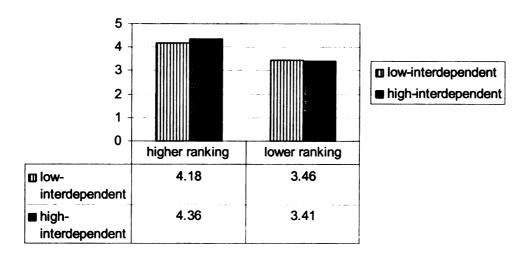


Figure 5. Effect of ranking on the measure of university serving bias with interdependent self-construal

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