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Explicit Self-Criticism and Implicit Self-Regard:

Evaluating Self and Friend in Two Cultures

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Abstract

Past research indicates that people in some Asian cultures (e.g., Japan) often <u>explicitly</u> evaluate themselves negatively while <u>implicitly</u> maintaining positive self-evaluations. Two studies provided evidence for the hypothesis that this pattern of explicit and implicit self-evaluations is quite common even outside of Asia, as long as the evaluations are assessed in the context of close, interdependent social relations. Thus, Study 1 applied a modified version of Implicit Association Test to both Japanese and Americans, and showed that the above pattern occurs in both cultures if the self is evaluated vis-à-vis one's actual friend. Further, Study 2 indicated that when placed in a context that has neither actual nor presumed emotional interdependence, both Japanese and Americans manifest positive self-evaluations at both explicit and implicit levels. Implications for cultural crafting of the self are discussed. (133 words)

Explicit Self-Criticism and Implicit Self-Regard:

Evaluating Self and Friend in Two Cultures

Since William James (1890), self-esteem has been defined as a relatively unified psychological structure. Its central component is a set of positive evaluations of the self (Rosenberg, 1965). This view of self-esteem has proved extremely useful in guiding an ever growing body of research on the issue (Crocker & Wolfe, 2001, for a review). In the recent years, however, researchers have begun to suggest that this traditional notion of self-esteem may be somewhat simplistic. Most importantly, Greenwald, Banaji, and their colleagues have argued that evaluations one explicitly makes of the self are often separate from evaluations that are associated with the self implicitly (e.g., Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). In the current work, we test the hypothesis that these two evaluations show a paradoxical discordance when assessed in a context of tightly knit, interdependent social relations.

Explicit Self-Criticism and Implicit Self-Regard

To measure self-evaluations at an implicit level, Greenwald and colleagues have devised Implicit Association Test (or IAT; Greenwald & Farnham, 2000; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). IAT involves two separate judgments. In one judgment, participants are to make a self-other categorization of each of various personal attributes (e.g., name, job, phone number, ..etc.) that are either associated with or not associated with the self. In another judgment, participants are to make an evaluative categorization of each of either positive or negative evaluative words. After practicing each of the two judgments, the personal attributes and the evaluative words are mixed and presented in a random order. The participants are asked to perform either the self vs. not-self categorization when a personal attribute is presented or the

evaluative categorization when an evaluative word is presented. In one condition, the same response key is assigned to both the "self" (or "not-self") response in the self vs. not-self categorization and the "good" (or "bad") response in the evaluative categorization judgment. In another condition, the combination of the responses in the two judgments is reversed. It has been found that the time required to make these judgments is considerably shorter when "self" responses are paired with "good" responses than vice versa. This demonstrates positive evaluations implicitly associated with the self.

The main impetus for the current research stems from the fact that implicit and explicit self-evaluations often disagree with each other. In the contemporary literature, such a disagreement has been discussed in terms of correlations between the two types of self-evaluations across participants. Although these correlations tend to be positive especially when relatively automatic components of evaluations are assessed (Koole, Dijksterhuis, van Knippenberg, 2001), they are usually very weak (Bosson, Swann, & Pennebaker, 2000; Greenwald & Farnham, 2000). Thus, the two self-evaluations often fail to converge across individuals. The focus of the current work was different. We examine an analogous, yet logically independent, disagreement that is found in terms of overall levels of the two types of self-evaluations.

Specifically, in some Asian cultures, self-criticism is quite pervasive at an explicit level. For example, it is well established that European-Americans make self-serving attributions of success and failure (Miller & Ross, 1975). But in some Asian cultures such as Japan and Korea, self-critical attributions are more common (Kitayama, Takagi, & Matsumoto, 1995). Similar self-critical effects have been repeatedly found in self-relevant judgments in East Asia (e.g., Kitayama, Markus, Matsumoto, & Norasakkunkit, 1997). Importantly, these effects happen even

when responses are either held entirely anonymous or measured unobtrusively and, thus, there is

no obvious concern for public self-presentations (Heine, Lehman, Markus, & Kitayama, 1999).

In sharp contrast, at an implicit level, Asians do appear to hold positive evaluations of

themselves. For example, Kitayama and Karasawa (1997) showed that Japanese evaluate

alphabetical letters that are included in their own names more favorably than other letters in the

alphabet. This effect suggests positive evaluations that are implicitly associated with the self

(Nuttin, 1985). A similar effect has also been shown in the United States (Johnson, 1986) and

Thailand (Hoorens, Nuttin, Herman, & Pavakanun, 1990). Evidence along the same line has been

reported with an IAT for both Americans (Greenwald & Farnham, 2000) and Japanese

(Yamaguchi & Murakami, 2000). Further, the same point has been made with a semantic priming

method (Hetts, Sakuma, and Pelham, 1999). Taken together, this literature has begun to suggest

that the combination of explicit self-criticism and implicit self-regard is highly pervasive in some

Asian cultures such as Japan. In contrast, in North America individuals typically show a strong

self-regard regardless of whether it is assessed implicitly or explicitly.

Self-Evaluations in Interdependent, Communal Social Relations

At first glance, self- criticism at an explicit level is at odds with positive self-regard

uncovered at an implicit level. Asians might therefore be "really" feeling good about themselves

at the deepest of their hearts, but they might at the same time be hiding the true feeling by acting

modest. Moreover, the distinction between private belief ("hon-ne") and public position

("tatemae") is explicitly encoded in the Japanese lexicon. And, of course, there is no doubt that

self-criticism is sometimes motivated by self-presentational concerns. However, this process,

alone, cannot account for the finding that self-criticism in Asia is unlikely to be deliberately

controlled because it can be observed even under conditions of complete anonymity with

unobtrusive behavioral measures (see Heine et al., 1999, for a review). The co-existence of explicit self-criticism and implicit self-regard would then seem all the more paradoxical.

To resolve this paradox, Kitayama and Markus (2000) have argued that explicit self-criticism is often an integral part of densely knit, emotionally interdependent or communal social relations. In such social relations, sympathy and compassion, and attendant acts of care and support, become a major glue by which the group of people cohere together and fellow feelings are nurtured (Smith, 1976). Although these interdependent or communal forms of social relations exist in all cultures, they are assumed to be more prevalent in Asian cultural contexts (Markus & Kitayama, 1991a). In these relationships, one's own self-critical attitudes are readily responded to by others with sympathy and compassion, which in turn affirms the abiding interdependence in the relationships and each other's engagement in it. Accordingly, the self is perceived to be symbiotic on the others for its own evaluations and, therefore, the others are often seen as inseparable from the self (Aron, Aron, Tudor, & Nelson, 1991; Mills & Clark, 1994).

The foregoing consideration highlights one powerful basis for implicit self-regard that has so far been ignored in the literature. Specifically, positive feedbacks and responses such as sympathy, compassion, and encouragement that are routinely exchanged among participants in a close, interdependent relationship and the resulting fellow feelings shared therein may breed warm feelings that are implicitly attached to the self. Moreover, these positive responses are most likely when others are perceived to be in some difficulty. Indeed, if individuals find another's apparent misery and difficulty to be no more than a conveniently adopted public posture or self-presentation and, thus, disguised, they will eventually suspend and withhold any such positive feedbacks to this person. Within this contingency of interpersonal feedback, "genuine" self-criticism at an explicit level can co-exist in balance with self-regard at an implicit level.

The foregoing analysis implies that the combination of self-criticism at an explicit level and self-regard at an implicit level, highly pervasive in some Asian cultures such as Japan, stems from an interdependent ethos that is prevalent in daily social interactions of these cultures. Conversely, the same combination is relatively uncommon in North America. This may be assumed to result because North American cultures do not nurture the ethos of interdependence as often as may be the case in Asian cultures. One unique prediction of the present analysis is that the combination of explicit self- criticism and implicit self-regard should be neither unique nor confined to the Asian cultures. To the contrary, the combination should also be found in North America as long as explicit and implicit evaluations of the self are assessed in a context of close, interdependent social relations.

STUDY 1

Study 1 examined both explicit and implicit self-evaluations of Americans and Japanese in a context of close, interdependent social relations. For this purpose, it might seem possible to use words of, say, self and friend, to determine implicit semantic associations for them (Yamaguchi & Murakami, 2000); but it is uncertain whether these associations might have anything to do with implicit associations for two actual individuals of the self and his or her friend. In order to ensure that these latter associations are recruited, it would be essential to use stimuli that are directly linked to the two concrete persons in the eyes of the participants themselves. Accordingly, we modified a standardized IAT procedure (Greenwald & Farnham, 2000) and used as stimuli handwritings provided on the spot by pairs of friends. Importantly, this modified procedure preserves all critical features of the standard IAT. It was predicted that

comparatively negative evaluations would be given to the self (relative to the evaluations given to the friend) in an explicit judgment, but comparatively positive evaluations would be revealed for the self (relative to the evaluations revealed for the friend) in an implicit assessment. Furthermore, we expected that in the context of actual, communal relationship, similar patterns should be observed for both Japanese and Americans.

In addition, we examined another important prediction of ours, namely, that explicit self-criticism in interdependent social relations is often genuine, more or less accurately expressing the truly felt assessment of the self and the pertinent other. By and large, social psychologists have assumed that response anonymity is sufficient to argue that the observed response is privately held (see e.g., Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, Tetlock & Manstead, 1985, for reviews), and there is no reason to raise any serious doubt on the basic validity of this time-honored operational definition of private acceptance. We thus examined explicit evaluations of self and friend under conditions in which special care was taken to ensure complete anonymity of responses.

Method

Participants

Forty three pairs of friends of the same sex were recruited. Twenty three pairs of them were Japanese (17 male pairs and 6 female pairs). All of them were undergraduates at a Japanese university. The remaining 20 pairs of participants were all Americans (9 male pairs, 11 female pairs). All of the American participants were temporarily staying in Japan as part of an exchange program. The medium length of stay was 2 months, with the maximum of 10 months. Thirty seven of the 40 American participants were Caucasians. Data from these 37 will be reported below although the results were no different when all the data were included in the analysis. The

Japanese group and the American group were comparable in age (18-23 years old).

<u>Procedure</u>

Once a person agreed to participate in the study, he or she was asked to bring his or her close friend of the same sex to the study. Upon arrival in the lab, the two participants were greeted by two experimenters. They were explained that in this experiment they were to perform some cognitive judgment tasks. They were then shown a sheet on which 12 rectangles were printed with varying intervals. One of the experimenters asked the participants to write down one non-sense syllable in each rectangle. The experimenter first asked one of the participants to do so for randomly chosen six of the rectangles. She read out six nonsense syllables and the participant wrote them down in the designated rectangles. This procedure was repeated for the other participant of the pair so that all the 12 rectangles on the sheet were filled with hand-written nonsense syllables. At this point, the two participants were separated into different rooms and tested by one of the two experimenters. While they were waiting in each room, one of the experimenters made a photo copy of the sheet with handwritten syllables so that it could be simultaneously used in the two rooms.

The participants were tested in the following schedule. First, they were shown the sheet with handwritten nonsense syllables. They were asked to judge who wrote each nonsense syllable, either "self" or "friend". They were to tap either their left knee if the self wrote each syllable or their right knee if the friend wrote it. They were asked to make this judgment for the 12 syllables from the top to the bottom as quickly as possible without sacrificing accuracy. They practiced the judgment series twice. Second, they were shown a transparent sheet on which 12 words were printed. The 12 words were printed in such a way that when this transparency was superimposed on the first sheet with nonsense syllables, the words and the nonsense syllables were to be

presented in a single column in a random order. The participants were asked to judge whether each word was good or bad. Half of the words had clearly positive evaluative connotations and the remaining half had negative connotations. They were ordered randomly. In a self-good condition, the participants were asked to tap their left knee if each word was "good" and to tap their right knee if it was "bad". Again, they were asked to do so as quickly as possible without sacrificing accuracy. They practiced the judgment series twice. In a self-bad condition, the knees to be tapped were reversed. Third, the transparency was super-imposed on the sheet with the handwritten syllables. The participants were asked to perform the two judgments simultaneously. The time required to make all the 24 responses was measured with a stopwatch. Further, the participants were asked to report how many errors (out of 24) they thought they had made after each trial. This was repeated twice. Fourth, the second and the third steps were repeated, but under a different condition. Thus, those participants assigned to the self-good condition in the first round were tested in the self-bad condition in the second round and vice versa for the remaining participants. The participants were randomly assigned to one of the two order conditions.

Subsequently, the participants were asked to fill out a questionnaire designed to assess explicit evaluations of the self and the friend. In the questionnaire, they were shown the 12 evaluative words again but, this time, they were asked to rate both the degree to which each word was applicable to the self and the degree to which it was applicable to the friend in the other room (1 = "not at all", 5 = "very much"). The order of the self-judgment and the friend-judgment was counter-balanced across the participants.

Imagined Friend Condition

Although explicit assurance was given to the participants that the ratings they gave were

completely confidential, it would remain possible that the participants gave excessively positive

evaluations to the friend out of a concern that he or she would somehow discover their ratings. To

address this potential problem, we tested separate groups of 37 Japanese college undergraduates

(18 males and 19 females) and 24 American undergraduates (14 males and 10 females). They

were drawn from the same participant populations as in the main study. They were tested in small

groups. First, they were asked to think about a close friend of the same sex they would ask to

come with them to a psychology experiment. They were then asked to evaluate both the self and

the friend in the same questionnaire as the one used in the main study. The order of the two

judgments were counterbalanced over the participants. They were told that their answers would

be confidential and totally anonymous. They were specifically asked not to reveal the identity of

the friend they had in mind. Moreover, they were also assured of the anonymity of their

responses. Specifically, they were asked not to provide any clues associated with their identity.

<div align="center">Results</div>

Implicit Self-Evaluation

Two response times in each condition of the modified IAT were averaged for each

participant. These means were submitted to an Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) with two

between-subject variables (culture and gender) and one within-subject variable (condition

[self-good or self-bad]). Preliminary analyses had shown that there was no effect of the order in

which the two conditions were run. The ANOVA showed a significant main effect of condition,

$F(1,79) = 59.42$, $p < .0001$. Response time was significantly shorter in the self-good condition

than in the self-bad condition ($Ms = 18.79$ vs. 25.43). The effect was somewhat larger for

Japanese than for Americans; but the condition x culture interaction was statistically negligible, F

< 1.[1]

Explicit Self-Evaluation

After reversing the ratings for negative words, we computed mean evaluative ratings for each participant to yield a measure of explicit self evaluations (_s = .85 and .82 for Japanese and Americans in the actual friend condition; _s = .84 and .84 for Japanese and Americans in the imagined friend condition) and friend evaluations (_s = .81 and .82 for Japanese and Americans in the actual friend condition; _s = .85 and .82 for Japanese and Americans in the imagined friend condition). This measure was submitted to an ANOVA with three between-subject variables (culture [Japanese vs. American], gender [male vs. female], and type of friend [actual vs. imagined]) and one within-subject variable (target [self vs. friend]).

The pertinent means are shown in Table 1. In general, as compared to Japanese, Americans gave more positive ratings regardless of target, $F(1, 136) = 16.68$, $p < .001$. Further, as compared to males, females gave more positive ratings, $F(1, 136) = 9.02$, $p < .005$. More importantly, we obtained support for the prediction that in closely interdependent social relations, individuals would be self-critical vis-à-vis others in the relations. Thus, a highly significant main effect of target was found, $F(1, 136) = 36.89$, $p < .0001$. Overall, the self was rated less favorably than the friend. This effect was significantly weaker for Americans than for Japanese, as indicated by a significant culture x target interaction, $F(1, 136) = 8.34$, $p < .005$. Importantly, however, the self-friend difference was reliable not only for Japanese, $t(136) = 6.88$, $p < .001$, but also for Americans, $t(136) = 2.06$, $p < .05$. Moreover, this effect did not depend on the friend being actual or imagined. The culture x target x type of friend interaction was negligible, $F < 1$. According to the widely accepted operational definition of private acceptance in terms of response anonymity, self-criticism observed here appears genuine, representing privately held judgments about the self and the friend. Finally, there was no significant correlation between

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implicit self-evaluations (vis-à-vis friend) and explicit self-evaluations (vis-à-vis friend) ($0 < \underline{r}s < .20$, $\underline{p}s > .20$).

STUDY 2

In East Asian, interdependent cultures, individuals typically self- criticize at an explicit level and, at the same time, they show evidence of positive self-evaluations at an implicit level. We suggested that this phenomenon is due to the fact that in Asian cultures interpersonal relations are often construed or framed as highly communal and interdependent. On the basis of this analysis, we predicted and found that a similar effect also happens in North America once the self is evaluated in a context of close friendship relationship. The present analysis suggests yet another prediction. That is, Asians should show a typically American pattern of positive self-evaluations at both explicit and implicit levels when placed in a context where no emotional interdependence could be presumed. Study 2 was conducted to see if this would really be the case.

In apparent contradiction to this prediction, previous work has repeatedly demonstrated that Japanese evaluate themselves to be no better than "the average other" of the same university (Kitayama & Markus, 2000; Markus & Kitayama, 1991b). Yet in these studies, others are explicitly specified to be members of the participants' ingroup. This might have been sufficient to evoke an interdependent construal of imaginary relationship with those others. In order to evoke potential social relations without any emotional interdependence, whether implied or actual, we used a stranger (literally meaning "other person") instead of actual friend or others in ingroup.

Method

Participants and Procedure

One hundred and twenty-one undergraduates at a Japanese university (76 males and 45 females) and 40 Caucasian undergraduates who temporarily studied at a Japanese university (22 males and 18 females) participated in the study. All the participants were drawn from identical populations as in Study 1. Data from one Japanese participant who did not complete the study were not analyzed. The participants were tested individually. They were given the same modified IAT, except half of the 12 syllables had already been pre-written and the participants were to make a self versus other judgment. No other information was given about the other. Thus, handwritings were the only cue available for the other person. Notice there is no emotional interdependence, whether actual or imaginary. As an explicit measure of evaluations of self and other, Study 2 used a series of semantic differentials (good-bad, superior-inferior, likable-dislikable, and trustworthy-untrustworthy). The participants were asked to report images of both "self" and "other" on a 5-point rating scale. The order of the judgments of self and other was counterbalanced across participants.

Results

Implicit Self-Evaluation

An ANOVA performed on the response time showed a highly significant main effect of condition, $F(1, 152) = 189.50$, $p < .0001$. The response time was much shorter in the self-good condition than in the self-bad condition ($M = 18.10$ vs. 29.05). In addition, a significant interaction among condition, gender of participants, and culture indicated that whereas Japanese males had a somewhat larger IAT effect than their females counterparts, the opposite trend was evident for Americans, $F(1, 152) = 4.99$, $p < .03$. Importantly, however, in all cases a highly

reliable implicit self-regard was observed.[2]

The effect of condition may be expected to be larger in Study 2 (where the self was pitted against other) than in Study 1 (where the self was pitted against each participant's own friend). Although there are potential risks in comparing two separate studies, we took pain in making the two studies as comparable as possible. In particular, we used the same experimental protocols and, further, drew samples of participants from the same populations. As predicted, the response time difference between the two condition was substantially larger when the self was pitted against a stranger than when it was pitted against the best friend (Ms = 10.95 vs. 6.54), $\underline{F}$(1, 239) = 14.86, $\underline{p}$ < .0001.[3]

Explicit Self-Evaluation

Responses to the five evaluative scales were averaged to form a single indicator of explicit evaluations of both self (_s = .69 and .82 for Japanese and Americans, respectively)and other (_s = .68 and .77 for Japanese and Americans, respectively). An ANOVA showed that explicit evaluations were significantly higher for the self than for the other ($\underline{M}$ = 3.40 vs. 2.77), $\underline{F}$(1, 156) = 73.45, p<.001. Essentially the same difference happened to a nearly equal extent for both Americans and Japanese although the effect was marginally larger for Americans than for Japanese, $\underline{F}$(1, 156) = 3.77, p < .06. Finally, as in Study 1, the correlation between the measure of implicit self-evaluation and the measure of explicit self-evaluation was negligible for both Americans ($\underline{r}$ = .28, $\underline{p}$ > .05) and Japanese ($\underline{r}$ = -.01).

DISCUSSION

Previous work suggested that in some Asian, interdependent cultures, a combination of

explicit self-criticism and implicit self-regard is quite common. Drawing on this literature, Study 1 showed that the same pattern can be found even for Americans as long as they are placed in a context of close, emotionally interdependent, or communal social relationship (i.e., in a relationship with one's actual friend). Study 2 showed that once placed in a context of social detachment, even Japanese show a typically American pattern of self-evaluation, namely, positive self-evaluations at both explicit and implicit levels.

This set of findings reveal that the combination of implicit self-regard and explicit self-criticism, quite pervasive in Asia, is neither fixed nor limited solely to this cultural region. To the contrary, this pattern of self-evaluations seems to be fostered by interdependent social relations. A reasonable hypothesis, then, is that the psychological capacities for both self-enhancement and self-criticism are available for all individuals; but they are differentially activated and integrated into the cross-culturally variable patterns of social life. Furthermore, it is important to note that within interdependent or communal social relations, negative explicit self-evaluations can be as "real" and "genuine" as are positive implicit self-evaluations. Specifically, both Japanese and Americans described their friends to be somewhat better persons than themselves even when full assurance was given for response anonymity. Of course, arguing that self-criticism is sometimes genuine and true to the heart of the person does not preclude the possibility that he or she at some other times deliberately acts modestly out of a fear of social punishment or exclusion that might accrue once he or she becomes a "stick that stands out". Future work should examine specific conditions in which self-criticism is genuine as opposed to a mere pretension in both Asia and elsewhere.

The current analysis implies that one major source of cross-cultural difference in the self lies in the cross-culturally divergent distribution of different kinds of social situations and

attendant social relations therein. Specifically, as compared to North American cultures, Asian cultures may be composed of a greater number and variety of situations that are typically construed to involve close, emotionally interdependent social relations. Likewise, as compared to Asian culture, American cultures may be composed of a greater number and variety of situations that are typically construed to involve social relations where each participant interacts with others as an independent, rational actor who pursues his or her self-interests (see e.g., Weisz, Rothbaum, & Blackburn, 1984, for evidence). This hypothesis suggests that cultural context is not psychologically inert. Subtly, but powerfully, cultural context can shape human behavior and experience. The potential of cultural contexts to foster certain on-line responses and experiences has been referred to as cultural affordances (Kitayama, 2002).

Finally, the finding that the prototypically Asian pattern of explicit and implicit self-evaluations can sometimes be observed for Americans and, conversely, the prototypically American pattern can also sometimes happen for Asians under certain circumstances presents a hope for a better cross-cultural understanding in psychology. This finding suggests that it is realistic for researchers with different cultural backgrounds to achieve a good empathetic understanding of each other's culture, taking the others' native point of view and simulating the world from that perspective (Geertz, 1973). An empathetic understanding like this may indeed be a necessary element for further scientific analyses in any domain of psychology if they are to be cross-culturally fair and valid.

Footnotes

[1]In addition, response times varied as a function of both culture and gender, with Japanese answering more quickly than Americans and females answering more quickly than males, $\underline{F}(1,79) = 4.16$, $\underline{p} < .05$, and $\underline{F}(1,79) = 8.85$, $\underline{p} < .01$, respectively.

Further, the reported number of errors showed an analogous pattern. Thus, fewer errors were reportedly made in the self-good condition than in the self-bad condition ($\underline{M} = 1.26$ vs. 2.17), $\underline{F}(1,81) = 31.30$, $\underline{p} < .0001$. Because of the difficulty in estimating the number of errors while performing the modified IAT, this result should be interpreted with caution. Yet, the pattern observed here is identical to the pattern observed with the computerized IAT procedure that enables the researchers to record the accuracy of judgment (Greenwald & Farnham, 2000). In addition, Japanese reported fewer errors than Americans did ($\underline{M}= 1.37$ vs. 2.15), $\underline{F}(1,81) = 5.29$, $\underline{p}<.02$.

[2]The implicit self-regard effect was observed for the reported number of errors. Errors were reported to be significantly fewer in the self-good condition than in the self-bad condition ($\underline{M} = 1.21$ vs. 2.90), $\underline{F}(1, 152) = 76.34$, $\underline{p} < .0001$. No other effects approached statistical significance.

[3]The same difference was observed for the reported number of errors. Thus, a greater number of errors was reported in the self-bad condition than in the self-good condition; but this difference was significantly larger when the self was pitted against a stranger than when it was pitted against the friend ($\underline{M}s = 1.69$ vs. 0.91), $\underline{F}(1, 239) = 8.91$, $\underline{p} < .003$.

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Table 1. Explicit evaluations of the self and his or her actual friend in the actual friend condition (i.e., the main study) and the imagined friend condition.

| | Japanese | | Americans | |
	Actual	Imagined	Actual	Imagined
Self	3.60 (.64)	3.55 (.62)	4.20 (.53)	3.91 (.55)
Friend	4.00 (.54)	4.04 (.51)	4.28 (.46)	4.15 (.47)