

THEY SAW A GAME A Japanese and American (Football) Field Study

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Students at football games in the United States (the Rose Bowl) and Japan (the Flash Bowl) evaluated in-group and out-group universities and students before and after the games. In both cultures, the university with the better academic reputation lost the game, whereas the university with the better football program won. European American students from both universities evaluated their in-groups more positively than out-groups on all measures before and after the game. In contrast, Japanese students' ratings offered no evidence of intergroup bias, although Japanese students were as identified with their teams and the game's outcome as were European American students. Instead, Japanese students' ratings reflected the universities' statuses in the larger society and the students' statuses in the immediate situation.

Keywords: culture; intergroup bias; self-image; prejudice

In brief, the data here indicate that there is no such "thing" as a "game" existing "out there" in its own right, which people merely "observe." The "game" "exists" for a person and is experienced by him only in so far as certain happenings *have significance in terms of his purpose*.

—Hastorf and Cantril (1954, p. 133)

One of America's most cherished national pastimes is football, and one of European Americans' most reliable psychological tendencies is self-enhancement (e.g., Blaine & Crocker, 1993; Greenwald, 1980; Taylor & Brown, 1988). Two classic social psychological articles captured the marriage of these institutions. First was Hastorf and Cantril's (1954) "They Saw a Game: A Case Study," which recounted Dartmouth and Princeton students' dramatically different interpretations of the same Dartmouth versus Princeton football game. The authors concluded that the students' systematic divergences in perception and memory allowed them to view their teams, and themselves, more positively. Second was Cialdini's (1976) "(Football) Field" studies, which similarly showed that college football fans enhance

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their self-images via football games, either by basking in the reflected glory of their football teams following a victory or by disidentifying with their teams following a loss.

Both studies provide evidence that European Americans are motivated to enhance their self-images, and that football games provide opportunities for self-enhancement. They also accord with theories of intergroup bias that attribute in-group favoritism to the individual's need to maintain or restore his or her sense of positive distinction. These self image-maintenance theories of intergroup bias, which include social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), self-affirmation theory (Steele, 1988), optimal distinctiveness theory (Brewer, 1991), and terror management theory (Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 1991), inform the majority of contemporary studies on intergroup processes (Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002).

A growing body of cross-cultural comparisons suggests, however, that neither self-enhancement nor intergroup biases are as frequently observed in Japanese cultural contexts as in European American cultural contexts (e.g., Heine & Lehman, 1997; Kitayama, Markus, Matsumoto, & Norasakkunkit, 1997). Most of these studies have been carefully controlled laboratory experiments, devoid of much of the emotion, action, and competitive air that animated the earliest studies of intergroup conflict. It is therefore possible that there was not enough mundane realism in these studies to induce intergroup bias among Japanese participants.

With the following study, we present a stronger test of the hypothesis that Japanese engage in less self-enhancement, via intergroup bias, than do European Americans. Combining the time-honored tradition of the "field" study with cultural psychological theory and methods, we collected data at major college football bowl games in the United States (the 2000 Rose Bowl) and in Japan (the 1999 Flash Bowl). Although the rules, uniforms, fields, and fervor of the two games were equivalent, different understandings of the self and of the purposes of a football game were expected to be present at the two events. We therefore predicted that the patterns of intergroup evaluations produced by European American and Japanese spectators would diverge.

CULTURAL MODELS OF THE SELF

The dominant explanation for many of the observed psychological differences between European American and Asian participants is that European American and Asian cultural contexts support and reflect different models of the self (e.g., Iyengar & Lepper, 1999; Shweder & Bourne, 1984). Markus and Kitayama (1991) characterized the model of self that predominates in middle-class European American contexts as independent. According to the independent model, the self is understood and experienced as a bounded, autonomous, independent entity made up of unique, stable, and internal attributes. Because self-image is principally derived from these internal attributes, it is important for individuals to feel positive about their attributes. Moreover, because these attributes are internal and unique, it is the individual's responsibility to express them. As a result, individuals in contexts that foster the independent model are motivated to experience and express their positive distinctiveness. Self-enhancement is one mechanism by which the experience and expression of positive distinctiveness are achieved.

In Japanese cultural contexts, on the other hand, the self is often understood and experienced as a relational, contextual, and socially situated being—a model that Markus and Kitayama characterized as the interdependent self. Instead of being made up of stable,

abstract traits, the interdependent self is made up of tangible relationships with other people in given situations (Bachnik, 1994; Cousins, 1989; De Vos, 1973; Lewis, 1995). These relationships are affirmed and maintained by harmonizing with and meeting the expectations of relevant others. Within the in-group, achieving this harmony requires criticizing one's own performance and adjusting one's behavior to meet in-group standards. Thus, self-criticism and self-improvement are mechanisms by which the affirmation of interdependent selves is achieved.

SELF PROCESSES IN THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN

In keeping with the different models of self described by Markus and Kitayama, several studies suggest that whereas middle-class European Americans routinely engage in self-enhancement and other self-serving biases, middle-class Japanese routinely engage in self-effacement and self-criticism (e.g., Karasawa, 2001; for a review, see Heine, Lehman, Markus, & Kitayama, 1999). For example, middle-class European Americans routinely consider themselves to be more unique than others, view themselves as less vulnerable to negative events than others, judge success situations to be more relevant to their self-esteem than failure situations, and ensure their self-enhancement by persevering on those tasks on which they receive positive feedback. Middle-class Japanese, on the other hand, routinely consider themselves to be average (Heine & Lehman, 1999), view themselves to be more vulnerable to negative outcomes than others (Heine & Lehman, 1995), judge failure situations to be more relevant to their self-esteem than success situations (Kitayama et al., 1997), and ensure their self-improvement by persevering on those tasks on which they receive negative feedback (Heine et al., 2001).

INTERGROUP PROCESSES IN THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN

Whether Japanese interdependent selves are more or less likely to show intergroup bias than are European American independent selves is an open question. On one hand, it is possible that the tendency to enhance the self is a universal process, and that it is only the nature of the selves being enhanced that varies across cultural contexts. This view predicts that Japanese would enhance their interdependent selves by enhancing their in-groups, relative to out-groups, and therefore suggests that Japanese would be more prone to intergroup bias than would European Americans (for a similar analysis, see Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988). There is some evidence relevant to this view, such as studies showing that Japanese are more likely to make group-serving attributions than self-serving attributions (Muramoto & Yamaguchi, 1997, 2002). However, these studies do not include European American samples, and therefore do not clarify whether Japanese express more intergroup bias than do European Americans.

On the other hand, it is also possible that self-enhancement is itself a culture-specific process, endemic to independent selves who are defined in terms of their positively distinct attributes. This view predicts that European Americans would be more prone to intergroup bias than would Japanese. Heine and Lehman (1997) provide the strongest evidence for this view, finding that Japanese participants rate themselves, their family members, and their fellow university students less positively than do Canadian students. Moreover, Japanese students show less favoritism for their own university and university students than do Canadian

students, and in some cases—specifically, in ratings of a higher ranked university by a lower ranked university—Japanese students rate out-groups more favorably than their own in-groups. In explaining their results, Heine and Lehman argue that because there is so little emphasis on feeling positively about the self in Japan, both self- and group-serving biases are attenuated and sometimes even reversed.

THE PRESENT RESEARCH

Although Heine and Lehman (1997) offer compelling evidence that Japanese express less intergroup bias than do European Americans, their hypothesis has not been tested in the openly competitive, emotionally charged contexts that are known to exacerbate this bias. As Hastorf and Cantril (1954), Cialdini (1976), and others (e.g., Lau & Russel, 1980) have noted, one such context is a championship college football game. In the present research, we took advantage of a fortunate coincidence in the worlds of American and Japanese college football to test whether Japanese would still not express intergroup bias in a situation that is known to aggravate intergroup biases among European Americans.

On a brisk Saturday afternoon in November 1999, the Kyoto University Gangsters met the Ritsumeikan University Panthers in Nishinomiya, Hyogo, Japan, to play the Flash Bowl. Every year, the Flash Bowl pairs the two best teams from the Kansai Collegiate American Football Association Division 1. Of the two universities, Kyoto had the better academic reputation: In 1999, Kyoto University was ranked 2nd among all Asian universities, whereas Ritsumeikan was ranked 60th (Asiaweek, 1999). Yet Ritsumeikan was rumored to have a better football program and favored to win the game. Indeed, Ritsumeikan prevailed with a final score of 35 to Kyoto's 17.

Two months later, the Stanford University Cardinals met the University of Wisconsin Badgers in Pasadena, California, to play the Rose Bowl. Every year, the Rose Bowl pairs the best teams from the Pac-10 and Big 10 leagues. Of the two universities, Stanford had the better academic reputation: In 1999, Stanford was ranked 5th among American universities, whereas the University of Wisconsin–Madison was ranked 32nd (U.S. News and World Report, 1999). Yet Wisconsin had the better football program—its team was ranked 5th by the Associated Press, as compared to Stanford's 29th-ranked team—and was favored to win the game. Indeed, Wisconsin prevailed, with a final score of 17 to Stanford's 9.

In both cultures, then, a better academics university lost to a better football university at a championship bowl game. For this study, we asked students of the universities playing in these two championship bowl games to rate in-group and out-group targets immediately before and after the big game. Participants not only rated how accurately a series of positive and negative traits described students at the contending universities, but also rated the universities themselves on several dimensions, such as their reputation and quality of education. This latter, group-level measure was included because evaluations of groups as a whole may or may not correspond to evaluations of their individual members (Miller & Felicio, 1990). We hypothesized that on both measures, European American participants would express intergroup bias, as revealed when the relative ratings given to the two groups differ according to the group membership of the raters. Japanese participants, on the other hand, were not expected to express intergroup bias on either measure.

In the course of college football games, one team wins and the other loses—events that may constitute either an affirmation of or a threat to the self. Many studies in European American settings have demonstrated that these threats to self heighten intergroup biases

(e.g., Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998; Fein & Spencer, 1997). We therefore distributed questionnaires before and after the game, and predicted that European American students of the losing team's university (i.e., those experiencing self-threat) would engage in more intergroup bias after the game than before, whereas European American students of the winning team (i.e., those experiencing self-affirmation) would engage in equal amounts of intergroup bias before and after the game. For Japanese participants, however, we did not predict any interactions with time, reasoning that if Japanese people are not motivated to maintain a positive self-image in the first place, then winning or losing the game should not have any effect on their intergroup evaluations.

METHOD

PARTICIPANTS

A total of 150 undergraduate and graduate students attending the Flash Bowl in Japan and the Rose Bowl in the United States participated in exchange for snacks (valued at U.S.\$1). The U.S. sample consisted of 41 Stanford University students (26 women and 15 men) and 43 University of Wisconsin–Madison students (24 women and 19 men), for a total of 84 participants. The Japanese sample included 34 Kyoto University students (19 women and 15 men) and 32 Ritsumeikan students (14 women and 18 men), for a total of 66 participants. All of the American participants declared themselves to be of European American heritage, and all of the Japanese participants declared themselves to be of Japanese heritage.

DESIGN

Half of the participants completed questionnaires before the game and the other half completed questionnaires after the game to yield a fully crossed 2 (culture: European American or Japanese) \times 2 (time of assessment: before game or after game) \times 2 (university: better academics [Stanford/Kyoto] or better football [Wisconsin/Ritsumeikan]) \times 2 (target: better academics university [Stanford/Kyoto] or better football university [Wisconsin/Ritsumeikan]) factorial design. Male and female respondents were equally distributed across conditions.¹ Dependent measures were evaluations of the contending universities, evaluations of these universities' students on positive traits, and evaluations of these universities' students on negative traits.

MATERIALS AND PROCEDURE

Four European American research assistants (1 female undergraduate, 2 female graduate students, and 1 male graduate student) collected data in the United States, and 5 Japanese research assistants (2 female undergraduates, 2 male undergraduates, and 1 female graduate student) collected data in Japan. Research assistants offered all football fans entering and exiting the football stadiums a snack in exchange for completing a questionnaire. After verifying that potential participants had consumed no more than one alcoholic beverage in the past hour, were currently enrolled at one of the contending universities, and were of either European American (United States) or Japanese (Japan) ethnicity, research assistants obtained written consent and presented participants with a two-page questionnaire. Participants completed the questionnaire either alone or in groups of 2 to 4 participants. When

participants completed the questionnaire in groups, research assistants prevented them from comparing answers. To guard further participants' confidentiality, participants returned their completed questionnaires in sealed manila envelopes. Participants took an average of 3 minutes to complete the questionnaire, at which point they were thanked, debriefed, and given a snack of their choosing.

Identification measures. On the questionnaire, participants first indicated how much they identified with their university's football team and with the game's outcome by responding to the following items, using a 7-point Likert-type scale that ranged from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*): "How much do you care about the outcome of today's game?" and "How important is it to you to be a fan of your university's football team?"

Student evaluations. Participants next indicated how accurately a series of adjectives described students at their own and at the opposing team's university using a 7-point Likert-type scale, which ranged from 1 (*very inaccurately*) to 7 (*very accurately*). These adjectives were carefully selected by the authors to represent dimensions of personality that are relevant and important in both cultures. Moreover, nine of the adjectives were positively valenced, and seven were negatively valenced. We included positive and negative traits because studies comparing intergroup bias in the United States and Japan have exclusively relied on positive traits. Given Japanese participants' sensitivity to negative self-relevant information in other studies (e.g., Heine, Kitayama, & Lehman, 2001), it is possible that intergroup bias may be most evident on negatively valenced items in Japanese settings.

The positive adjectives were athletic, attractive, considerate, cooperative, creative, dependable, hard-working, intelligent, and interesting. The negative adjectives were boring, cliquish, impolite, lazy, selfish, shallow, and unfair.

University evaluations. Participants next completed a measure designed by Heine and Lehman (1997) to assess students' attitudes toward universities. For this measure, participants used a 7-point scale that ranged from 1 (*very inaccurate*) to 7 (*very accurate*) to indicate how accurate each of the following four statements was about the two universities embroiled in the bowl game: "University X has an excellent reputation among universities," "University X graduates tend to enter the upper ranks of society," "University X graduates tend to get good jobs," and "University X provides a high quality education."²

All materials were developed in English, translated into Japanese, and then back-translated by two bilingual translators. The translators then discussed and resolved inconsistencies between the versions.

RESULTS

IDENTIFICATION MEASURES

We first wanted to make sure that Japanese participants were as identified with the game's outcome and with their teams as were European American participants, because American football is still relatively new to Japan. The *t* tests revealed that Japanese participants were actually more identified with the game's outcome ($M = 5.71$, $SD = 1.61$) than were European American participants ($M = 5.02$, $SD = 1.69$), $t(148) = 2.52$, $p < .05$. Japanese ($M = 5.59$, $SD =$

TABLE 1
Analyses of Variance for Measures of Intergroup Bias

Source	df	F		
		University	Student Positive	Student Negative
Between subjects				
Culture (C)	1	13.59***	2.03	8.18**
Time (T)	1	7.35**	3.05	0.86
University (U)	1	13.04***	2.72	1.39
C × T	1	4.13*	0.94	9.21**
C × U	1	4.26*	4.44*	0.85
T × U	1	5.77*	5.37*	5.56*
C × T × U	1	0.46	0.45	0.28
Error	139/137	(0.97)	(1.23)	(1.41)
Within subjects				
Target	1	65.99***	1.93	9.82**
Target × C	1	3.22	3.12	0.01
Target × T	1	0.03	0.01	0.01
Target × U	1	29.28***	35.23***	6.90*
Target × C × T	1	1.62	1.71	0.06
Target × C × U	1	28.52***	22.40***	5.61*
Target × T × U	1	0.17	1.33	0.14
Target × C × T × U	1	0.00	1.49	0.52
Error	139/137	(1.01)	(0.82)	(0.89)

NOTE: Values in parentheses represent mean square errors. Error *df* for the ANOVA on university evaluations = 139; error *df* for the ANOVAs on both measures of student evaluations = 137.

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

1.66) and European American participants ($M = 5.56$, $SD = 1.43$) were equally identified with their football teams, $t(148) = .12$, *ns*.

MEASURES OF INTERGROUP BIAS

Analysis strategy. Participants' evaluations of the better academics and better football universities were averaged separately (United States, $\alpha = .88$ and $.93$; Japan, $\alpha = .64$ and $.72$), as were evaluations of students of the two universities on positive traits (United States, $\alpha = .84$ and $.92$; Japan, $\alpha = .85$ and $.86$) and on negative traits (United States, $\alpha = .85$ and $.87$; Japan, $\alpha = .66$ and $.61$). We then performed a 2 (culture) × 2 (time) × 2 (university) × 2 (target) ANOVA, with repeated measures on the last factor, on each of these three measures (i.e., university evaluations, student evaluations–positive traits, and student evaluations–negative traits). Results of these ANOVAs are presented in Table 1. With this design, evidence of intergroup bias would manifest as a significant University × Target interaction, showing that the relative evaluation of targets depends on the university membership of the participant. Evidence of the predicted cultural variability in intergroup bias, in turn, would manifest as a significant Culture × University × Target interaction. Finally, evidence of European American participants' changes in intergroup bias as a result of game outcome would manifest as a significant Culture × Time × University × Target interaction.

University evaluations. As predicted, the three-way interaction of culture, university, and target proved highly significant (see Table 1), providing evidence for cultural variability in

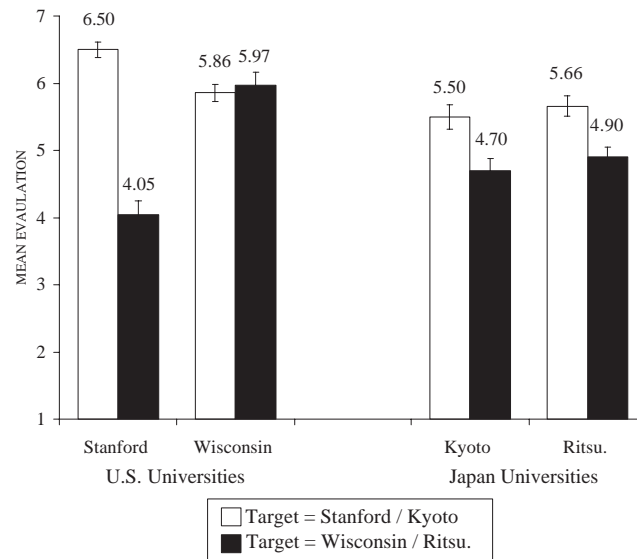


Figure 1: Mean University Evaluations by Culture, University, and Target

intergroup bias.³ Figure 1 presents the means and standard errors for this interaction. To explore the interaction further, we conducted follow-up 2 (university) \times 2 (target) ANOVAs within each culture. In the European American sample, the interaction of university and target was significant, $F(1, 80) = 56.81, p < .001$, indicating the presence of intergroup bias. Simple effects analyses revealed that Stanford students rated Stanford University more positively than they rated the University of Wisconsin, $F(1, 39) = 88.21, p < .001$, whereas University of Wisconsin students rated the two universities equally, $F(1, 41) = .24, ns$. Assuming that Wisconsin students are aware of the fact that Stanford University is ranked higher than the University of Wisconsin in most U.S. college rankings (e.g., *U.S. News and World Report*), the finding that Wisconsin students evaluated Stanford and Wisconsin equally may be interpreted as in-group favoritism on the part of Wisconsin students.

In the Japanese sample, on the other hand, the interaction of university and target was not significant, indicating the absence of intergroup bias, $F(1, 63) = .01, ns$. In place of this interaction was a significant effect of target, $F(1, 63) = 24.99, p < .001$, showing that both Kyoto and Ritsumeikan students evaluated Kyoto University more positively ($M = 5.58, SD = .93$) than they evaluated Ritsumeikan University ($M = 4.81, SD = .94$). In other words, Japanese students' university evaluations accurately reflected the universities' standings in the society at large.

The predicted four-way interaction of culture, university, time, and target did not reach significance. This study therefore did not support the hypothesis that losing a game would exacerbate intergroup bias among European American fans of the losing team.

There were, however, significant lower order effects involving time. A main effect of time showed that students rated universities more positively before the game ($M = 5.55, SD = .74$) than after the game ($M = 5.28, SD = .82$). This main effect was qualified by the significant interaction of time with culture, which indicated that time's effect was limited to the Japanese sample. Japanese participants' ratings of the universities were less positive after the

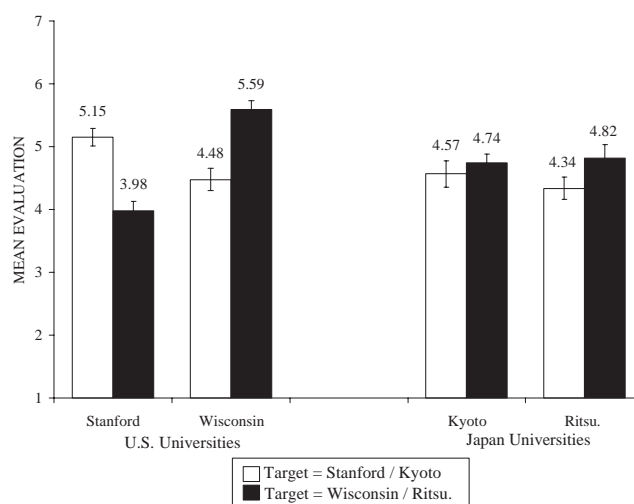


Figure 2: Mean Student Evaluations on Positive Traits by Culture, University, and Target

game ($M = 4.88$, $SD = .81$) than before ($M = 5.44$, $SD = .69$), $F(1, 63) = 11.86$, $p < .01$, whereas European American participants' ratings of the universities were equally positive before and after the game ($M = 5.64$, $SD = .81$ vs. $M = 5.57$, $SD = .86$), $F(1, 80) = .15$, ns . The effect of time was also limited to students at the better academic universities, as revealed by the significant $\text{Time} \times \text{University}$ interaction. Students at the better academics schools (whose teams lost the game) rated universities lower after their loss ($M = 4.89$, $SD = .61$) than before ($M = 5.47$, $SD = .68$), $F(1, 71) = 14.24$, $p < .001$, whereas students at the better football schools did not differ in their ratings before their victory ($M = 5.63$, $SD = .79$) and after it ($M = 5.66$, $SD = .84$), $F(1, 72) = .03$, ns .

Student evaluations on positive traits. The predicted interaction of culture, university, and time also proved significant for student evaluations on positive traits. As Figure 2 illustrates, European American participants engaged in significant levels of intergroup bias, but Japanese participants did not. Subsequent analyses within each culture support this interpretation. In the European American sample, the $\text{University} \times \text{Target}$ interaction was highly significant, $F(1, 78) = 74.85$, $p < .001$. Simple effects analyses showed that both Stanford students, $F(1, 40) = 51.28$, $p < .001$, and Wisconsin students, $F(1, 38) = 28.26$, $p < .001$, rated students at their own university more positively than they rated students at the opposing team's university.

Among Japanese students, on the other hand, the $\text{University} \times \text{Target}$ interaction that indicates intergroup bias was not significant, $F(1, 63) = .75$, ns . Instead, a trend-level main effect of target suggested that students at both universities rated Ritsumeikan students more positively ($M = 4.78$, $SD = 1.04$) than they rated Kyoto students ($M = 4.46$, $SD = 1.12$), $F(1, 63) = 3.49$, $p = .07$. One interpretation for this finding is that in the situation of the championship football game, Ritsumeikan students enjoyed higher status and intergroup esteem because their team won the game. This interpretation will be pursued at greater length in the discussion section.

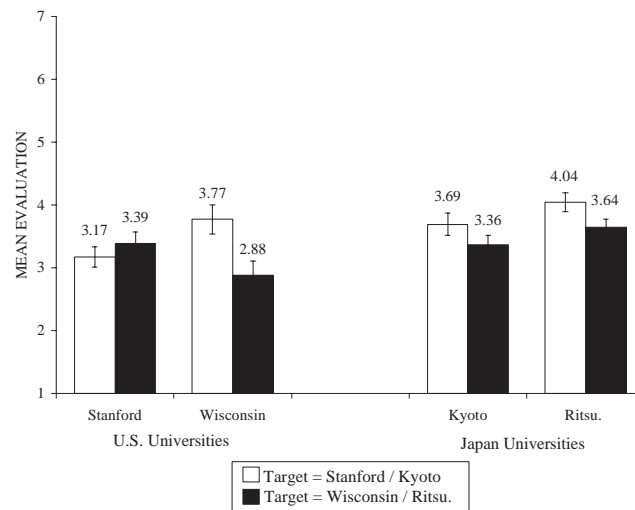


Figure 3: Mean Student Evaluations on Negative Traits by Culture, University, and Target
Larger numbers indicate more negative evaluation.

The predicted Culture \times Time \times University \times Target interaction was not significant for this measure, further suggesting that losing the game's outcome did not aggravate intergroup biases among European American participants. Indeed, the only effect of time on this measure was through its significant interaction with university. Simple effects analyses revealed that students of better academics universities (who lost the game) more positively evaluated students (collapsed across targets) before their loss ($M = 4.85$, $SD = .78$) than after it ($M = 4.32$, $SD = .68$), $F(1, 72) = 9.49$, $p < .01$, whereas students of better football universities made equally positive evaluations before ($M = 4.78$, $SD = .84$) and after their victory ($M = 4.88$, $SD = .85$), $F(1, 69) = .27$, ns .

Student evaluations on negative traits. As was the case with the university evaluations and with the student positive trait evaluations, analyses on the student negative trait evaluations yielded a significant Culture \times University \times Target interaction. Figure 3 depicts this interaction. Subsequent analyses indicated that although the intergroup bias-detecting University \times Target interaction was significant for the European American sample, $F(1, 78) = 13.73$, $p < .001$, it was not significant for the Japanese sample, $F(1, 63) = .04$, ns . Simple effects analyses further showed that among European Americans, only Wisconsin students engaged in intergroup bias, $F(1, 38) = 12.69$, $p < .01$, evaluating Stanford students more negatively than they evaluated Wisconsin students. Stanford students did not show intergroup bias on this measure, $F(1, 40) = 1.62$, ns .

Among Japanese participants, a significant effect of target once again emerged, $F(1, 63) = 5.09$, $p < .05$, revealing that Kyoto students were evaluated more negatively ($M = 3.86$, $SD = .97$) than Ritsumeikan students ($M = 3.50$, $SD = .82$). This finding provides additional evidence that Ritsumeikan students enjoyed heightened regard as a result of their team's success. More broadly, this result further reveal that Japanese participants' intergroup evaluations show consensus among evaluators rather than group-serving biases.

As also was the case with the previously reported measures, the predicted Culture \times Time \times University \times Target interaction (which would suggest restoration of self-image

through intergroup bias following a loss among European American participants) was not significant. Significant two-way interactions did emerge, however. The Culture \times Time interaction, $F(1, 137) = 9.21, p < .01$, revealed that Japanese participants more negatively evaluated students (collapsed across targets) after the game ($M = 3.84, SD = .56$) than before ($M = 3.54, SD = .64$), $F(1, 63) = 4.10, p < .05$, whereas European American participants less negatively evaluated students after the game ($M = 3.01, SD = .99$) than before ($M = 3.56, SD = 1.04$), $F(1, 78) = 5.84, p < .05$. Additionally, a significant Time \times University interaction, $F(1, 137) = 5.56, p < .05$, showed that students of better football universities more negatively evaluated students before their victory ($M = 3.81, SD = .79$) than after it ($M = 3.28, SD = 1.03$), $F(1, 69) = 5.80, p < .05$, whereas students of better academics universities made equally negative evaluations before ($M = 3.31, SD = .89$) and after their loss ($M = 3.47, SD = .80$), $F(1, 72) = .66, ns$.

DISCUSSION

Overall, these results provide additional evidence that Japanese do not engage in self-enhancement to the same extent as do European Americans. In this field study, European Americans expressed intergroup bias through their evaluations of the universities represented at the game, as well as through their evaluations of those universities' students on positive traits. European American students of the better football university (i.e., University of Wisconsin students) also expressed intergroup bias in their evaluations of the universities' students on negative traits. In effect, European Americans in this study not only asserted that their university compared favorably to the opposing team's university (despite widely available evidence to the contrary) and that their classmates were better than the opposing team's classmates; in some cases, they also asserted that the opposing team's classmates were worse than their own (Reynolds, Turner, & Haslam, 2000).

Japanese participants, on the other hand, expressed the larger social consensus regarding the relative statuses of universities and students. In their evaluations of universities, both Kyoto and Ritsumeikan students favored Kyoto University over Ritsumeikan University, reflecting the hierarchy of the universities in the larger society. In their evaluations of the universities' students, however, Japanese participants' ratings seemed to reflect the relative status of students at the football game: Ritsumeikan's team won the bowl game, so perhaps students attending the game rated Ritsumeikan students more positively and less negatively than they rated defeated Kyoto University's students.

These findings provide additional support for the idea that—relative to European American cultural contexts, which emphasize entity-like, trait-based, situationally invariable models of the self—Japanese cultural contexts emphasize models of the self as more malleable, relationship-based, and situationally variable. Informed by these models of self, European American participants may be compelled to view their own universities and classmates as superlative across all measures and contexts, whereas Japanese participants may be more likely to vary the relative rankings of in-groups and out-groups across measures and contexts, thereby acknowledging the dimensions on which their in-groups need improvement.

An alternative interpretation for Japanese participants' agreement on the relative status of universities and their students is that Kyoto students were selectively expressing in-group favoritism through university evaluations, whereas Ritsumeikan students were selectively expressing in-group favoritism through student evaluations. This interpretation implies that for their evaluations to have been deemed unbiased, participants at both universities would

have had to have rated universities and their students equally—despite the abundant and widespread evidence that Kyoto has a better reputation, a better record of placing graduates in jobs, and so forth than does Ritsumeikan, and despite the immediate evidence that Ritsumeikan students had fielded a better football team than had Kyoto students. Given these social realities, perhaps a better definition of intergroup bias is that it occurs when the ratings given to two groups differ depending on the group membership of the raters. According to this definition, Japanese participants did not express intergroup bias.

A second alternative explanation for these findings is that Japanese are more reticent to display intergroup bias on public questionnaires than are European Americans, and thus Japanese participants' true intergroup evaluations were subsumed by their attempts to present themselves as modest (for research representing this view, see Kudo & Numazaki, 2003 [this issue]; Kurman, 2003 [this issue]). Although a football game is no doubt a public affair, considerable care was taken in this study to ensure participants' anonymity. Moreover, the fact that Japanese participants' evaluations were not wholly egalitarian would also argue against this interpretation. However, a stronger, future test of the ideas presented here would entail more stringent protections of participants' anonymity.

A third rival interpretation of the absence of intergroup bias among Japanese in this study is that the context of a football game is not as emotionally engaging for Japanese participants as it is for European American participants. However, Japanese participants were more identified with the game's outcomes than were Americans, and two groups were equally identified with their teams. This alternative explanation therefore seems unlikely.

A final alternative explanation for the attenuated intergroup bias among Japanese participants, at least on the university evaluation measure, is that Japanese participants were more keenly aware of the relative rankings of the two universities in Japanese society than were European American participants. This difference in awareness could stem from the greater discrepancy in rankings between the Japanese universities than between the U.S. universities, from better publicity of the relative rankings of universities in Japan than in the United States or, more broadly, from the greater attention paid to hierarchy in Japan than in the United States. A future study would need to employ a disinterested control group to assess precisely the extent to which Japanese and European American participants are aware of and agree about the broadly shared rankings of universities. In the current study, the fact that patterns discovered with the university evaluation measure generalized to the student evaluation measure suggests that Japanese are indeed less inclined to biased intergroup evaluations, and that these effects are not just due to methodological artifacts.

Surprisingly, the factor of time did not affect European American participants' tendencies toward intergroup bias. Losers did not restore their self-images by derogating the winners after losing, as social identity theory and self-affirmation theory might predict. One mundane, yet possible explanation for this null effect is the relatively small sample size that this field study afforded. A second possibility is that there was no upset in the game's outcome: The team that was predicted to lose did lose, whereas the team that was expected to win did win. Alternatively, it is possible that Stanford participants could affirm themselves with the knowledge that their university was the academically better one, and would therefore not amplify their intergroup biases in the face of defeat. Both of these possibilities suggest that game upsets (i.e., when the underdog wins) may more strongly affect intergroup evaluations for European Americans. Insofar as upsets constitute a change to an established social hierarchy, and Japanese contexts place a heavier emphasis on the maintenance of hierarchy, upsets may also induce different patterns of intergroup evaluations among Japanese. Future studies should explore the affects of upsetting hierarchies on intergroup evaluations in these

two cultural contexts. Future studies should also examine possible mediators of the relationships between culture, game outcomes, and intergroup bias, such as negative affect and models of self.

One effect involving time that did prove significant was the interaction of time with culture, which emerged for the university evaluation and the student negative trait evaluation measures. On these measures, Japanese participants made less positive and more negative evaluations of universities and students after the game than before, whereas European American participants made equally positive and less negative evaluations after the game than before. To the extent that positive evaluations of others correspond to more global positive emotions and negative evaluations of others correspond to more negative emotions, European American participants left the game feeling more positive than when they arrived, and Japanese participants left the game feeling more negative than when they arrived. Previous studies and theorizing suggest that the purpose of social comparison and competition for European American selves is self-enhancement, whereas the purpose of social comparison and competition for Japanese selves is self-criticism. That European American and Japanese participants left the game in different emotional states suggests that these different purposes were fulfilled by the football games in the two cultural contexts.

CONCLUSION

Hastorf and Cantril's "They Saw a Game" (1954) is often cited as an example of how human purposes—our desires, our expectations, our intentions—bias our perceptions of an otherwise objective world. Yet as their quote at the beginning of this article indicates, these authors actually made a more radical claim: There is no completely objective world. Instead, worlds are socially constructed according to purposes. Our purposes, then, are not mere sources of bias, noise, and error; rather, they are the very mortar that holds our intentional worlds together (see also Bartlett, 1932). Because different cultural contexts afford and reflect different models of the self that, in turn, specify different purposes for selves, researchers in the fields of stereotyping, prejudice, discrimination, and intergroup conflict should expect cultural variability in the individual processes underlying these phenomena.

NOTES

1. Due to sample size, gender was not included in the reported analyses.
2. The original Heine and Lehman (1997) measure included a fifth item, "University X has top-notch facilities." Pretests revealed that participants were uncomfortable evaluating facilities that they had never seen, so we discarded this item.
3. As Table 1 shows, many main and two-way interaction effects involving culture, university, and target were significant in ANOVAs on university and student evaluations. These lower order effects, however, are qualified by the higher order three-way interaction. In the interest of space, we do not discuss these lower order effects further.

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