# Reconsidering "Achievement" and "Process" Orientation: A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Visual and Linguistic Media of Future Self-representations

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【Abstract】 This research reinvestigated the assertion that Americans are more like to conceive of their future in terms of goals that they plan to achieve, while Japanese are more likely to conceive of the future in terms of a continuation of present states and ongoing processes. Analysis of linguistic self-representations supported this hypothesis but, in line with the authors' research on the Japanese self, an analysis of photographic self-representation demonstrated that the hypothesis must be rejected or reversed.

## Introduction

The bulk of previous research in the field of future time perspective and well being has stressed the primary importance of the creation and retention of future goals, as part of a goal or achievement-orientated cognition and life management style (Cantor, et. al. 1991, Emmons, 1991). Initially goal-orientation theory gained acceptance in Japan despite the typically low scores achieved by Japanese using such indices. Sonoda (1996), however, reappraised alternative non-goal orientated outlooks upon the future and theorised an alternative "maintenance orientated" time perspective. Similar theories about the time perspective of the Japanese include 'Polychronic Time' (Hall & Hall, 1987), the assertion that the Japanese concern themselves with process over product (Hess and Azuma, 1991; Lewis, 1995), "process goal orientation" (Mashima et. al. 1997, 1999) and that the Japanese "concern themselves more with becoming better, than with 'being' good" (Heine, 1999).

While accepting the value of recognising such non-deferred, present-orientated cognition styles, this research makes an 'about-face', and challenges the dichotomy between maintenance/process orientation vs. goal orientation upon which axis Japanese-American differences have been situated and opposed. While group processes, *ganbari* (endeavour), and the *do* (way or path) are sometimes stressed more than goals in Japan, we claim

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that non-process orientated, globular, goal attainment focused patters of behaviour are also pervasive. The Japanese on holiday, for example, are often keener to take photographs and pick up souvenirs of the famous sights that they visit as if taking part in some sort of orienteering race, rather than taking the time to participate in the culture, atmosphere and present of the place. This is clearly one form of Japanese goal orientated behaviour. The primary objectives of this research are to test the hypothesis that the Japanese too possess goals, to uncover the manner of their cognition, and to apply Japanese grown, Japanese style goal orientation tests upon Americans, in the reverse direction to previous trends.

(1) Two types of Time Perspective and their Significance.

Sonoda (1996) argued that future type perspective narratives can be divided in two categories, based upon an analysis of statements made by students about their futures. Firstly, there are goal and achievement orientated future narratives. This is but one style of future time perspective narrative, but it has been dealt with as if it were the only form of future time perspective by the majority of previous psychological research on goals (Kanfer, 1991; Locke & Latham, 1990; Locke, Shaw, Saari, & Latham, 1981; Mento, Steel, & Karren, 1987). This perspective is exemplified by statements that lay out concrete realisations of aspirations and desires, and the methods and plans by which they are envisaged to be achieved. E.g. "I will go to grad-school", "I will study medicine", "I will become a brain surgeon". This style of future time perspective may be considered to effective in providing a rational, systematic framework for current behaviour focused toward the achievement of future goals.

Sonoda, however, drew attention to a second style of future time perspective, which she referred to as *maintenance* rather than *goal orientated*. Statements that fit this category were often, less concrete, and more vague but they are no less active, rather pro-active, in that they express the desire to maintain a condition of active readiness. Examples of this style of statement include "Remaining (psychologically) young", "I'll still be persevering". Despite the fact that such statements are not part of the project of erecting concrete future goals, and reference the future only by the desire that certain current states continue, it was argued that these statements still represent an affective, socially adjusted non-goal orientated time perspective, by analogy to the two forms of leadership proposed by Misumi (1985). Misumi argued that leadership functions can be broadly divided into two categories as follows. Performance orientated leadership refers to "the function of contributing toward a group's goal achievement or problem solving" (Ibid., p.9). Maintenance orientated leadership is that which emphasises "promoting a group's self-preservation or of maintaining and strengthening the group process itself" (Ibid.). The novelty and importance of Misumi's theory is that introduces an active, non-goal orientated mechanism of control, and stresses that both it and goal orientated functions are essential for successful group management.

Future time perspective can be understood as a cognitive structure used in self-management for directing the course of ones life into the future. Upon this assumption a maintenance orientation presents a new, active future time perspective style that previous research, focussing exclusively on goal orientation, had overlooked.

(2) Comparison of American and Japanese Future Time Perspective and Self representation.

Mashima, Azuma and Shapiro (1997, 1999) argued that American future self descriptions contain a higher proportion of "achievement orientated" , concrete statements describing future activities and occupations, and Japanese show a tendency to make "Process orientated" statements about strivings, endeavour and ongoing states. This notion of process orientation is similar to that of non-goal orientated "maintenance orientation" (Sonoda, 1996) described above. As a result of ongoing cross cultural research on the self, however, (Leuers and Sonoda 1998), the current authors have come to question the assertion that American are indeed more goal-orientated and Japanese more maintenance (or "process") orientated.

We have carried out a series of cross cultural investigations on the media of self-representation (Leuers and Sonoda 1998, 1999c) which questions the prevalent course of research on the cultural psychology of self. Since the influential research of Cousins (1989) and Markus and Kitayama (1991) it has been argued that the American self is independent, whereas the Japanese self is interdependent. Against this trend, Leuers and Sonoda (1999a) argue that this dichotomy has been over emphasised. This analysis of self-enhancement and the content of American self-statements questioned the validity of understanding the American self as being independent, showing a greater degree of conformity and statement overlap motivated by a self enhancing tendency to construe oneself inline with culturally sanctioned positive traits.

(3) Linguistic and Visual/Imaginary Self Representations

In a series of investigations (Leuers & Sonoda, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, Sonoda & Leuers, 1996a, 1996b, 1997, 1998a, 1998b, 1999) we have argued that many of the differences argued to exist between American and Japanese self are the result of a difference in the media of self-representation: either linguistic or visual/imaginary. For example the increase in Japanese psychological trait statements, originally noted by Cousins (1989), when a context is given was re-interpreted as being a result of the stimulation of visual self-images as a result of the inclusion of an visualisable context or background situation. This interpretation was supported by the fact that spatial and temporal (particularly those in the past) contexts also gave rise to an increase in psychological self-statements among Japanese, not only social contexts as would be predicted by theories asserting the interdependence, upon others, of Japanese self-construals.

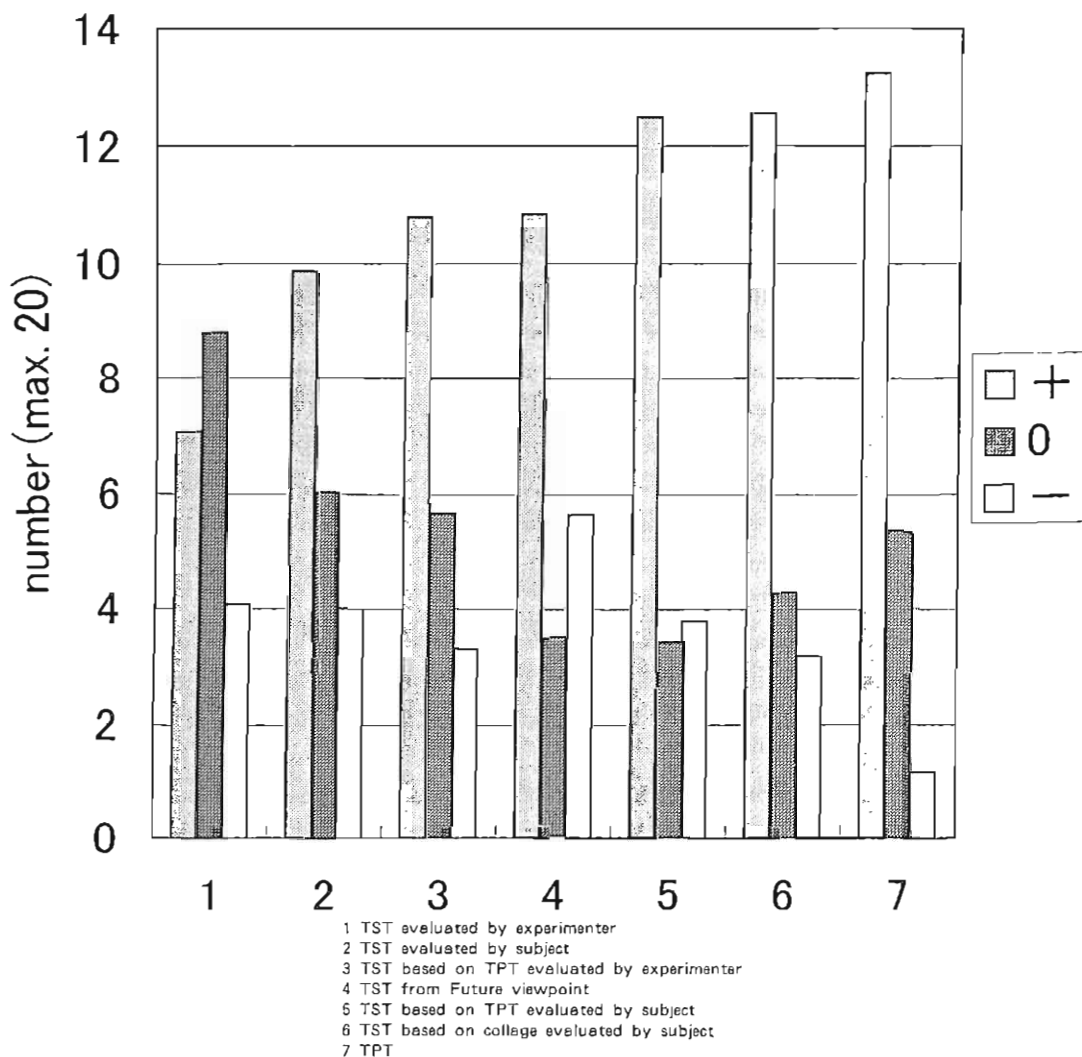Figure 1 shows a comparison between the instance of positive linguistic and positive

1 TST evaluated by experimenter
2 TST evaluated by subject
3 TST based on TPT evaluated by experimenter
4 TST from Future viewpoint
5 TST based on TPT evaluated by subject
6 TST based on collage evaluated by subject
7 TPT

Fig. 1　Comparison of self-enhancement in each test

visual self-representations across culture (based upon the result of the current and un-published research). The proportion of positive self-representations from the same sub-jects increases they become more visual and less linguistic, where auto-photography is more self enhancing than linguistic statements based upon auto-photography, which are more positive than unmediated linguistic statements in response to a Twenty Statements Test. These results demonstrate that the proportion of positive representations, changes according to the medium of self-representation, and the freedom of interpretation, where the more freedom and the more visual a self representation is the more positive it be-comes.

(4) The Self and Self Enhancement

Analysis of the level of self-enhancement has occupied a central position in our research since 1997 for the following reason. In our research we have argued that an essential aspect of the self is to be found in the reciprocal relationship between the self and self-enhancement. We argue, following Freud's theory of the ego as originating in primary narcissism (Freud, 1914), that the self facilitates self-enhancement by providing a self-object that can be the target of positive emotions and evaluations, and self-enhancement helps to overcome the self-alienation concomitant with the identification an objectified self-representation. We regard the self as an illusionary self-enhancing identification with a conscious representation of self. The increase in positivity shown above are argued to demonstrate that the Japanese identify with a self represented by the self-image, rather than by a linguistic self-representation prevalent among Americans.

Under this view, the Americans self, self-love and self-enhancement are argued to take place in the linguistic domain. The Japanese self, on the other-hand is not simply bound up with mechanism of self-criticism (as argue by Heine et. al., 1999) but, like the American self, it exhibits self-enhancement when it is viewed in its predominant, visual media. Leuers and Sonoda (1999bc) demonstrated that Japanese auto-photography is taken so as to conceal negative aspects of the self and present a selectively enhanced self-image. This tendency to self-enhance in visual self-representations is related to the phenomena of psychopathological blushing and other social phobias prevalent among the Japanese, and "The Eyes of the World" (Seken no Me), the generalised other at the basis of the Japanese morality of shame.

(5) The Objectives of the Current Research

The objective of the current research is test the hypothesis that Japanese are in fact no more process orientated than Americans when both linguistic and visual self representations are taken into account. Linguistic self-representations, responses to Twenty Statement Tests about oneself in the future, were compared with visual (photographic) self-representations collected using auto-photographic method of Sonoda & Leuers (1998b) and Leuers & Sonoda (1998). We predicted that, in addition to the differences demonstrate in our previous research (Sonoda & Leuers 1998a, Leuers & Sonoda 1999c), that American auto-photography would be more process orientated than that of Japanese. This raises the question of how a photographic process orientation is to be identified. A further objective of this research is to a concrete method of identifying process orientation in photographic media, and to assess its effectiveness and repeatability.

**Experiment 1: A comparison of American and Japanese linguistic, future-self-representations.**

*Method*

Subjects: (1) 50 Japanese students of K University in Fukuoka-ken, and (2) 40 European descended American students of S University in California.

Procedure: Statements describing Objectives and future self:＜Questionnaire 1＞ Goals. Instructions "Please describe the objectives that you hold at present". ＜Questionnaire 2＞ Future self-statements. Instructions: "Please describe yourself in the future". In each case their follows a table with five boxes wherein respondents are asked to write a short sentence or phrase.

*Results*

1 ) Analysis of Statements of Objectives.

Subject responses where analysed according to whether they are internally or externally motivated. Internally motivated objectives where those objectives that were thought to be held as a result of the subjects own volition, irrespective of external circumstances, e.g. "I want to take part in the Olympics", "to buy a Porsche". Externally motivated objectives are those that were thought to arise as a result of the current circumstances and environment of the subject, including "get the required number of credits", "finish my essay", "tidy up my room". The result of a cross cultural comparison of these two categories of objective are displayed in Figure 2. The data displayed in Figure 2 shows that American subjects listed many internally motivated objectives, and far fewer externally motivated objectives. Japanese subjects, on the other hand, listed marginally more internally motivated objectives but the difference between the two categories was statistically insignificant.

2 ) Analysis of Future Self Statements

Future self-statements were analysed into the following two categories: (1) those that
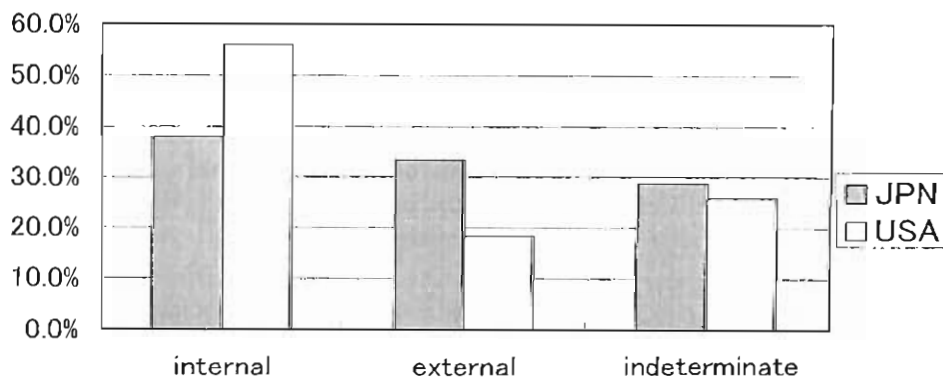


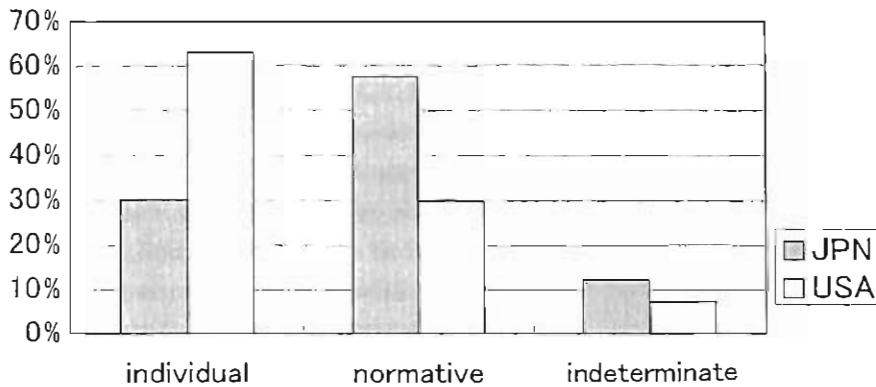Fig. 2  Cross-cultural comparison of statements of objectives

Fig. 3  Cross-cultural comparison of future self statements

Table 1  Percentage of "Ideal" statement in both culture

| JPN | 30.16% |
|-----|--------|
| USA | 63.04% |

express a non-normative, non-socially conforming, individual future and (2) normative future descriptions, that are likely to occur as a matter of course as a result of social and natural pressure. Examples of non-normative self-statements include "I will be an author", "I will win a sports contest", "I will commit suicide", and typical examples normative statements are "I will graduate", "I will get a job", "I will get married". A cross-cultural comparison of the proportion of these two categories are displayed in Figure 3. From this we can see that Americans give more non-normative statements while Japanese give more normative statements.

3) The Content of Future Self-statements

The proportion of "ideal" future-self statements for American and Japanese subjects are given in Table 1. "Ideal" self-statements refer to those that refer to positive, desirable future events such as success and victory. As can be seen from the table, Americans give more than twice such "ideal" self-statements as Japanese in our sample.

*Discussion*

This analysis of linguistic future-self representations and objectives can be interpreted and summarised as follows. Americans report self-determined, internally motivated, individual aspirations list aspirations while Japanese give normative, "matter of course" type statements, which conform to externally imposed social frameworks and environmental constraints. Such linguistic statements of objectives and future predictions can be understood in two ways.

Firstly, in line with our previous research on time perspective, Japanese statements can be understood to be representative of to a present, process or maintenance orientated time perspective and life management style. This conforms to the position taken in Sonoda and Leuers (1998) where it was argued that Japanese have a "present orientation". A present orientation is the tendency to face up to and cope with currently existing problems and, by maintaining a good, in the sense of being well-orientated, current situation, to attempt to ensure the arrival of a desirable future. In other words, a desirable future is not achieved by envisaging a desirable objective state at some time distanced from the present, and planning the means and course of events to bring this desirable state into realisation, but by conceiving of the future as a continuation of a desirable present state that can be maintained into the future. It was therefore argued that by focussing upon the process or course of current events, the formulation of future objectives, and plans to achieve them is not necessary to ensure a desirable and well-adjusted future. Process or maintenance orientation can also be envisages as a form of on-going optimisation and real time control, rather than achieving a series of discrete and non-present related objectives.

Secondly, while accepting the possibility of a degree of such a difference in Japanese and American life management styles, the above results may be reinterpreted in the light of our cultural research upon the self (Leuers and Sonoda 1999c). From this point of view, seemingly individual goal-orientated American future statements may be interpreted to be the result of culturally conforming self-enhancement Looking at the high proportion of "ideal" future self-statements, the high proportion of internally motivated objectives and non-normative prediction may be the result of a tendency to give unrealistic, idealised rather than a rational well-informed prediction of the subjects future.

Proceeding from this latter view American future perspectives may be re-interpreted in a different, somewhat less positive way. It may be the case that Americans are not creating rational, individual methodical plans but rather concocting a culturally-conforming and unrealistically positive narrative of themselves that bears little relation to the reality of their present circumstances. It might also be the case that it is rather Japanese who are creating realistic and objective plans based upon the reality of their current circumstances. Even accepting this critical reinterpretation of American plan making, however, this is not to suggest that such self-enhancing predictions about the self are maladjusted or bound to result in consequences that are negative for the subject. As is often argued in research on goals, it is no doubt the case that self-enhancing view of the oneself as something that gets progressively improves in the future, promotes the formation of unrealistic yet believable goals. The holding of such holds in turn result in subjects being motivated to take action to achieve such self-enhanced future-self-representations, and finally to achieve a more desirable future state than would otherwise have been achieved if they had made realistic self appraisals.

As indicated by Leuers and Sonoda (1999a) Japanese self-statements in free response

tests are extremely balanced, containing little evidence of self-enhancement or unrealistic self-criticism. In the case of the data examined by this investigation too, there was no evidence for self-enhancement in either the statements of goal or future-self-statements of Japanese. This raises the question of whether Japanese, like Westerners, do maintain a positive, desirable present and future self (representation). In Leuers & Sonoda (1998, 1999c) and Sonoda and Leuers (1998b, 1999) we have claimed that, contrary to current research (Heine, 1999), Japanese too do in fact have such a self-enhanced view of self but that it is not expressed linguistically. We have argued that this desirable socially approved image can be observed in Japanese auto-photographic and collage self-representations. In our second analysis we investigate whether Japanese auto-photography expresses a non-process orientated, goal orientated, or "final outcome" orientated attitude toward self.

### Experiment 2 Goal, - Orientation Expressed in Japanese Auto-photography.

The immediate task we faced in approaching this analysis to find a way of assessing the respective levels of goal orientation and process orientation in static auto-photographical data. We reasoned that a both a process orientation and a goal orientation toward the future would correspond to a different attitude toward the present: either as a ongoing continuum or as a series of achievements. Furthermore, since the task of presenting the "future self" photographically would be prohibitively difficult, we decided to tap future time perspective using auto-photographic data asking the subjects to express "who you are" in the present, rather than the future-self or attitudes towards the flow of time. In Leuers & Sonoda (1998) and Sonoda & Leuers (1998b) we have already shown how there is are obvious differences between the ways in which Americans and Japanese take auto-photography, in response to a TPT explained below. Americans are inclined to take pictures of themselves and their environments that expose the undesirable facets of their behaviour. American photographs often include scenes showing messy bedrooms, unwashed cooking utensils, and lethargic or crude bodily positions. In contrast to these, Japanese photographs are inclined to show positive smiling faces, personal possessions arranged in almost neurotically neat rows and people standing up straight or posed energetically facing the camera. We interpreted these images to give evidence for the interpretation that, when it comes to visual self-presentation (self-expression) such as in photography, the Japanese are very sensitive to present and take photographs of their positive aspects.

From consideration of these differences in self-representation in each of linguistic and photographic (visual) media, we hypothesised that just as American subjects are inclined to make self enhancing self-statements and to make goal orietated linguistic reports of goals that are disconnected from their present environment, so Japanese are inclined to take photographs that are (1) self-enhancing (as already shown) and (2) non-process

orientated, goal orientated and disconnected from their present environment. Our second experiment was to examine the second hypothesis: whether American and Japanese photography is goal or process orientated. In other words, to investigate whether here is a difference in the propensity of to take photographs that are disconnected from their current environment, or to take photographs that are embedded in the ongoing unfolding of the subject's life. The fact that Americans take more negative auto-photography, and Japanese take more positive auto-photography does not preclude the reverse of our hypothesis: that Americans take negative photographs that are non-process orientated, focussing in upon disconnected negativity, or that Japanese take photographs that are located in the unfolding process of the subjects lives. Furthermore, this research attempts to find a means of categorising auto-photography according to goal and maintenance/process orientation.

*Method*

Subjects: (1) Japanese; 61 Students of K University, Fukuoka Prefecture. (2) American: 20 Students of S University, California State.

Procedure (1) TST1 (Twenty Statements Test)1: The following instructions were given to the subjects "Please write twenty statements in answer to the question 'Who am I'" who were then required to generate linguistic self-statements.

(2) TPT(Twenty Photograph Test). The subjects were given a 24 exposure disposable camera and given instructions to "Please take 20 photographs that answer the question 'who am I'. The subjects were give one or two weeks to take, or have taken, 20 photographs of any subject that expressed who they are. Before collecting the cameras the subjects a photograph of the subject's face was taken to facilitate which of the 20 photographs depict the subject.

(3) TST2: While looking at the 20 photographs taken in (2) the subjects were given the instructions to "Write twenty statements in answer to the question "Who am I as represented in these photographs".

(4) Subject evaluation of valency. The subjects were asked to evaluate each of the statements and photographs in TST1 TPT and TST2 according to whether it is "positive (＋) negative (－) or neutral (0).

(5) The subjects were asked to evaluate their characters as represented in TST1 and TPT according to 17 adjectives with5 point scale (1;negative-5;positive).

(6) Experimenter evaluation of valency. An evaluation of valency (4 above) of the TST's was repeated by the experimenters. Adjectival statements were evaluated according to whether they expressed socially desirable characteristics after consultation between the two experimenter to achieve consensus. Non adjectival statements such as "I am a student" were generally rate as being neutral unless they contained adjectival modifiers such as "I am a bad/good student" or they expressed particularly desirable states or roles such as "I am a genius".

*Analysis of results*

Analysis of Photographs

The primary objective of this experiment was to evaluate whether the subjects' photographs were goal orientated or process orientated. Since photography is by its nature a static medium this analysis presented some difficulty. As a result of discussion experimenters agree on a two category method of analysis as follows.

1 ) The presence or absence of "staging": was the photograph staged? Here we defined staging as whether the thing or person(s) that was being photographed was moved, taken out of its normal setting, or arranged for the purpose of taking the picture. In the case of people, we asked, are the subjects of the photograph facing the camera, standing in line, arranging their facial expression and body posture for the camera? In the case of inanimate objects we asked if they can been moved, perhaps placed on an empty background or in rows, before the photograph was taken or have they been left as they were normally situated. If the answer to either of these questions was clearly "yes" then we considered the photograph to have been staged. In cases of doubt we classified the photograph's staging as "unclear" (Please see photograph one). We argue that staged photographs are an example of disconnecting the subject of the photograph from its ordinary spacio-temporal context to present it as a disconnected and complete object or whole in itself.

2 ) In progress or not: whether the subject matter of the photograph can be considered to be in progress. We considered the photograph to be of something "in progress" if it was apparent that it was taken with out stopping the motion or flow of time and it was apparent that something is occurring in the photograph. When it was not clear that this was the case, photographs were considered to be "unclear" with respect to this categorisation.

All photographs were separated into categories 1 and 2 independently such that they fell into one of the spaces in a three by three table: (staged, not staged, unclear) X (in progress, not in progress, unclear).

3 ) Analysis of the people in the photographs. Using the photograph that we had take of the subject we recorded the proportion of photographs in each 20 photograph set in which the subject appears and the number in which people appear.

All other analyses were carried out according to the categories analyses in Sonoda & Leuers (1998) and Leuers and Sonoda (1998) to assess whether the results obtained in our previous research were repeatable with different subjects.
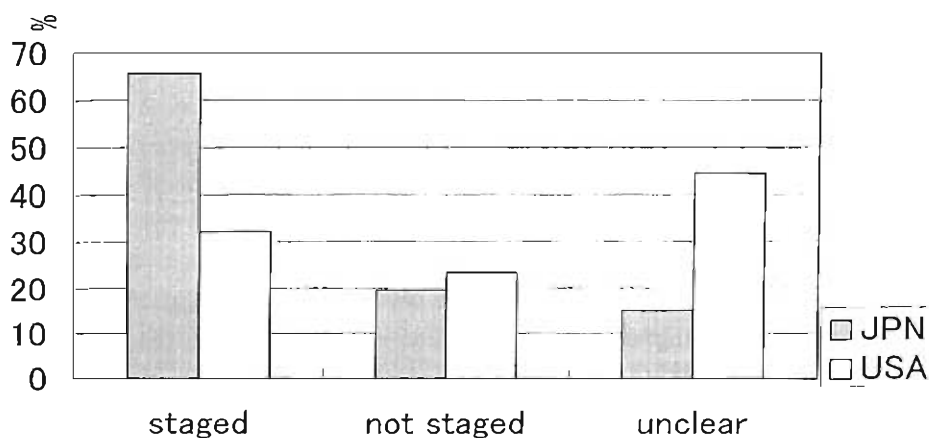
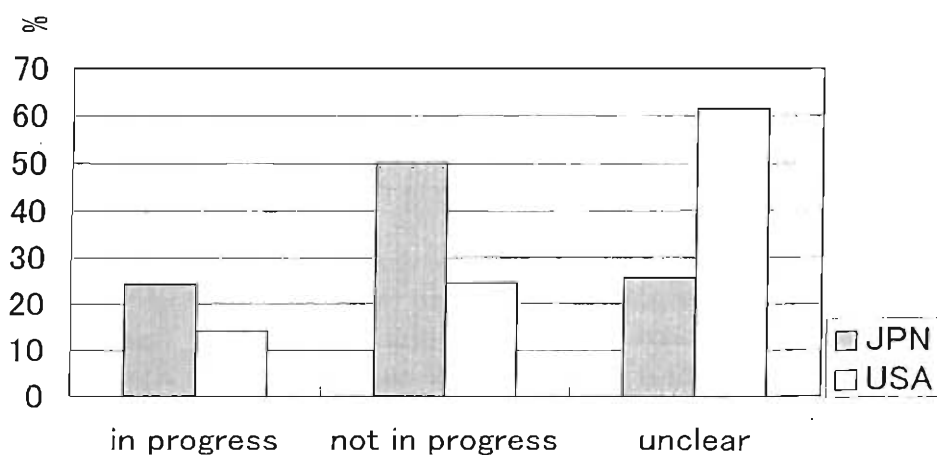Fig. 4   Cross-cultural comparison of the presence or absense of "staging"



Fig. 5   Cross-cultural comparison of "In progress or not"

### Results and Discussion

#### Analysis of photographs

   The proportion of staged and in-progress photographs are shown in graphs 4 and 5. As a result of chi-test it was found that there was a significant correlation between both categories and culture. As a result of a t test, it was found that Japanese photographs had a significant difference between the number of staged and in-progress photographs such that there were significantly more staged photographs that were not in-progress showing that Japanese take a disproportionately high number of staged photographs in which the progress of time cannot be perceived. American photographs were found to have no significant difference between the number of staged photograph and un-staged
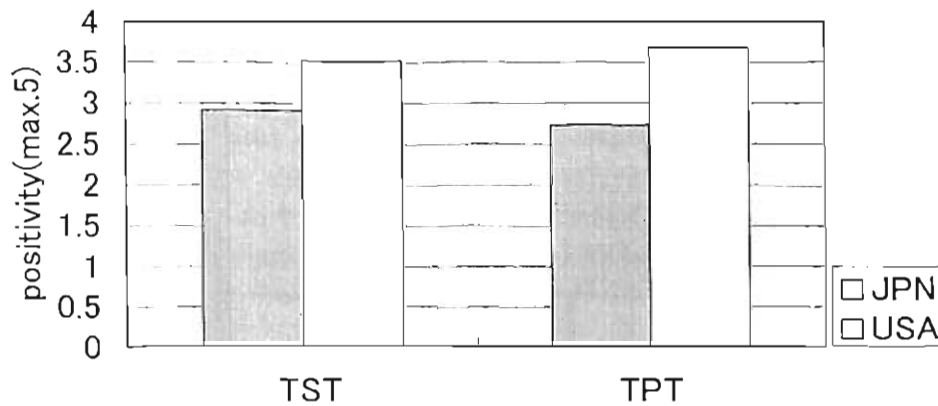
Fig. 6   Positivity of character evaluated from TST and TPT



Fig. 7   Percentage of the photos showing subject him/herself and other people

photographs, and no significant difference between the number of in-progress and not in-progress photographs suggesting a less contrived, more balanced style of photography.

Character evaluation based on the TST and TPT.

As show in Figure 6, Americans rated their characters significantly more positive than Japanese. They also rated their characters as expressed in TPT more positively than their characters as expressed in the TST. Japanese subjects, on the other hand, rated their characters as expressed in their TST more positively than their characters as expressed in the TPT. There these differences were significant in both cases.
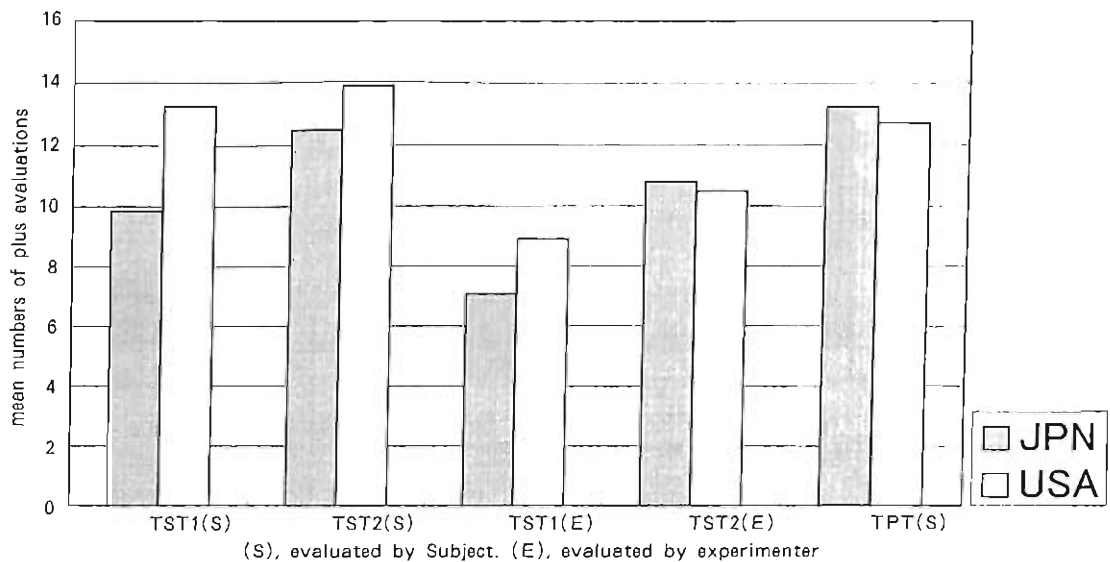
(S), evaluated by Subject. (E), evaluated by experimenter

Fig. 8　Cross-cultural comparison of self enhancement in TST1, TST2 and TPT

Table 2　Results of t-test between each pair based on Fig. 8

| Table 2[1]<br>TST1 vs TST2 | JPN(S)<br>••• | USA(S)<br>n.s. | JPN(E)<br>••• | USA(E)<br>n.s. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Table 2[2]<br>USA vs JPN | TST1(S)<br>•• | TST2(S)<br>n.s. | TST1(E)<br>• | TST2(E)<br>n.s. |
| Table 2[3]<br>(S) vs (E) | TST1JPN<br>••• | TST2JPN<br>••• | TST1USA<br>•• | TST2USA<br>n.s. |
| Table 2[4]<br>TST1(S) vs TPT<br>TST2(S) vs TPT | JPN(S)<br>•••<br>' | USA(S)<br>n.s.<br>n.s. | | |

'p<.10, •p<.05, ••p<.01, •••p<.001

### Proportion of photographs showing the subject.

The proportion of photographs showing people was slightly higher at 39.4% for Japanese than the 32.33% for Americans, but this difference was not found to be statistically significant. As shown in Figure 7 however, Japanese photographs showed many pictures of the subject him/herself and few of other people. Americans were more inclined to take photographs of others. The difference was statistically significant in both cases. Since the cameras where given to the subjects themselves, it is natural to suppose that pictures showing others would be more frequent. The fact that Japanese took significantly more photographs showing themselves, despite the fact that it is usually

necessary to obtain the cooperation of an other to take the photograph, is noteworthy. It might be argued that to Japanese it was more important to express how they appeared to others (by having photographs taken of themselves) rather than to express themselves actively by what they take pictures of. At the same time, linguistic statements that focus on the characteristics of the self, as prevalent in American self-statements, rather than on the activities and preferences of the subject, as prevalent in Japanese self-statements, are commonly interpreted to be an indication of the individualism of Americans over Japanese (Cousins, 1989; Markus and Kitayama, 1991).

Analysis of Self Enhancement in TST and TPT

A comparison of the level of self-enhancement, in terms of the proportion of positive representations, given in each of the TST and the TST based on the? TPT as evaluated by the subjects themselves and the experimenters is compared in Figure 8. It was found that there was no statistical significance between the two tests for American subjects. For Japanese subjects, however, there was a significant difference between TST1 and TST2 (see table 2[1]). This data supports the assertion that Americans give positive, self-enhancing linguistic statements even they are made via a visual self representation, probably because Americans are inclined to reinterpret data and claim it is positive due to a linguistic self-enhancement bias. Japanese subjects on the other hand, do not show linguistic self-enhance. Self-enhancement only becomes apparent when Japanese are making statements about their photographic self-representations.

The same interpretation can be made of the comparison across culture, it was found that there was a significant difference between the positivity of TST1 but a significant difference in the positivity of TST2 (See Table 2[2]).

There was also found to be a significant difference between the experimenter evaluations and the subject evaluations for both Japanese and American subjects. In other words, subjects were inclined to rate statements as being positive irrespective of their valence at a superficial linguistic level. Leuers and Sonoda (1999) interpreted this difference to suggest that linguistic statements are underpinned by a visual image which may be interpreted positively. American subject's evaluations of TST1, TST2 and the TPT do not show a significant difference. Japanese subjects. on the other hand, showed a significant difference between the positivity of their TPT and TST1 and a slightly significant difference between their TPT and their TST2 (See table 2[4]).

These results support the assertion that when asked to rate self-appraisals, American rate them positively irrespective of whether these appraisals are linguistic statements, linguistic statements about photographs, or photographs themselves. Japanese subjects on the contrary, evaluate the positivity of self-representations differently according to whether they are linguistic statements, linguistic statements about photographs, or photographs themselves.

Correlation between the Positivity of Statements and Character Evaluations.

The above results would seem to contradict the results of the character evaluations reported above. Japanese subjects rated their characters more positively as expressed in the TST than expressed in the TPT. Bearing in mind the fact that Japanese photographs were inclined to be context free and staged and that American linguistic statements are inclined to be context free and idealistic, it might seem that subjects from both cultures would appear to be evaluating un-staged, or "natural" self-representations more positively. This interpretation is we believe, incorrect for a number of reasons. In speaking to the Japanese respondents, we found that that they were aware of the fact that their photographs were emphasising their better attributes, and we believe that it was this self-enhancement that encouraged them to make relatively negative assertions about themselves as expressed in their photographs. In support of this conclusion, Leuers and Sonoda (in preparation) found that Japanese auto-photography was consistently rated more positively than TST statements by others.

Correlation between Photographic Categories and Positivity

Japanese TST1 and TST2 where found to be significantly different in their level of positivity in both experimenter and subject evaluations. American TST1 and TST2 were found to have no significant difference using either method of evaluation. Americans may be assumed to be self-enhancing to the same degree in both the purely linguistic TST1 and visually mediated TST2, while Japanese self-enhance only in the latter, which rises to the same level of that of Americans (no significant difference). When comparing the TPT with the TSTs it was found that the Japanese TPT was more positive that both TST1 and TST2 but there was no significant difference between the TST and TPT of Americans. It is possible that American self evaluations are so positive that they have peaked in all tests where Americans evaluated their own self-representations themselves, i.e. with the exception of the experimenter evaluations,

On the other hand it is found that both American and Japanese TPTs are extremely positive and both consider there photosets to be very positive. However, when looking at the categories of photographs examined above, it would seem that Japanese consider staged, context free photographs to be positive while Americans are rating un-staged photographs of their life in progress positively. This would suggest that the criterion of positivity applied in each culture is difference. In other words, Japanese take non-process orientated, staged photographs which they consider to be positive while Americans take process orientated photographs which they consider to be positive.

**Overall discussion**

From the results of experiment 1, it is found that Japanese emphasise their present conditions and tend to narrate their futures in terms of states and events that occur naturally as a result of conformance to social norms and practical constraints.

Americans on the other hand, are found to narrate their futures in terms of aspirations and dreams, which are disconnected from their present circumstances and social and practical norms. The hypothesis argued by our previous research (Sonoda 1998) and by Mashima et. al (1999) that Japanese future narratives are maintenance and process orientated, in the sense of being linked to an ongoing present, vague, and in-concrete, was initially supported by the current research.

However, as demonstrated by experiment 2, this view of Japanese as "process orientated" is but one aspect of a broader and more culturally invariant whole. The hypothesis that the comparative level or process orientation would change and even reverse according to the media of self presentation was supported by our results. In other words, it was demonstrated that Japanese auto-photography is extremely staged, characterised by photographs of things removed and disconnect from their usual contexts, and placed in static representation such that the flow of time cannot be perceived. It was found however that Japanese rated such auto-photography positively. In comparison to this, it was found that American auto-photography were less staged, and characterised by photographs which reflected the real context at the time of exposure, showing the flow of time. And it was again found that Americans rated these photographs positively. Since only linguistic self-evaluations were performed however, there was found to be little difference between the level of positivity between American linguistic and photographic self-representations. This issue is considered in more depth in Leuers and Sonoda (in preparation).

The most remarkable characteristics of Japanese self representations was the way in which they were found to vary according to the their medium, with linguistic self representations being modest, and un-affected, while photographic self-representations are self-enhancing and staged. This result helps to confirm the conclusions of series of research upon the characteristics of the Japanese self.

The field of the psychological study of culture is gradually moving away from a "cross-cultural psychology" which has applied predominantly Western grown indices, often demonstrating the cultural superiority of the West, toward a cultural psychology which attempts "to derive procedures for each culture from the lifeways and modes of communication of that culture" (Greenfield, 1996).

In this paper we have taken up the issue, or modes of communication used in self-representation, or media, and argued that a lack of consideration for cultural difference in the use of linguistic and visual media has made psychologists blind to broader similarities in cognition and control. Media can be understood as a form of tool or utensil (Vygotsky,1986) for communication and cognition. A psychologist who assumes that the Japanese lack cognitive projections of their future merely because they do not express goals linguistically is, we argue, somewhat akin to a traveller that might have presumed that the Japanese do not sleep because they did use beds. Representations of self and desire, future and past, must be examined in the context of the cognitive tools, the media

and modes of communication that are dependent upon the culture in which they are placed.

Finally we would like to suggest that this analysis of the representation future goals in Japanese and American cultural contexts, has deepened our awareness of the nature of goals across culture. In particular, in both cultures goals have been strongly associated with self-enhancement. Previous research on goals has generally taken goals seriously, seeing them as real aids to planning resources, making proactive decisions and acquiring resources. Not wishing to deny this the practical side of having goals, we wish attention to the way in which goals correlate with self-enhancement, and might even be interpreted as "future-self enhancement", useful not as a rational aid to planning but simply as an affective, motivational aid, in the present resulting from gains in self-enhancement and self-esteem.

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1   Example of a photo considered to be staged and not in progress





2   Example of a photo considered to be staged
and in progress

3   Example of a photo considered to be not staged and
in progress