Cultural Practices Emphasize Influence in the United States and Adjustment in Japan

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People have the capacity both to influence their environment and to adjust to it, but the United States and Japan are said to emphasize these processes differently. The authors suggest that Americans and Japanese develop distinct psychological characteristics, which are attuned to social practices that emphasize influence (in the United States) and adjustment (in Japan). American participants could remember more, and more recent, situations that involve influence, and Japanese respondents could remember more, and more recent, situations that involve adjustment. Second, American-made influence situations evoked stronger feelings of efficacy, whereas Japanese-made adjustment situations evoked stronger feelings of relatedness. Third, Americans reported more efficacy than Japanese, especially when responding to influence situations. Japanese felt more interpersonally close than Americans, especially when responding to adjustment situations. Surprisingly, U.S. influence situations also made people feel close to others, perhaps because they involved influencing other people.

Several psychological writers have noted a potential tension between a pair of human motives: to efficaciously act on the world and to adjust oneself to others. Erich Fromm (1941), for example, argued that as people achieve autonomy and personal freedom, they are potentially faced with feelings of alienation from a broader culture and lack of meaning. Psychoanalyst Otto Rank (1932) wrote that when people feel autonomous and in control, they risk feeling isolated from others, whereas when they accommodate themselves to a family or community, they fear the "death" of the individual self. Freud famously said that the healthy person is able "to love and to work" (Gay, 1989). According to these views, people want both to influence the events and people around them and to adjust to fit in with people or communities.

In one line of contemporary psychology (Rothbaum, Weisz, & Snyder, 1982), these two motives have been investigated as the concepts of "primary control" (acting on the environment in order to influence it) and "secondary control" (adjusting oneself to one's circumstances). These two important motives may be manifest both in situated action, such as controlling some event or adjusting to some set of circumstances, and in psychological responses, such as efficacy or trust. Furthermore, they are closely associated with cross-culturally divergent construals of self. Thus, whereas acts of influence enhance the independence and autonomy of the self, acts of adjustment highlight the interdependence and connectedness of the self with others (Kitayama & Markus, 2000).

Research on Americans is rich with examples of the positive correlates of a feeling of control or efficacy (e.g.,

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Bandura, 1997; Strickland, 1989). Similarly, researchers have begun to demonstrate how adjusting to the world also can be adaptive, such as during illness (e.g., Thompson, Nanni, & Levine, 1994) or physical aging (e.g., Heckhausen & Schulz, 1995). Influence and adjustment may trade off in usefulness, depending on what the situation allows (e.g., Band & Weisz, 1990; Thurber & Weisz, 1997).

In this article, we propose that cultures put relatively different emphases on these two human motives by providing regularly different kinds of opportunities for each. This idea resonates with Hong, Morris, Chiu, and Benet-Martinez (2000), who demonstrated that bicultural people respond in a cognitively more "Eastern" way or a more "Western" way, depending on the particular cultural prime. Likewise, both Americans and Japanese showed more self-enhancement, an "American" way of responding, when exposed to situations commonly available in the United States than to those commonly available in Japan (Kitayama, Markus, Matsumoto, & Norasakkunkit, 1997). In this article, we suggest that Americans and Japanese both have the potential to influence and adjust but that their home cultures chronically provide disproportionate numbers of opportunities to practice influence and adjustment. In response to these repeated cultural "primes," people develop different, corresponding psychological feelings, specifically, efficacy in the United States and closeness to others in Japan.

Cultural Differences in Influence and Adjustment

In a classic article, Weisz, Rothbaum, and Blackburn (1984) proposed that American culture focuses on influence (in their words, "primary control") and Japanese culture focuses on adjustment (or "secondary control"). For example, they noted that religious traditions in the United States have emphasized messianic "good works" that are inherently controlling, whereas Japanese religious traditions emphasize the agency that resides in spiritual and environmental forces. U.S. psychotherapies attempt to erase anxious or depressive symptoms, whereas indigenous Japanese psychotherapies advocate adapting to and accepting one's symptoms.

Some past studies have documented that Asians and North Americans differ in the predicted ways (see Gould, 1999, for a recent review), not only on psychological, individual differences such as Locus of Control (e.g., Bond & Tornatzky, 1973) or responses to future threats (Heine & Lehman, 1995) but also in single behavioral contexts or situations (Morling, 2000; see also Chang, Chua, & Toh, 1997; Seginer, Trommsdorff, & Essau, 1993). However, these studies either rely only on psychological trait measures or rely only on single situations. In the present study, we tested both the everyday situations of people in each culture and the contingent psychological responses that people develop in response to these situations.

Cultural Differences in Situations and Psychologies

We investigate the types of everyday situations that are emphasized in the United States and Japan, predicting that Americans have more frequent and psychologically more potent opportunities to influence their surroundings, whereas Japanese have more frequent and psychologically more potent opportunities to adjust to their surroundings. But we also investigate the corresponding psychological responses that develop after repeated exposure to such different situations.

Theoretically, different psychological responses should be related to each practice. First, when people act to influence their surroundings, they will experience the psychological sense of efficacy, the belief in one's ability to act, or a feeling of competence (Bandura, 1997). Efficacy is often included in the constellation of personality constructs that include control, and it indeed predicts people's attempts to change their own circumstances. Efficacy will result when people experience success in influencing their social or situational circumstances. Second, when people act to adjust to their surroundings, especially to other individuals, they will often receive positive interpersonal responses from them and, therefore, they will experience the sense of relatedness to them. Uchida, Kitayama, Mesquita, and Reyes (2001), for example, found in three different cultures that sympathetic orientations to others (a form of adjustment) are closely associated with socioemotional support from them. Furthermore, adjusting oneself to fate or friends has been associated with interdependence and collectivism (Morling & Fiske, 1999).

It is reasonable that in both cultures, influence situations evoke more efficacy than relatedness, whereas adjustment situations evoke more relatedness than efficacy. However, in line with Weisz et al. (1984), we predict that American influence situations will evoke especially strong feelings of efficacy, whereas Japanese adjusting situations will evoke especially potent feelings of relatedness.

This background leads us to a final hypothesis. In response to repeated exposure to the relatively more frequent and more potent influence situations in the United States, Americans will develop relatively strong psychological feelings of efficacy. Similarly, in response to the more frequent and more potent adjustment situations in Japan, Japanese will develop heightened psychological feelings of relatedness to others. Of importance, however, these psychological experiences are likely to be contingent on the relatively specific type of social contexts that originally fostered them. Thus, Americans should experience stronger feelings of efficacy than Jap-

anese, especially in situations involving influence. Likewise, Japanese should experience stronger feelings of relatedness, especially in situations involving adjustment. As an analogy, consider the emotions elicited by an event, such as a Western-style wedding, which may elicit feelings of solemnity and happiness even in Japan, where this style of wedding is often followed. However, such emotions may be felt especially strongly by Americans because the Western ceremony is more frequent and more culturally elaborated in the United States. But to say that Americans feel especially happy in this context is not to imply that they feel happy at all times. Similarly, we predict that Americans should feel more efficacy than Japanese, not all the time but in the influence situations that they more regularly practice. In turn, Japanese may feel closer to others, not all the time but certainly so in the adjusting situations that they more regularly practice. The situation-specificity of psychological experiences has been documented in many domains including various personality traits (Mischel & Shoda, 1995) and self-esteem (Kitayama et al., 1997). Furthermore, it is the hallmark of many cultural psychological theories (Geertz, 1973; Gergen, 1994).

Situation Sampling Method and Hypotheses

To test our predictions, we used the method of situation sampling (Kitayama et al., 1997). The first step (Studies 1A and 1B) was to collect specific situations (individual examples of practices) from members of each culture. Specifically, we asked people in the United States and Japan to describe situations in which they either influenced, or adjusted to, their social or situational circumstances. We then asked the participants to estimate how long ago each situation occurred, to test Hypothesis 1: In the United States, influence situations should be more easily and recently recalled than adjustment situations; in Japan, adjustment situations should be more easily and recently recalled than influence situations.

In the second step in this method (conducted as Study 2), we attempted to get at both the psychological characteristics that are fostered by the situations in each culture and the relatively enduring psychological characteristics developed by people in each culture. To do this, we asked a new set of participants from each culture to respond to a random sample of the situations generated in the first step. We looked both at how efficacious people felt in response to influence situations from each culture and at how closely related to others they felt in response to adjustment situations from each culture.

We expect that both influence and adjustment situations will exist in both cultures. However, Hypothesis 2 predicts that U.S. culture will produce especially strong influence situations; therefore, U.S. influence situations should be rated higher on perceived efficacy than Japanese influence situations. In turn, Japanese culture may produce especially strong adjustment situations; therefore, Japanese adjustment situations should be rated higher on perceived relatedness than American adjustment situations.

Finally, we expected that this new set of participants would reveal their own culturally shaped psychological characteristics through their ratings of the situations. Therefore, Hypothesis 3 states that Americans who routinely participate in more frequent (Hypothesis 1) and more potent (Hypothesis 2) influence situations will report higher feelings of efficacy. But because this feeling is sustained by a particular social practice, Americans should report more efficacy primarily in influence situations. In turn, we predicted that Japanese feel especially close to others, especially when they are responding to adjustment situations.

STUDY 1A

To test the hypothesis that influence situations are relatively more prevalent in the United States and adjustment situations are relatively more prevalent in Japan (Hypothesis 1), we asked both American and Japanese respondents to recall situational instances of the two types of social practices. If this hypothesis is correct, Americans should recall a greater number of influence situations than Japanese but Japanese should recall a greater number of adjustment situations than Americans. Furthermore, influence situations recalled by Americans should be more recent than those recalled by Japanese, but adjustment situations recalled by Japanese should be more recent than those recalled by Americans.

Method

PARTICIPANTS AND PROCEDURE

College students from Kyoto University in Japan (n = 40 women, 43 men) and Indiana University in the United States (n = 43 women, 41 men) participated for course credit or for payment (500 yen or U.S.$5). Participants were asked to remember and describe situations that involved either influence or adjustment. Those assigned to the influence condition were instructed as follows:

> In daily life, we are surrounded by a variety of people, events, and objects. We would like you to think of situations in which *you have influenced or changed* the surrounding people, events, or objects *according to your own wishes.* Please consider as broad a range of situations as possible; however, the situations should be ones that you have actually experienced.

Those assigned to the adjustment condition received the following instructions:

> In daily life, we are surrounded by a variety of people, events, and objects. We would like you to think of situations in which *you have adjusted yourself* to these surrounding people, events, or objects. Please consider as broad a range of situations as possible; however, the situations should be ones that you have actually experienced.

These instructions were translated and back-translated by a team of native Japanese and native English speakers to ensure equivalence.

Each participant received a stack of 20 index cards and was instructed to list each new situation on a separate card. Exactly 20 minutes were allotted to this task. Examples of influence situations included the following: "I have a lot of hair and it is difficult to wash. So I cut it short so it is easy to wash now" (from Japan) and "I talked my sister out of dating a guy who I knew was a jerk" (from the United States). Examples of adjustment situations included the following: "When I am out shopping with my friend, and she says something is cute, even when I don't think it is, I agree with her" (from Japan) and "I had to adjust last school year when one of my roommates' boyfriends moved into our house" (from the United States). We shall come back to a detailed analysis of the characteristics of these situations in Study 2. After the 20-minute period, participants were asked to turn each card over and to indicate how long ago each situation occurred. Responses ranged from "today" to "a month ago" to "6 years ago." We analyzed each time estimate in terms of days (e.g., "a month ago" = 30 days).

Results and Discussion

We analyzed the number of situations generated by Americans and Japanese, the average recency of all the situations (the number of days ago that the situations occurred), and (to reduce variance) the recency of the most recent situation for each person, if it occurred within the last year. Data were analyzed with a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ between-subjects ANOVA, using author gender, author culture, and situation type (influence or adjustment) as factors.

The results support Hypothesis 1. American participants tended to list more influence situations ($M = 8.43$) than adjust situations ($M = 7.30$) and Japanese participants tended to list fewer influence situations ($M = 7.84$) than adjust situations ($M = 8.70$), although the interaction was only marginally significant, $F(1, 159) = 3.17$, $p = .077$. Notably, people from both cultures are able to come up with examples of both influence and adjustment. Second, the influence situations reported by Americans happened more recently ($M = 390.4$ days ago) than adjustment situations ($M = 548.0$), post hoc contrast, $t(158) = 4.36$, $p < .001$, whereas Japanese reported that their influence situations happened longer ago ($M = 656.6$) than did their adjustment counterparts ($M = 456.4$), $t(158) = 5.51$, $p < .001$, interaction $F(1, 158) = 4.83$, $p = .029$. The pattern held when only the most recent situations were examined, with the most recent American influence situations happening more recently ($M = 21.70$ days) than adjustment situations ($M = 84.5$), $t(145) = 3.73$, $p < .001$, and the most recent Japanese influence situations tending to happen longer ago ($M = 47.17$) than adjustment situations ($M = 16.89$), $t(145) = 1.79$, $p = .075$, interaction $F(1, 145) = 13.76$, $p < .001$. There were no main or gender effects.

Large variances suggested using medians for the most recent situation. The predicted pattern holds, with even more recent frequencies (most recent U.S. influence situation median 4 days ago, adjustment 14 days ago; Japan influence 7 days ago, adjustment 1 day ago).

STUDY 1B

The results of Study 1A support that cultures provide influence and adjustment situations to different degrees. However, it was surprising that the recalled situations occurred quite a long time ago (on average, 1 to 2 years ago). Even when we analyzed the most recent situations, we found that they occurred, on average, more than 16 days ago (although the medians were considerably lower). However, in Study 1A, we did not tell participants they should list the most recent situations they could think of, which may have caused them to list only ideal examples of situations. In Study 1B, we thus asked a new set of participants to list the most recent situation they could think of that fit each description.

Method

PARTICIPANTS AND PROCEDURE

College students from Kyoto University in Japan (13 women and 18 men) and Union College in the United States (18 women and 13 men) participated for course credit or for payment (500 yen or U.S.$5). The instructions were identical except the participants were asked to recall the most recent situation of each type. This time the situation type was manipulated as a within-subjects variable, with order of presentation counterbalanced across subjects.

Results and Discussion

Replicating Study 1A, Americans' influence situations ($M = 6.51$) happened more recently than adjustment situations ($M = 10.76$), $t(54) = 2.91$, $p = .005$, whereas Japanese influence situations ($M = 6.54$) happened somewhat longer ago than adjustment situations ($M = 4.28$), although the difference was not significant, $t(54) = 1.55$, $p = .13$, interaction $F(1, 54) = 4.70$, $p = .035$.

As expected, the situations generated in Study 1B were much more recent than those in Study 1A, but they were still about 1 week old (medians ranged from 1 to 2 days). This may suggest that our participants found it somewhat difficult to recall clear instances of situations according to these instructions. A future study could use experience sampling and ask participants to code situations for influence or adjustment. Nevertheless, the data suggest, as predicted, that although members of both cultures could remember examples of both types of social practices, there were relatively more opportunities that people construed as influence in the United States and as adjustment in Japan.

STUDY 2

Study 2 was designed to test Hypotheses 2 and 3 using the situation sampling method (Kitayama et al., 1997). We randomly sampled situations involving either influence or adjustment from the pool of more than 1,300 situations collected in Study 1A. We subsequently asked a new group of both American and Japanese respondents to estimate their experience of (a) efficacy, power, or competence and (b) feelings of closeness, merging, or interpersonal relatedness in each of these situations.

We tested two propositions of Hypothesis 2. First, both American and Japanese respondents should report stronger feelings of efficacy when exposed to American-made influence situations than when exposed to Japanese-made influence situations (Hypothesis 2a). Second, both American and Japanese respondents should experience stronger feelings of relatedness when exposed to Japanese-made adjustment situations than when exposed to American-made adjustment situations (Hypothesis 2b).

The third hypothesis suggests that enduring psychological characteristics develop in response to the predominant social practices in each culture. Thus, the repeated exposure to influence situations in the United States should lead Americans to feel more efficacy than Japanese, at least in the influence situations that sustain these feelings (Hypothesis 3a). In turn, the practices of adjustment in Japan should create individual Japanese selves who feel more related to others than Americans, at least in the adjustment situations that sustain these feelings (Hypothesis 3b).

Method

PARTICIPANTS

A group of students composed of 50 American men and 52 American women (all white) from Union College and 48 Japanese men and 48 Japanese women from Kyoto University completed surveys. Participants worked in groups to fulfill a course requirement or to earn U.S.$5 or 500 yen.

PROCEDURE

Of the more than 1,300 influence or adjustment situations generated in Study 1A, we selected a random sample of 320 situations. There were 40 from each of eight situation types derived from each cell of the 2 (Situation Culture) × 2 (Situation Gender) × 2 (Situation Instruction: influence or adjust) design of Study 1A. We removed information from situations that was culture specific (e.g., replacing *fraternity* with *social club* and *Tokyo* with *the city*) and a bilingual Japanese translator who had lived in the United States translated the set of situations. The authors back-translated the situations and ensured that each one sounded natural in the new language. The situations described concrete behaviors that were easily translated.

These situations were presented to both American and Japanese respondents in a questionnaire format. To reduce the burden on the respondents, we separated the sample of 320 situations into two versions of the questionnaire. Each form contained 160 situations (20 from each of the 8 possible types of situations), but the actual 160 situations were different in each form. The two forms thus comprised replications of the same study. We only report results that replicated in both questionnaires.

In each questionnaire, the 160 situations in each form were randomly ordered, and two orders of presentation were created for each form to control for effects of fatigue. In the questionnaire, each situation was followed by two questions, one about feelings of efficacy (i.e., power and competence), the other about feelings of relatedness (i.e., interdependence and closeness to others). Specifically, the first question was posed in the following way:

> In this situation, would you feel that you did something because of your competence, power, or effort? If so, indicate how much by using the left-hand scale. Would you feel powerless, incompetent, or unable to do something? If so, indicate how much using the right-hand scale. If this situation would not affect your feelings of competence, circle N/A below.

Two question stems followed. One read, "I did something, felt competent, powerful" and was followed by a 4-point scale; the other read, "I was unable to do something, felt incompetent, powerless," followed by a 4-point scale. A "not affected" option also was available. The second question was posed in the following way:

> Think about other people in this situation. Other people may have been present, or you may have merely been thinking about or imagining the presence of other people during the situation. In this situation, would you feel merged with or interdependent with those other people? If so, indicate how much by using the left-hand

> scale. Would you feel separate from or independent of those other people? If so, indicate how much using the right-hand scale. If this situation would not affect your feelings of being close to or separate from other people, circle N/A.

The two question stems read, "Interdependent, merged with others" and "Independent, separate from others," each followed by a 4-point scale. A "not affected" option was available. The full instructions for these two questions were included on the first instruction page of the questionnaire. Thereafter, only the question stems appeared after each situation.

Results and Discussion

We analyzed the rating data in two ways. First, we treated each participant as the unit of analysis. Means were computed across situations that differed in relevant within-subject variables including index type (efficacy and relatedness), situation type (influence vs. adjustment situations), situation culture (American-made vs. Japanese-made situations) and situation gender (male-made vs. female-made situations). The between-subjects variables were respondent culture (American vs. Japanese participants), respondent gender (male vs. female participants), and form (first or second set of 160 situations). Significant *F*s, referred to as F_1s, computed from an analysis of variance (ANOVA) of this design indicate the generalizability of the effects over respondents. Second, we analyzed the data using the situation as the unit of analysis. Means were computed separately for each situation; therefore, within-situation variables were respondent culture, respondent gender, and index type. The 320 situations varied on the between-situation variables situation type, situation culture, situation gender, and form (first or second set). Significant *F*s, referred to as F_2s, computed from an ANOVA performed on these means, indicate the generalizability of the effects over situations.

Unless otherwise noted, only those omnibus effects that attained statistical significance in both analyses will be reported below. Because of the mixed design, post hoc contrasts are *t* tests using aggregated error terms (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1991).

Two measures were used. First, we examined overall indices of perceived efficacy and relatedness. For each scale, we assigned the value of 0 to the not affected responses,[1] creating a 9-point scale ranging from –4.0 to +4.0. Positive scores mean that the participants felt relatively efficacious or related to others and negative scores mean that they felt relatively incompetent or separate from others. Second, we examined the proportion of the situations that participants rated at all; that is, the proportion of situations in which people's sense of either efficacy or relatedness was affected in some way.

PERCEIVED EFFICACY AND RELATEDNESS

The top half of Table 1 displays the mean ratings of efficacy and relatedness, broken down by situation culture, situation type, and respondent culture.

Degree of efficacy or relatedness afforded by social practices. Our first set of analyses focused on the degree of efficacy and relatedness fostered by influence and adjustment situations. In general, influence situations were rated higher on efficacy ($M = 1.69$) than adjusting situations ($M = 0.11$), indicating that influence situations foster feelings of efficacy. Similarly, adjusting situations overall were rated higher on relatedness ($M = 0.64$) than influencing situations ($M = 0.32$), indicating that adjustment situations foster feelings of relatedness, interaction $F_1(1, 190) = 498.97$, $p < .001$; $F_2(1, 304) = 98.75$, $p < .001$. This result supports our use of efficacy and relatedness as the psychological characteristics that are fostered by these social practices. However, this effect was qualified by situation culture, according to our predictions (see Figure 1). The three-way interaction that simultaneously tests Hypotheses 2a and 2b, involving index type, situation type, and situation culture, was significant, $F_1(1, 190) = 281.81$, $p < .001$; $F_2(1, 304) = 11.53$, $p < .001$. In support of Hypothesis 2a, American influence situations ($M = 2.01$) were rated higher on efficacy than were the Japanese influence situations ($M = 1.35$), $t_1(190) = 11.46$, $p < .001$; $t_2(304) = 1.86$, $p = .064$. In support of Hypothesis 2b, Japanese adjusting situations tended to be rated higher in relatedness ($M = .89$) than their American counterparts ($M = .42$), $t_1(190) = 8.29$, $p < .001$; $t_2(304) = 1.35$, $p = .18$.

Besides the two hypothesized effects, two additional patterns in this interaction suggest additional affordances of these situations. First, American influence situations, surprisingly, evoked significant feelings of relatedness ($M = .74$) compared to Japanese influence situations ($M = -.10$), $t_1(190) = 14.99$, $p < .001$; $t_2(304) = 2.44$, $p = .015$. Of importance, however, the American-made influence situations still fostered much stronger feelings of efficacy than those of relatedness, $t_1(190) = 22.08$, $p < .001$; $t_2(304) = 3.58$, $p < .001$. Second, although adjustment situations did not evoke as much efficacy as influence situations did (as reported earlier), American-made adjustment situations ($M = .43$) actually showed a somewhat stronger potential to evoke feelings of efficacy than their Japanese counterparts ($M = -.19$), $t_1(190) = 10.76$, $p < .001$; $t_2(304) = 1.75$, $p = .081$.[2]

Psychological responses sustained by social practices. We also analyzed the psychological characteristics that are sustained by the social practices prevalent in each culture. The three-way interaction between respondent

TABLE 1: Responses to Situations on Efficacy and Relatedness by Situation Culture, Situation Type, and Respondent Culture

	Influence Situations		*Adjustment Situations*	
	United States–Made	*Japan-Made*	*United States–Made*	*Japan-Made*
Mean (*SD*) ratings of efficacy				
American respondents	2.44	1.77	0.26	–0.36
	(0.87)	(1.08)	(1.56)	(1.48)
Japanese respondents	1.57	0.93	0.60	–0.02
	(1.02)	(1.00)	(1.01)	(1.03)
Mean (*SD*) ratings of relatedness				
American respondents	0.67	–0.27	0.07	0.40
	(1.20)	(1.32)	(1.21)	(1.34)
Japanese respondents	0.84	0.07	0.77	1.39
	(0.95)	(1.29)	(1.25)	(1.34)
Percentage (*SD*) of situations relevant for efficacy				
American respondents	90.2	88.2	85.8	80.7
	(12.6)	(13.9)	(14.2)	(17.7)
Japanese respondents	78.6	64.9	62.6	58.0
	(14.9)	(20.8)	(20.4)	(22.9)
Percentage (*SD*) of situations relevant for relatedness				
American respondents	86.9	83.9	85.2	83.5
	(13.2)	(15.5)	(13.2)	(14.6)
Japanese respondents	80.9	75.9	77.2	81.9
	(16.3)	(15.3)	(14.4)	(12.3)

country, index type, and situation type that simultaneously tested Hypotheses 3a and 3b was significant, $F_1(1, 190) = 13.23$, $p < .001$; $F_2(1, 304) = 23.91$, $p < .001$.[3]

First, efficacy ratings in the two types of situations are presented in the left side of Figure 2. In support of Hypothesis 3a, Americans felt more efficacy than Japanese when they were exposed to influence situations (by .87 points), $t_1(190) = 4.63$, $p < .001$; $t_2(304) = 8.90$, $p < .001$. In contrast, in the adjustment situations, Americans actually perceived less efficacy than Japanese (by .35 points), $t_1(190) = 1.86$, $p = .064$; $t_2(304) = 3.58$, $p < .001$. The simple interaction involving situation type and respondent culture proved significant for the efficacy ratings, $F_1(1, 190) = 141.71$, $p < .001$; $F_2(1, 304) = 152.48$, $p < .001$. Feelings of efficacy for Americans, then, are dependent on context. Americans do not always feel higher in efficacy; they mainly respond so when a familiar and meaningful social practice sustains it.

Next, relatedness ratings in the two types of situations are presented in the right side of Figure 2. In support of Hypothesis 3b, Japanese respondents reported higher relatedness ratings than Americans in adjustment situations (by .84 points), $t_1(190) = 4.47$, $p < .001$, $t_2(304) = 8.60$, $p < .001$. In contrast, Japanese respondents reported only a bit more relatedness than Americans in influence situations (by .24 points), $t_1(190) = 1.28$, $p = .20$, $t_2(304) = 2.46$, $p = .014$. The simple interaction involving situation type and respondent culture was significant for the relatedness ratings, $F_1(1, 190) = 20.30$, $p < .001$; $F_2(1, 304) = 35.79$, $p < .001$. Thus, the Japanese feelings of relatedness are sustained especially by adjustment situations.

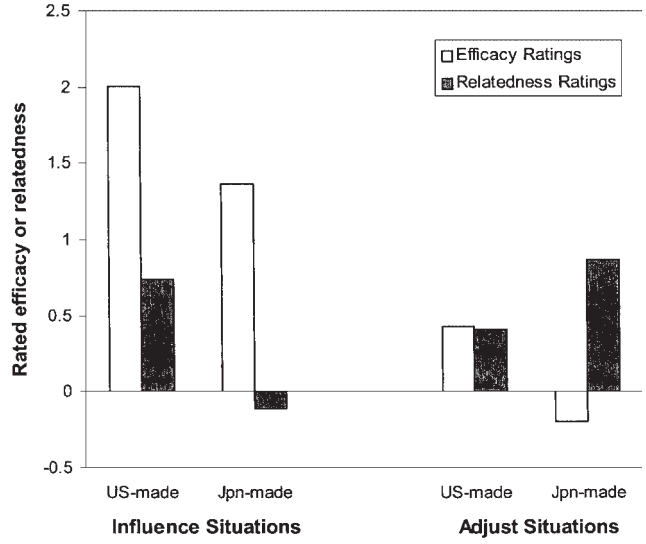

Figure 1 Different cultural affordances of influence and adjustment situations.

NOTE: U.S.-made influence situations afford more efficacy and relatedness than Japan-made influence situations. Japan-made adjustment situations afford more relatedness but not more efficacy than U.S.-made adjustment situations.

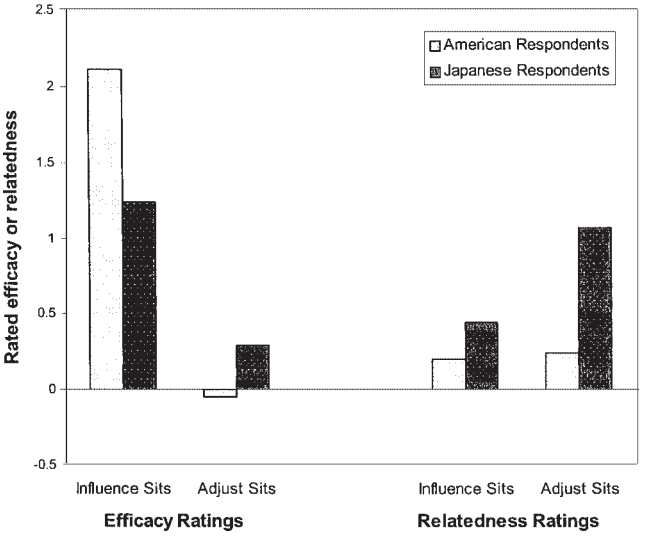

Figure 2 Attunement of cultural affordances and psychological tendencies.

NOTE: Americans felt more efficacy than Japanese did when they imagined themselves in the influence situations. Japanese felt more merged with others than Americans did but especially so in adjustment situations.

Gender effects. Effects of gender were mostly negligible with one important exception. Specifically, male-made situations were rated higher on efficacy ($M = 1.03$) than female-made situations ($M = .77$), whereas female-made situations were rated slightly higher on relatedness ($M = .54$) than male-made situations ($M = .42$), $F_1(1, 190) = 122.30$, $p < .001$; $F_2(1, 304) = 3.97$, $p = .047$. This result suggests that in both cultural contexts, men's situations afford a greater sense of efficacy than women's situations, consistent with past research on the autonomy and achievement goals promoted for male gender roles and relatedness promoted for women's roles, at least in the United States (e.g., Cross & Madson, 1997; Josephs, Markus, & Tafarodi, 1992).[4]

PROPORTION OF SELF-RELEVANT SITUATIONS

Because participants were allowed to indicate that any given situation was "not applicable," we examined the proportions of situations considered relevant for efficacy and relatedness (i.e., 1 minus the proportion of "not applicable" responses). This measure indicates the extent to which these psychological experiences (efficacy and relatedness) are activated at all by the situations.

The proportions were first arc-sin transformed and submitted to an analysis of the same design as that described above. The bottom half of Table 1 presents the raw percentages, broken down by situation culture, situation type, and respondent culture. Overall, American respondents judged a greater proportion of situations to be relevant for both feelings than did Japanese respondents, $F_1(1, 190) = 56.09$, $p < .001$, and $F_2(1, 304) = 425.8$, $p < .001$. In addition, American-made situations were judged to be more relevant for these feelings than were Japanese situations, $F_1(1, 190) = 60.06$, $p < .001$, and $F_2(1, 304) = 11.01$, $p = .001$. These two main effects may suggest that psychological experiences implicating the self-concept in general may be more salient in the United States than in Japan.

In the backdrop of these two effects, we found a significant three-way interaction among situation type, index type, and respondent culture, $F_1(1, 190) = 9.94$, $p = .002$ and $F_2(1, 304) = 8.48$, $p = .004$.[5] As shown in Table 1 (collapsing over situation culture), Americans responded to all the situations in equal proportion, regardless of the situation type or the type of index they used. As just described, this ceiling effect suggests that Americans indiscriminately report on their psychological experiences. In contrast, Japanese showed a more differentiated pattern of responses. Specifically, Japanese respondents perceived all situations to be less relevant to their sense of efficacy than for their sense of relatedness, especially for adjusting situations (see Table 1 collapsing over situation culture), simple interaction $F_1(1, 92) = 75.75$, $p < .001$ and $F_2(1, 304) = 30.77$, $p < .001$. This result suggests that Japanese more readily rate their own feelings of relatedness than efficacy, especially for adjusting situations.

Finally, a three-way interaction among situation culture, index type, and respondent culture, $F_1(1, 190) = 13.53$, $p < .001$ and $F_2(1, 304) = 8.81$, $p = .003$,[6] was due to a more differentiated pattern among Japanese participants, who rated Japanese-made (but not American-made) situations (61%) to be especially low in their relevance for feelings of efficacy, compared to American situations (71%). This further supports that efficacy is a less frequent psychological experience in Japanese-made situations, as well as for Japanese people.

SUMMARY

The results of Study 2 supported our primary hypotheses. American influence situations afforded more efficacy than their Japanese counterparts, and Japanese adjustment situations afforded more relatedness than their American counterparts. In addition, Americans responded with especially strong feelings of efficacy in influence situations, and Japanese responded with especially strong feelings of relatedness in adjustment situations. One surprising result, however, was the finding that American influence situations not only afforded efficacy but they also afforded feelings of relatedness, a finding we explored in a content analysis.

Content Analysis

We content-analyzed the 320 situations selected for Study 2 to study the content of the situations in greater detail, especially to investigate why American influence situations might have afforded relatedness as well as efficacy.

Two coders first divided each of the situations into its acts, antecedents, and consequences (reliability ranged from 75.5% to 100%). A third coder resolved disagreements. A native English speaker, a native Japanese speaker, and a bilingual coded the situations in their original languages, according to the six features listed in Table 2 (reliability ranged from 85.8% to 98.8%).

INFLUENCE SITUATIONS

Coding revealed a possible reason why U.S. influence situations afforded both efficacy and relatedness: U.S. influence acts are directed toward improving other people. First, the vast majority of American-made influence situations (90%) involve another person, compared to 61% of their Japanese counterparts, $\chi^2(1) = 17.92$, $p < .001$. More important, the objects of influencing acts were more likely to be other people in the American-made situations than in the Japanese-made situations (58.8% vs. 22.5%), $\chi^2(1) = 21.77$, $p < .001$. Japanese influence situations, instead, tended to control nonsocial objects (such as furniture or a work schedule) more than

TABLE 2: The Coding Scheme Used to Content-Analyze the 320 Situations

Element	*Coded For:*	*Example*
Act	Is it a compulsion? (described by "had to," "ought," or "must")	I *had to* adjust to the demands of sports by quitting smoking.
Object of the act	Is it nonsocial?	I moved *my couch.*
	Is it social?	I convinced *my mother.*
Antecedent: actor's intention	Does it fit with the act?	*I wanted to eat toast for breakfast,* so I convinced my mother to serve it.
	Does it go against the act?	*I was not having fun* but I pretended to enjoy myself so I would not break the mood.
Antecedent: situation's intention	Does it fit with the act?	*When people want to sing ballads* at Karaoke, I sing them too.
	Does it go against the act?	*My friends wanted to go for pizza* but I convinced them to go to this other place.
Consequences of the act	Good or bad for the actor?	I cut my hair short so *it is easy to wash now.*
	Good or bad for someone else?	I helped my brother study for a big exam. *He got an A.*
Presence of others	Yes	I helped my *brother* study for a big exam . . . .
	No	I cut my hair short . . . .

their American counterparts (41.3% vs. 11.3%), $\chi^2(1) = 18.58$, $p < .001$. In addition, when Americans influenced other people, they also tended to note that these others benefited from their acts. In all, 21.3% of American influencing acts mentioned positive consequences for other people, whereas only 5% of Japanese influencing acts did so, $\chi^2(1) = 9.26$, $p = .002$. Thus, the American influencing situations can be characterized as acts of prosocial influence. Americans influence other people, for those peoples' benefit (a prototypical situation was "I helped my brother study, and he got an A"). This pattern may reasonably lead to both efficacy and closeness to other people.

Despite these qualitative differences, we also found that in both countries, influence acts had positive consequences for the self (19.3%), were unlikely to be phrased as compulsions (only 2 acts were), and a fairly large proportion of the self's intentions (an antecedent) fit with the act, suggesting that people did what they wanted to do (38.8%). A small proportion of the antecedents mentioned situational intentions (an antecedent) that fit with the acts (20.6%), meaning that people's actions fit the demands of the situation. Similarly, influencing situations were likely to be directed at social objects (such as institutions or policies, 38.8%).

One further difference between the two countries was that Japanese influencing acts were more likely to mention that they went against situational demands (e.g., "My mother was used to serving bread, but I asked for rice" (United States, 17.5%; Japan, 32.5%), $\chi^2(1) = 4.80$, $p = .028$. This finding, combined with the fact that Japanese situations were more often directed at objects, may explain why Japanese influence situations were rated as slightly separated from other people (see Figure 1).[7]

ADJUSTMENT SITUATIONS

The adjustment situations from the two countries were largely similar. However, one important exception suggests why Japanese adjustment situations made people feel especially close to others.

First, in both countries, adjustment situations were likely to involve people (68%) and the target of adjustment was likely to be a social situation of some kind (e.g., the demands of university life or others' expectations, 47%) rather than either nonsocial circumstances (such as the demands of a sport, 25%) or other individuals (e.g., a friend's request, 15%). And as we might expect from the instructions, people tended to adjust to situational antecedent demands (53.8%), not go against them (4.4%).

Of importance, however, Japanese adjustment situations were more likely than their American counterparts to involve voluntary actions of adjustment. American-made adjustment situations were more often phrased as compulsions (e.g., "I had to adjust . . . "; 41.25% vs. 8.75%), $\chi^2(1) = 22.53$, $p < .001$. This finding is especially noteworthy because in 22.5% of Japanese adjusting situations, compared to 7.5% in the United States, the actor's intentions (an antecedent) specified the contrast between what they intended to do and what they actually did (e.g., "I was not having fun but I pretended to enjoy myself"). This pattern suggests that in Japan, overcoming one's personal desire is a sign of one's commitment to the relationship—it magnifies the extent to which a person is adjusting. In addition, the first finding supports the argument that adjustment is seen in a relatively more positive light in Japanese culture, especially because compulsory language was rarely used in Japanese adjustment situations. In contrast, in the United States, people may use compulsory language to describe adjustment, otherwise they may be considered weak for doing something "just because" the situation demanded it.

Self-Report Replication

The 320 coded situations were randomly selected from Study 1A. In Study 1B, we used a self-report method

to replicate the coding result that in U.S. influence situations, people direct their influence at other people (because of time constraints, we were unable to test all possible coding results with the self-report method). Participants rated their own situations on two questions (using a 5-point scale): "During this situation, did you try to change something about another person or other people?" and "During this situation, did you feel you had to change your behavior?" Because coding revealed that both Americans and Japanese reported adjusting to the demands of a situation, we expected that both Americans and Japanese would report changing their *own* behavior in adjustment situations. However, we predicted that only American participants would report changing *other* people in influence situations.

Results showed a three-way interaction between respondent country (between-subjects), situation type (within-subjects), and the object of change (self or other; within-subjects), $F(1, 56) = 10.94$, $p = .002$. Replicating the coding results, Americans were significantly more likely to change others than themselves in influence situations ($M = 3.62$ vs. $M = 2.23$), $t(25) = 4.76$, $p < .001$, whereas Japanese showed no significant difference ($M = 2.72$ vs. $M = 2.24$), $t(31) = 1.47$, $p = .15$. However, both Americans and Japanese responded that they changed their own behavior more than others' behavior in adjustment situations: Americans self-change $M = 3.62$ versus other-change $M = 1.960$, $t(25) = 5.68$, $p < .001$; Japanese self-change $M = 2.91$ versus other-change $M = 2.03$, $t(31) = 3.41$, $p = .002$. The simple interaction of Situation Type × Object of Change was significant in both countries, United States $F(1, 25) = 52.2$, $p < .001$; Japan $F(1, 31) = 12.9$, $p < .001$.

In sum, these two follow-up questions replicate the coding finding that Americans, but not Japanese, change other people in influence situations and contributes to an overall picture of American influence situations as distinctly social events. Not only do others appear to be influenced in these situations but the actors in them respond by feeling especially close to others. We highlight the importance of this finding in the general discussion.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Cultural psychological research of the last decade has documented many ways that culture shapes several psychological phenomena formerly considered to be "basic," including the fundamental attribution error, the need for positive self-regard, intrinsic motivation, analytic thought, and the concept of the self (see Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbett, 1998, for a review). The present research built on this literature, suggesting that whereas influence and adjustment are enacted in both the United States and Japan, culture shapes how these actions are experienced. Three lines of evidence supported that European American culture emphasizes the process of influence and the sense of efficacy but Japanese culture emphasizes the process of adjustment and the sense of relatedness. The set of data provides a great deal of empirical support for Weisz et al.'s (1984) classic hypothesis about the relative emphasis of "primary" and "secondary" control in the United States and Japan. First, we observed systematic differences in the frequencies of influence and adjustment situations. Thus, influence situations were more common than adjustment situations in the United States but the reverse was the case in Japan. Second, we found that these situations are relatively more potent in their respective cultures. That is, American influence situations had an especially strong potential (or "affordance") to produce the sense of efficacy, whereas Japanese adjustment situations had especially potent affordances for the sense of relatedness. Finally, we found that participants from the two cultures revealed contextually attuned psychological characteristics that reflect the kinds of situations emphasized in their own culture.

These cross-cultural differences, however, occurred against a backdrop of cross-cultural similarities. To begin, people from both cultures rated influence situations from both cultures to be higher on efficacy, and people from both cultures viewed adjustment situations similarly, rating them higher on feelings of relatedness. The overall pattern is consistent with the notion that influence and adjustment are two general approaches to the world but that cultures provide different numbers of opportunities to influence or to adjust. In addition, whereas the psychological feelings of American and Japanese are attuned to the types of situations their cultures emphasize (Americans reported more efficacy in influence situations and Japanese reported more relatedness in adjustment situations), this attunement was not limited to local situations (American situations for Americans and Japanese situations for Japanese), with which they might be particularly familiar. Thus, Americans were responsive to influence situations sampled from both cultures and, likewise, Japanese were responsive to adjustment situations sampled from both cultures, a finding consistent with the idea that influence and adjustment are general approaches.

In addition, our data show that psychological characteristics often attributed to people in the two cultures (i.e., independence and efficacy in the United States and interdependence and connectedness in Japan) are not purely psychological; they represent a joint effect of both a psychological tendency and social situations to which the tendency is attuned. In other words, psychological tendencies are not separable from the social modes of being that are emphasized in a culture (Kitayama & Markus, 1999).

The unexpected finding that American influencing acts were primarily social in nature suggests that influence in the United States is an interpersonal act, carried out in the context of social relations. In the United States, it appears that acts of influence, and indeed independence itself, are culturally sanctioned modes of creating both the self and social relations. Independence and efficacy do not imply that a person is asocial. On the contrary, these are ways to be social in the contemporary American cultural context. Thus, Americans may relate to each other by mutual influence, whereas Japanese relate to each other by mutual adjustment (Kitayama & Markus, 2000). The process of co-constructing self and social relations deserves empirical attention in future work.

LIMITATIONS

Our combination of quasi-behavioral data and self-report responses is limited in that participants in Studies 1A and 1B may have listed only socially desirable instances. Because we asked for situations in which people had adjusted to or influenced their situations, we probably oversampled successful examples of influence and adjustment. In addition, respondents may have filtered out relatively negative situations. In further studies, it would be useful to collect situations using a methodology such as experience sampling, which is less susceptible to positivity bias.

In addition, the self-report items are limited because our single-item measure of relatedness leaves open the question of exactly whom our participants felt related to. Participants could have responded with their feelings of closeness to actual others in the situation; however, we also asked participants if they felt close to others they were merely thinking about. If cultural meanings are indeed transmitted socially, people may feel a general sense of "relatedness" when they experience a vague sense of cultural inclusion.

However, this methodology is also unique because it assesses self-reported psychological responses in the context of specific situations. Of specific interest, this context-specific measure of relatedness revealed that in a variety of contexts (especially, but not exclusively, when adjusting), Japanese reported feeling closer to others than Americans. This result is obviously in line with much writing in anthropology, sociology, and psychology on how Japanese culture emphasizes the self's interdependence. However, it is also a timely rebuttal to a recent review that found no overall mean difference between Americans and Japanese on context-free trait measures of interdependence and independence (Matsumoto, 1999). Our results, in contrast, show that when contexts are specified (arguably the more relevant measure), the hypothesized difference in interdependence emerges (see also Heine, Lehman, Peng, & Greenholtz, in press).

PRIMACY OF PRIMARY CONTROL

Our results challenge some aspects of the original concepts of "primary" and "secondary" control (Heckhausen & Schulz, 1995; Rothbaum et al., 1982) by suggesting that they are supported by broader cultural systems. Our data imply that cultures can determine which of the two strategies takes precedence and may also affect which feels "primary" for psychological experience. In addition, the proposal that secondary control universally follows primary control (Heckhausen & Shulz, 1995, 1999) has not always been supported in interdependent cultural contexts (Gould, 1999; Morling & Fiske, 1999). For this reason, we advocate using less loaded terms such as "influence" and "adjustment" rather than the original terms "primary" and "secondary" control. Furthermore, our current data raise the question of how culturally valid it might be to continue to use the notion of control outside the European American cultural context, especially in East Asia. Significantly, in the Japanese language, no indigenous word exists for *control*. The imported word *kontororu* is typically used to refer to the regulation of machines. One might suspect, then, that in this cultural world, the idea of control is of little significance for social life.[8]

CONCLUSION

Although people may share the capacity to influence their circumstances or adjust to them, cultures can shape the prevalence and intensity of these practices. Culturally different practices not only emphasize one act over its alternatives but also can affect the psychological characteristics of people who regularly act in them. The method of situation sampling is uniquely adapted not only to measure the frequency and potency of a culture's specific practices but also to assess cultural differences in the psychological responses that are shaped by a culture's practices.

NOTES

1. All effects reported above also are obtained when missing values, rather than zeros, are used for "N/A" responses in computing the means.

2. Other effects are attributable to the pattern of the predicted three-way interaction. An Index × Situation Country interaction showed that whereas U.S. situations were rated much higher on efficacy (M = 1.22) than on relatedness (M = .57), Japanese situations were rated only slightly higher on efficacy (M = .57) than relatedness (M = .38), $F_1(1, 190) = 132.48$, $p < .001$; $F_2(1, 304) = 5.52$, $p = .02$. A main effect for situation country showed U.S. situations rated higher (M = .89) than Japanese (M = .50), $F_1(1, 190) = 383.12$, $p < .001$; $F_2(1, 304) = 28.39$, $p < .001$. A main effect for situation condition showed that influence situations (M = 1.00) were rated higher than adjusting situations (M = .38), $F_1(1, 190) = 231.86$, $p < .001$; $F_2(1, 304) = 61.50$, $p < .001$. In turn, this effect interacted with respondent gender, $F_1(1, 190) = 4.66$, $p = .032$; $F_2(1, 304) = 7.09$, $p = .008$, but the country pattern held for both gen-

ders with only minor local variations. The Situation Country × Situation Condition effect was significant: across index type, U.S. influencing situations were rated the highest overall and Japanese adjusting situations were rated the lowest overall, $F_1(1, 190) = 268.25$, $p < .001$; $F_2(1, 304) = 18.89$, $p < .001$.

The reported interaction between index type, situation culture, and situation type interacted with situation gender and respondent country, $F_1(1, 190) = 40.53$, $p < .001$; $F_2(1, 304) = 10.27$, $p < .001$. The finding that Japanese (more than Americans) responded with relatedness in adjustment situations was stronger for female situations than for male situations. These three factors also interacted with situation gender and respondent gender, $F_1(1, 190) = 5.11$, $p = .025$; $F_2(1, 304) = 4.68$, $p = .031$. Women rated U.S. female-adjusting situations higher on efficacy than did men, whereas men rated U.S. male-influence situations higher on relatedness than did women. (For detailed analyses, contact the first author.)

3. This effect also interacted with situation gender, $F_1(1, 190) = 40.53$, $p < .001$; $F_2(1, 304) = 10.27$, $p < .001$, with unsystematic gender variations in the overall pattern. Other effects are all attributable to the pattern of the predicted three-way interaction: An interaction of index type and respondent country showed that Americans rated all situations higher on efficacy ($M = 1.03$) than on relatedness ($M = .22$), whereas Japanese rated all situations about the same on efficacy ($M = .76$) as on relatedness ($M = .76$), $F_1(1, 190) = 69.76$, $p < .001$; $F_2(1, 304) = 167.93$, $p < .001$. A two-way interaction between situation type and respondent country showed that across index type, Americans rated influence situations much higher ($M = 1.15$) than adjusting situations ($M = .09$), whereas Japanese rated influence situations only slightly higher ($M = .84$) than adjusting situations ($M = .68$), $F_1(1, 190) = 126.72$, $p < .001$; $F_2(1, 304) = 140.16$, $p < .001$. A main effect for respondent country showed that Japanese rated all situations higher ($M = .76$) than Americans ($M = .62$), $F_1(1, 190) = 6.21$, $p = .014$; $F_2(1, 304) = 14.68$, $p < .001$. We also observed an interaction between index, situation country, respondent country, and respondent gender. Local variations in respondent gender did not detract from an overall pattern that Americans rated situations higher on efficacy than on relatedness, whereas Japanese ratings of efficacy were high only for American situations. Japanese ratings of Japanese situations were higher on relatedness than on efficacy.

4. Two other results document that situations written by men and women were rated differently. First, collapsing over index type, male situations were rated higher than female situations by Americans but not Japanese, $F_1(1, 190) = 47.74$, $p < .001$; $F_2(1, 304) = 8.08$, $p = .005$. Second, male situations were rated higher than female situations by men but not by women, $F_1(1, 190) = 5.71$, $p = .018$; $F_2(1, 304) = 5.86$, $p = .016$. Because these effects do not interact with index type, they are not particularly interesting and are not discussed further.

5. The three-way interaction resulted in several lower order effects. One main effect showed that influence situations were more often judged relevant than adjusting situations, $F_1(1, 190) = 132.74$, $p < .001$; $F_2(1, 304) = 15.71$, $p < .001$. Another main effect showed that more situations were judged relevant for relatedness than for efficacy, $F_1(1, 190) = 23.79$, $p < .001$; $F_2(1, 304) = 31.44$, $p < .001$. The Index Type × Situation Type interaction was also significant, $F_1(1, 190) = 118.77$, $p < .001$; $F_2(1, 304) = 41.23$, $p < .001$, as well as the Index Type × Respondent Culture interaction, $F_1(1, 190) = 61.40$, $p < .001$; $F_2(1, 304) = 157.68$, $p < .001$.

6. Two other interactions do not interact with index (efficacy vs. relatedness); therefore, they are not as theoretically interesting as the reported effects. First, a three-way interaction was obtained between situation type, respondent country, and situation country, $F_1(1, 190) = 58.31$, $p < .001$; $F_2(1, 304) = 7.55$, $p = .006$. American-made influence situations were rated as the most self-relevant by people from both cultures; in addition, American-made adjusting situations were judged especially irrelevant by Japanese. Second, situation country interacted with situation gender, $F_1(1, 190) = 125.40$, $p < .001$; $F_2(1, 304) = 5.38$, $p = .021$. American-male situations were judged relevant more than Japanese-male situations; American- and Japanese-female situations were judged relevant to the same degree.

7. Because their society is organized relatively hierarchically, Japanese may only attempt to influence peers or subordinates. However, we were unable to test this assumption in our sample because only 2 situations involved subordinates and only 12 involved superiors.

8. To be fair, the secondary control construct has been subjected to a number of different definitions in its research history (Azuma, 1984). One operational definition of secondary control has meant adjusting to an environment or circumstance (e.g., Thompson, Nanni, & Levine, 1994); another prominent definition describes a process that compensates for failed primary control (Heckhausen & Schulz, 1995; Rothbaum, Weisz, & Snyder, 1982). Other times, research has combined the two definitions (e.g., Weisz, Rothbaum, & Blackburn, 1984). Recognizing this, Morling and Fiske (1999) subdivided the secondary control construct, retaining the term "secondary control" for practices that assist people in their pursuit of traditional primary control but coining the term "harmony control" for another action in which people merge the self with situational or spiritual forces. Furthermore, Gould's (1999) neutral term, "external world control," for traditional primary control builds "on the original conceptions of Rothbaum et al. (1982) as well as on the ideas of Heckhausen and Schulz without adding a priori primacy to either" (p. 602).

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