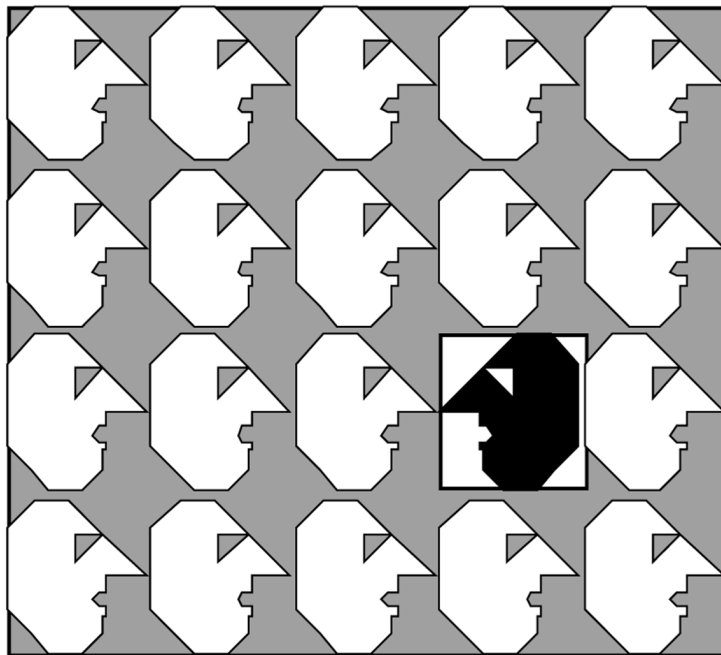


Individualism and Collectivism

*A Psychological, Cultural and
Ecological Analysis*



Uichol Kim

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by Uichol Kim

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PART ONE

The topic of individualism and collectivism has been the focal point of research interest in cross-cultural psychology, so much so that Kağıtçıbaşı (1993) labelled the 1980s as the decade of individualism-collectivism. This interest culminated in an international conference sponsored by the Korean Psychological Association entitled *Individualism and Collectivism: Psychocultural Perspectives from East and West*, held in Seoul, Korea, July 9-13, 1990. This conference attempted to integrate and consolidate an ever proliferating area of research. The occasion also marked the tenth anniversary of Geert Hofstede's (1980) classic contribution to this area entitled *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-Related Values*.

Hofstede (1980, 1983), in a study of over 117,000 IBM employees in 66 countries, found an important dimension of cultural variation: individualism. This dimension is considered bipolar with individualism on one end of the pole and collectivism on the other. The United States, Canada, and Western European countries were found to be high on the individualistic end of the dimension. Asian, Latin American, and African nations were found to be high on the collectivistic side of the dimension.

The individualism and collectivism (henceforth abbreviated as IC) constructs provided structure to the rather fuzzy construct of culture. They allowed the linkage of psychological phenomena to a cultural dimension (Bond, 1994). They re-vitalized cross-cultural psychology by providing a theoretical framework to a field that has been unable to operationalize the concept of culture (Rohner, 1984) and that was largely defined by its comparative methodologies rather than by its coherence of content (Triandis, 1980). IC proved to be a more concise, coherent, integrated, and empirically testable dimension of cultural variation (Bond, 1994; Triandis, 1994). These constructs also allowed fruitful integration of knowledge within the discipline of psychology (e.g. cognitive, developmental, social, and clinical psychology), across disciplines (e.g. anthropology, sociology, and management), and suggested convergence across different methodologies (e.g. ethnographies, surveys, and experiments).

Definition of Individualism and Collectivism

Hofstede (1991) defines IC as follows:

Individualism pertains to societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family. Collectivism as its opposite pertains to societies in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive ingroups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty. (italics original, p. 51)

According to Hofstede (1980) individualistic societies emphasize "I" consciousness, autonomy, emotional independence, individual initiative, right to privacy, autonomy, pleasure seeking, financial security, need for specific friendship, and universalism. Collectivistic societies, on the other hand, stress "we" consciousness, collective identity, emotional dependence, group solidarity, sharing, duties and obligations, need for stable and predetermined friendship, group decision, and particularism (Hofstede, 1980).

In a study of cross-cultural researchers, Hui and Triandis (1986) found similar results. Within an ingroup, members of collectivistic cultures are more likely than members of individualistic cultures to emphasize the implications of their own behavior for others, to share resources, to emphasize harmony, to be controlled by shame, to share both good and bad outcomes, and to feel that they are a part of their ingroup's life. People in individualistic cultures, on the other hand, share with their immediate nuclear family, are less willing to subordinate their personal goals to those of a collective, are willing to confront members of their ingroups, feel personally responsible for their successes and failures, and experience some degree of separation and distance from their ingroups. Triandis (1994) notes that ingroups in collectivistic cultures tend to be few and long-standing. People define themselves by their ingroup membership and subordinate their personal goals to those of the ingroup. In individualistic cultures, ingroups are more fluid and numerous. People feel autonomous and are less likely to subordinate their goals to the goals of groups.

Sinha and Verma (1987) note that individualistic cultures "foster contractual relationships which are based on the principles of exchange" and that "people calculate profit and loss before engaging in a behavior" (p. 124). Emotional ties play a minor role in such relationships. In collectivistic cultures, people "behave according to the social norms which are

often designed to maintain social harmony among the members of the ingroup” and “they meet the expectations of the ingroup members, help each other, share scarce resources, tolerate each other’s view, and minimize conflict” (p. 124). Affective ties play a major role in such relationships.

At the psychological level, Triandis, Leung, Villareal and Clack (1985) proposed the personality dimensions of *idiocentrism* and *allocentrism* to parallel IC at the cultural level. Markus and Kitayama (1991) similarly proposed the *independent view* and *interdependent view* of the self. Individuals who uphold the independent view are described as being “egocentric, separate, autonomous, idiocentric, and self-contained” (p. 226). Interdependent individuals are considered to be “sociocentric, holistic, collective, allocentric, ensembled, constitutive, contextualist, and relational” (p. 227).

These bipolar categorizations, although useful, are broad approximations. They need to be further refined and elaborated. The relationship between the cultural level of analysis and the individual level of analysis needs to be further explored. The type of IC found in each culture varies widely depending on its ecological and historical circumstances.

Ecology and Cultural Adaptation

Ecology refers to a total pattern of relationships between life forms and the physical environment. Climatic and natural conditions (such as temperature, humidity, water supply, soil conditions, sunlight, and terrain) shape and determine the existence of various types of life forms, including human beings (Segall, Dasen, Berry, & Poortinga, 1990). Early in human history, collective units (such as families, clans, and tribes) developed strategies to cope with, and adapt to, their ecology. The unit of survival was the group (Hui & Triandis, 1986).

A critical feature of survival in a particular ecological niche rested upon the availability of food supply (Segall et al., 1990). Food supply was often limited for people who lived in mountains, jungles, or deserts. When it was depleted, they had to move on to another region. Hunting and gathering tribes represent one of the first collective units. They subsisted by moving with, or toward, the food source. This type of collective unit emphasized efficient coordination of activities (such as the division of labor and territories covered by each hunter) and sharing of resources (i.e. the successful hunter shared the catch with the unsuccessful members).

Some of these migratory tribes found land where soil was rich, terrain was flat, and where water and sunlight were abundant. By utilizing these favorable conditions they were able to develop agriculture and animal husbandry. With increased agricultural efficiency, they could depend on the food produced from the land for subsistence. They no longer needed to migrate to a new food source. Enough food could be produced from the land to ensure a steady supply for themselves and for their children. The development of irrigation systems and large storage facilities further enhanced their ability to survive. These agrarian communities could be considered as a second type of collective unit. In both of these subsistence economies there was a fragile balance between ecological demands and human interventions. According to Segall et al. (1990) “ecological variables constrain, pressure, and nurture cultural forms, which in turn shape behavior” (p. 18). Ecology by and large acted like a filter that shaped and determined the types of cultures and individuals that survived.

Migratory tribes that lived in jungles, mountains, and deserts needed a specific set of skills that were adaptive to their ecological niche. Barry, Child, and Bacon (1959) found, in their analysis of 104 societies, that in migratory tribes (hunting and gathering societies with low food accumulation) socialization practices emphasized assertiveness, autonomy, achievement, and self-reliance. As a result, adults in these communities tended to be self-assured, independent, and venturesome (i.e. individualistic). In contrast, Barry et al. (1959) found in sedentary communities (societies that have relatively high food accumulation through agriculture and animal husbandry) socialization practices emphasized compliance, obedience, and responsibility. As a result, adults in these communities tended to be conscientious, compliant, and conservative (i.e. collectivistic). These characteristics have been developed and passed on to subsequent generations. Values, norms, and beliefs were institutionalized as cultural molds that served to mediate between ecological pressures and individual survival (Berry, 1976).

At the individual level, Berry (1976) has found that the ecological and cultural context have profound effects on individual cognitive functioning. He examined cognitive style (a consistent mode of individual functioning by which people organize, interpret, and interact with their perceptual world) across numerous subsistence economies. Like IC, cognitive style is considered to be a bipolar dimension with field-independence on one end and field-dependence on the other end. Field-independence refers to a cognitive style that is analytical and based upon

standards internal to the individual. Field-dependence refers to one that is global and based upon the external field. Paralleling IC, field-independent individuals tend to be socially independent, autonomous, and distant. Field-dependent individuals are socially interdependent, are more sensitive to social cues, and develop closer interpersonal ties. Paralleling Barry et al.'s (1959) results, Berry (1976) found that sedentary communities socialize their members to be field-dependent and migratory tribes socialize their members to be field-independent. These sets of results highlight a consistent pattern of relationship between ecology, culture, socialization, and individual functioning.

Social and Cultural Change

From about the sixteenth century, ecology began to be drastically altered in Western Europe. Human beings began to exert greater control over their ecology. Numerous factors contributed to this change: the rise of international trade, the rise of nation states, the formation of a merchant class, the rapid development in science and technology, greater agricultural efficiency, industrialization, urbanization, and the rise of capitalism. These changes combined to create a radical shift away from subsistence economies (which are largely determined by ecology) to market economies (which are created by human efforts).

Ecological influences were buffered by increasing human interventions. For example, people did not have to migrate to find new food sources. They did not have to till their soil to have dinner on their table. They did not have to store their food for the coming winter. They did not have to sew to have shirts on their backs. They no longer needed neighbors' help in putting up a barn. They were no longer at the mercy of changing climatic conditions; instead people worked in climate-controlled environments. They worked for wages. The money they earned could be used to buy necessary goods and services. Money could also be deposited with a bank for future use. Currency, especially paper money, acted as an intermediary commodity that allowed the efficient movement of resources.

The advent of greater agricultural efficiency coupled with the rise of the nation states dislocated many serfs and peasants from their agricultural communities. They congregated in the newly formed cities where they were hired by industrial factories that paid wages for their labor. The work involved acquiring skills that reflected the rapid developments in

science and technology. For example, machines were introduced for increased production, efficient distribution, and greater profits. These workers were often viewed as an extension of machines that were used to produce goods for profit.

The lifestyle in the industrial urban centers contrasted sharply with the previous life experiences of the new working class. The traditional agricultural communities represented the *Gemeinschaft* tradition (Tönnies, 1887/1957). In these communities, families lived in a community for many generations and people knew one another. Relationships were based on collective cooperation and trust. Agricultural production meant that members of a community lived together and worked together. Goods were produced with the main purpose of consumption in their local community. Trust, cooperation, and conservatism were important parts of their daily lives in this type of community.

The industrial urban setting, in contrast, was full of *unrelated* strangers. It represented the *Gesellschaft* tradition (Tönnies, 1887/1957). The relationship workers had with their employers was contractual and not based on any long-standing relationship of trust and cooperation. This contractual relationship was fueled by the laws of supply and demand. Each individual received a contract and was paid according to the market value of his or her services. The labor was often viewed as a commodity. In many case, the employers were interested in profit and not in the welfare of the workers. When demand for labor was low and supply was high, many laborers, including women and children, were exploited. They had to work long hours under miserable conditions. In those settings, there was no one to protect the welfare of these unrelated individuals. Tönnies (1935) contrasts the situation during the middle ages to the situation in 1935:

...then there were sympathetic relationships among kinsfolk and old acquaintances, now there are strangers and aliens everywhere; then society was chiefly made up of home- and land-loving peasants, now the attitude of the businessman prevails; then man's simple needs were met by home production and barter, now we have world trade and capitalistic production; then there was permanency of abode, now great mobility; then there were folk arts, music, and handicrafts, now there is science. (cited in Loomis, 1957, p. 2)

Collective action began to appear in protest of the undesirable working conditions and working relationships. New collectives emerged in Europe and in the United States (e.g. unions, employer organizations,

and consumer groups). Members of the working class began to organize and lobby for their interests against the ruling class through demonstrations and revolutions. These collective actions brought forth two types of moral-political ideologies: democracy and communism. In Western Europe and the United States officials are elected to protect rights and freedom of all citizens. This type of collective represents a shift away from ascribed relationships such as families, communities, and religion and toward individualism that emphasized achieved status (based on common interest, experience, and goals, Tönnies, 1887/1957).

Advocates of communism, such as Karl Marx, criticized the capitalistic exploitation of workers, the dehumanizing aspects of the uncontrolled market economy, and the excessive individualism that was coupled with fierce competition. Marx criticized the capitalistic conception of work as a means to an end (i.e. toward greater production for profit, Tönnies, 1887/1957). Marx viewed work as an end in itself. Work was a way of life and tools were seen as extensions of self and not the reverse. Self-identity, self-expression, and meaning of life were to be found through work. At the collective level, Marx emphasized a fundamental belief that human beings can collectively determine their future and create a model Utopian society. Marx called for the creation of a newly formed collective based on communal sharing and collective goals that curtails excessive individualism. It meant creating a new economy based on communal ownership rather than individual ownership, a centralized distribution system rather than distribution system based on the law of supply and demand, and a central bureaucracy rather than democratic representation.

Hofstede (1980) points out that in the West “capitalist market economy fosters individualism and in turn depends on it” and “various socialist types of economic order foster collectivism and in turn depend on it” (p. 233). Communist societies and capitalistic societies, however, do share one common characteristic: people are encouraged to separate from their ascribed relationships and to form achieved relationships. The nature of this achieved relation, however, is significantly different in the two societies: one is based on communist ideology and the other is based on individualism. Individualistic societies viewed ingroup loyalty based on ascribed relationships as hinderance to the development of a more encompassing collective that would protect inalienable human rights of all citizens. In the West, Bèteille (1977) notes that a high degree of correspondence exists among political democracy, capitalism, competition, and individualism (cited in Hofstede, 1980). Cultures based on this type

of social, philosophical, and political re-alignment are called “individualistic” (Hofstede, 1980). Kağıtçıbaşı (1990) prefers to describe such cultures as *cultures of separatedness* since they required separation from ascribed relationships coupled with the emphasis on achieved relationships.

Cultures that maintain ascribed relationships and interpersonal relatedness have been labelled as “collectivistic.” Kağıtçıbaşı (1990) prefers to describe these cultures as *cultures of relatedness*. In these cultures, ascribed and interpersonal relationships serve as the foundation for these societies. Maintenance of strong and cohesive ingroups in cultures of relatedness, however, often perpetuates ingroup favoritism, ethnocentrism, factionalism, regionalism, and particularism in many societies. Ingroup loyalty often leads to outgroup derogation, and ingroup cooperation is often coupled with fierce outgroup competition (Han & Choe, 1994). Ingroup solidarity often hampers the development and promotion of more encompassing principles, rules, and laws that would protect every individual regardless of his or her group affiliation. These problems arise due to emphasis on particularism rather than universalism (Hofstede, 1991; Parsons & Shils, 1951; Triandis, 1994).

During the process of acculturation social change, four interesting patterns have emerged. First, although characteristics of individualism in “modern” societies (i.e. driven by the market economy) resemble features of individualism in “traditional” migratory tribes, market-based economies, evolved from traditional sedentary communities and not from traditional migratory tribes. One could thus hypothesize that many structural and organization features of traditional sedentary communities were compatible for the development of modern, capitalistic societies and that these structural features may still persist (in some form and in varying degree) in these societies. For example, high demand and surplus which are essential features of capitalism are more likely to appear in sedentary communities since they are more consumers needing the goods and workers to produce these goods. In addition, sedentary communities supported a relatively large number of people and this meant developing viable social institutions that could manage its members (Barry, Child & Bacon, 1959; Berry, 1976). Thus, sedentary communities have the three necessary ingredients in place for capitalism: surplus, demand, and viable social institutions. To become a fully-fledged capitalistic society, however, sedentary communities are required to shift away from subsistence economy toward specialized production that emphasizes surplus and profit, efficient movement of resources, adherence to the law of sup-

ply and demand, and social institutions that would protect the viability of market economy.

Secondly, Berry and Annis (1974) found that the Native peoples who came from “traditional” migratory communities have enormous difficulties acculturating into “modern” Canadian society. Native peoples from “traditional” sedentary communities, however, had relatively fewer difficulties acculturating into Canadian society. These results could be interpreted as follows: although both “traditional” migratory communities and “modern” Canadian society emphasize individualism, the structural and institutional organization of the latter society is more compatible with the “traditional” sedentary communities. As a result, Native peoples from “traditional” sedentary communities as a whole have less difficulties acculturating into “modern” Canadian society. Within these sedentary communities, however, those individuals who are field-independent (i.e. individualistic) adjust better than those individuals who are field-dependent (i.e. collectivistic, Berry & Annis, 1974).

Thirdly, in Europe and North America capitalism and communism evolved from within. In Asia, Latin America, and Africa, both capitalism and communism were externally imposed through colonization. In other words, “traditional” communities (i.e. subsistence economies) in these regions were forced to adopt either capitalism or communism and respond to these external impositions. Although many countries are still struggling, attempting to cope with the destructive forces of these external impositions, several countries in the Pacific Rim that were traditionally agrarian (such Hong Kong, Japan, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan) were able to develop collective strategies that were compatible with their “traditional” cultural values.

In Japan, for example, researchers (Azuma, 1986; Befu, 1986; Kurachi, 1984; Lebra, 1976; Misumi, 1985, 1988; Sullivan, Suzuki, & Kondo, 1986) note that industrialization, urbanization, and capitalism have not significantly altered the underlying cultural value system that emphasizes human-relatedness. Although many external features of Japanese culture have changed, the core elements of the culture that emphasizes human-relatedness remain strong. Misumi (1985, 1988), for example, notes that the phenomenal economic progress of Japan has been achieved because of the maintenance of human-relatedness, and not in spite of it. Capitalism itself became modified to fit underlying Japanese cultural values that emphasize human-relatedness. In a country such as Japan, the ability to respond collectively to both internal and external challenges remains intact. Other countries in the Pacific Rim have devel-

oped their own unique strategies to cope with both internal and external demands (e.g. U. M. Kim, 1994; Yu & Yang, 1994).

Finally, Schwartz (1994) has found within-culture variations in Japan that may suggest a greater acceptance of individualism. In his study, three Japanese university samples scored high on individualism and mastery. The Japanese adult sample, in contrast, scored fairly high on collectivism and harmony. The Japanese teacher sample occupied an intermediate position. There are two possible explanations for the above results. The results could indicate that Japan is moving away from collectivism towards greater individualism. They could also be interpreted as a developmental anomaly. University students in Japan are situated in an institutional setting that encourages individualism and mastery. Once they graduate, they are hired by a company; they also get married and form their own families. In these contexts they are re-socialized to accept collectivistic values. Longitudinal and prospective studies are necessary to address these four interesting patterns.

Conceptual Elaboration and Refinement

The following section examines five critical issues salient to IC: theoretical assumptions, level of analysis, dimensionality, interactionism, research strategies, and methodology. The following section summarizes, integrates, and clarifies the current debate.

Theoretical Assumptions

August Comte in 1852 raised a dilemma that is central to the current debate in IC: "How can the individual be at once cause and consequence of society?" (cited in Allport, 1968, p. 8). This dilemma raises a more generic issue: what is the relationship between an individual and a culture? Scholars in social sciences attempted to deal with this dilemma by focusing on either the individual level or the cultural level.

For any discipline, the starting point of research can have profound philosophical, cultural, and scientific implications (O'Neill, 1976). Psychology in general and social psychology in particular have adopted the individual as the basic unit of analysis (Hogan, 1975; Pepitone, 1976; Sampson, 1977; Spence, 1985). In social psychology, Floyd Allport (1924) was the key architect of this development. He argued that the individual is the most appropriate unit of analysis and rejected the cultural level of analysis (i.e. *Völkerpsychologie* tradition espoused by Wilhelm

Wundt and the “group mind” approach elaborated by William McDougall, 1920):

There is no psychology of groups which is not essentially and entirely a psychology of individuals. Social psychology must not be placed in contradistinction to the psychology of the individual; it is a part of the psychology of the individual, whose behavior it studies in relation to that sector of his environment comprised by his fellows. His biological needs are the ends toward which his social is a developed means. Within his organism are provided all the mechanisms by which social behavior is explained. (p. 4)

One of the most cited definitions in social psychology reflects this individualistic bias. Social psychology is defined as “an attempt to understand and explain how the thought, feeling, and behavior of individuals are influenced by the actual, imagined, or implied presence of others” (G. Allport, 1968, p. 3). The focus of research is to treat social elements as stimuli and not as distinct entities. As a result of this individualistic position, major theories in social psychology have focused on the intra-individual processes and neglected the analysis of collective units (Pepitone, 1976, 1981; Sampson, 1977).

In sociology, Popper (1976) assumed that individuals constitute the basic unit of analysis. He stated that all collective phenomena are caused by and can be explained in terms of “actions, interactions, aims, hopes, and thoughts of individual men” and by “traditions created and preserved by individual men” (p. 86). He has popularized the position of *methodological individualism* (O’Neill, 1976). Bhaskar (1979) defines it as “the doctrine that facts about societies, and social phenomena generally, are to be explained solely in terms of facts about individuals” (p. 34). *Methodological individualism* assumes that all groups or holistic concepts can be, in principle, understood in terms of individual behavior and posits that “behavior *of* a group can be defined in terms of behavior *in* groups” (Brodbeck, 1976, p. 290). In other words, the properties of a group are the mere sum of properties of its parts. It denies the separate scientific usefulness of holistic entities such as groups, institutions, and culture.

A contrasting position to *methodological individualism* is the acceptance of collective entities as the basic unit of analysis. This approach emphasizes that collective properties exist over and above the individuals making up the group and relations shared by group members (Brodbeck, 1976) and that collective units *determine* and *explain* the psychological make-up of individuals. Within this approach individual dif-

ferences are not of interest to researchers. In anthropology, the culture and personality school represents this position (Hsu, 1972). It examines how cultures, via socialization, shape the personality structure of individuals (Kardiner, 1939). In sociology, Durkheim (1895) used a similar strategy. For example, he used “social facts” (such as suicide rates) to explain social phenomena (i.e. *anomie*) without references to individuals.

Both the strict micro approach (focusing on individuals) and macro approach (focusing culture, society) are too narrow and reductionistic. In the present formulation, these two approach are considered as two different levels that interact with one another.

Levels of Analysis

Individuals and cultures need to be considered as two different units of analysis reflecting two different levels of analysis. Collective entities such as group, society, culture, history, and language need to be recognized as being more than a mere sum of individual characteristics or contributions. Collective entities need to be understood in their own right. They emerge from the interactions of individuals and constitute phenomena not reducible to the actions of individuals.

According to Hofstede (1980) individuals and cultures represent two different levels that need to be analyzed separately. When data are based on cultural level measurements (e.g. GNP, epidemiological rates), cross-cultural comparisons are valid. When data are based on individual level measurements (e.g. attitude, values, behaviors), researchers should limit their interpretations to a within-culture analysis. An “ecological fallacy” is committed when a researcher uses an cultural-level correlation to interpret individual behavior. Hofstede (1980) and Leung (1989) document that patterns observed at the cultural or “ecological” level can differ from patterns observed at the individual level.

A “reverse ecological fallacy” is committed when researchers construct cultural or ecological indices based upon individual level measurements. Hofstede (1980) points out that cultures should not be treated as individuals: “they are wholes, and their internal logic cannot be understood in the terms used for the personality dynamics of individuals” (p. 31). Both the ecological fallacy and reverse ecological fallacy point to the need to separate the levels of analysis and to interpret results at the appropriate level.

The discrepancy between the cultural level and individual level can arise when there is no one-to-one correspondence between a culture-level phenomenon and an individual-level phenomenon may not exist. For

example, Hofstede (1980) empirically derived IC dimension at the cultural level, but he did not find a comparable dimension at the individual level. This does not, however, preclude the existence of some correspondence, in some domains, as demonstrated by Bond (1994) and Schwartz (1994). Moreover, these two levels interact with one another via intermediate structures (such as institutions, norms, and beliefs). The relationship between the two levels will be further explored in the following section.

Dimensionality

Although IC was highly correlated with another dimension called Power Distance, Hofstede (1980) empirically derived IC as a unidimensional construct at the cultural level. Much of the criticism of Hofstede's (1980) work focuses on the assumption of unidimensionality at the individual level. This dimension, however, was not intended to explain individual level phenomena.

At the individual level, Triandis (1994) describes IC as syndromes. Multi-faceted models have been developed and articulated (Triandis, 1994). The multi-dimensional nature of the two constructs have been supported by empirical evidence (Sinha & Verma, 1987; Triandis, 1994; Yu & Yang, 1994).

At the cultural level, Triandis et al. (1986) identified four dimensions that relate to IC. Family Integrity and Interdependence with Sociability were two to be important dimensions of collectivism and Separation from Ingroups and Self-Reliance with Hedonism were found to be two important dimensions of individualism. Subsequent research (e.g. Chinese Cultural Connection, 1987; Schwartz, 1994; Triandis et al., 1986) have replicated Hofstede's (1980) results and have begun to unravel the multi-faceted relationship between IC and other constructs.

Interactionism

Although the cultural level and the individual level are separated for conceptual and empirical purposes, they are functionally interrelated (Schwartz, 1994). Cooley, Horton and Carr (1933) noted that the "whole is a network of interdependent parts, each one of which contributes to the functioning of the entire system" (p. 71). Collective entities help to shape attitudes, beliefs, emotions, and behaviors of individuals who are born into a culture. Although collective entities, by and large, shape an individual's attitudes, beliefs, emotions, and behaviors, they do not deter-

mine them. Individuals possess characteristics that are unique and self-directing. They often accept, select, or reject cultural influences. In addition, individuals contribute to the process of maintaining, synthesizing, and changing an existing culture. They cannot be viewed simply as recipients of cultural influences. They need to be considered as architects of cultural change. Cooley et al. (1933) stated that “a separate person is an abstraction unknown to experience, and so likewise is society when regarded as something apart from persons” (p. 71).

Although a simple one-to-one correspondence between the cultural and individual levels may not exist, these two levels are inter-related. Bond (1988), for example, found a coefficient of congruence of 0.8 between the two levels. Schwartz (1994) found similar results and outlines three reasons as to why they are related. Conceptually, individuals and cultures should not be viewed as mutually exclusive entities. Rather they need to be viewed both as independent as well as interactive entities. The degree of correspondence or interaction between the two levels is a research question in itself worthy of further exploration.

These two levels interact via intermediate social structures, organizations, norms, and beliefs (Hofstede, 1980; Schwartz, 1994). In every society, formal and informal institutions have been erected to maintain and propagate a particular constellation of values, norms, and skills. Rokeach (1973) defines an institution as “a social organization that has evolved in society and has been ‘assigned’ the task of specializing in the maintenance and enhancement of a selected subset of values and in their transmission from generation to generation” (p. 24-25). In Confucian societies, for example, families play a central role and serve as a prototype for all other organizations (King & Bond, 1985; Kim & Lee, 1994). The United States, in contrast, views individual rights as the central moral and ethical basis upon which institutions have been erected (Kim & Lee, 1994). The complex relationship among individuals, beliefs, norms, social structure, institution, and culture is detailed in the following section.

Research Strategies

In actual research, it is difficult to examine cultural and individual levels simultaneously. A researcher needs to choose a starting point based on philosophical and scientific grounds. In psychology, preference is given to the individual level. In the area of IC, there are three main reasons why it is considered more parsimonious to start at the individual and not the cultural level. First, all the current data, via surveys and experiments,

were collected either at the individual level, or they represent statistical summaries (Bond, 1994). Culture variations (i.e. IC) were inferred from normative differences.

Second, a cultural level analysis requires reductionism. For a particular variable, each culture is reduced to a single datum. Cross-cultural comparisons are then conducted using a culture as a single data point. A single datum does not, however, allow cultural variations and complexities to be encoded. In order to use such procedures, it is important to ascertain whether such reductionistic procedures are valid and the degree to which they are valid. Using a summary statistics (such as using a mean score to represent a country) becomes more problematic when the data are based on convenient samples (such as employees of a particular organization or university students) and not based on the total population (such as GNP or epidemiological rates) or representative samples (such as Gallup polls). Researchers often assume that these convenient samples represent their corresponding cultures, but the basis of such assumptions are often highly questionable. Within a culture, different samples have been found to vary widely on IC (e.g. Schwartz, 1994).

Third, in science the law of parsimony suggests that we should stay close to the data and make the fewest number of assumptions and inferences possible. It is more appropriate, based on the individual level data that we have, to operate at the individual level. Furthermore, for individual researchers it is far more difficult to grasp, both heuristically and phenomenologically, culture-level phenomena (Bond, 1994). In terms of the personal insights, intuition, and interpretations, that are fundamental to science (Holten, 1973), it is far easier to start at the individual level rather than at the cultural level (Bond, 1994).

Although it may be considered more parsimonious to start at the individual level, this approach may not prove to be the most fruitful. Individual level analyses can be of limited scope. Without an overall picture or a map to guide research, it is often difficult to grasp how individual studies relate to one another. In cross-cultural psychology, researchers typically focus on the individual level of analysis. As a result, understanding of culture is “fuzzy” at best. Hofstede’s (1980) IC dimension provided a direction and a focus to cross-cultural psychologists. Better resolutions of the phenomena were achieved through a series of collaborative research ventures (e.g. Chinese Cultural Connection, 1987; Schwartz, 1994; Triandis et al., 1986). At the same time, researchers explicated parallel constructs at the individual level (e.g. Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987, 1990; Triandis et al., 1985) and examined the relationship between the two level (Bond, 1988; Schwartz, 1994).

Hofstede (1980) also provided a systematic and coherent integration of IC across various fields (such as sociology, anthropology, economics, management, religion, philosophy, and political science). This contribution provided both theoretical and empirical structure to a field searching for its identity.

Two promising trends can be identified that can further unravel the complexities of IC: the cross-cultural approach and the cross-indigenous approach. Cross-cultural psychology can be described as a blend of *emic* and the *etic* approaches (see Berry, 1989, for a review). Within this approach, theories and methods are typically developed in one culture, then transported and imposed upon another. They are, however, adapted in the other culture to incorporate indigenous knowledge systems. The final results are compared between two or more cultures to verify, revise, or rejected an existing theory.

The indigenous psychologies approach upholds the view that each culture needs to be understood in its own reference frame (see Kim & Berry, 1993). It attempts to document, organize, and interpret behaviors, values, customs, and beliefs of a particular cultural community. Methodologically, it emphasizes the use of natural taxonomies to discover regularities in a particular context. It examines how individuals and groups interact within this context. This information is used as the first step in the discovery of psychological invariants. The second step involves comparing results across different contexts to examine commonalities and variations known as the *cross-indigenous approach* (Enriquez, 1993). From systematic studies of indigenous psychologies, it is possible to look for general principles and universals.

Cross-cultural psychology and the indigenous psychologies approach are complementary and not mutually exclusive approaches (Kim & Berry, 1993). The main difference lies in the starting point of research. Integration of these two approaches is necessary in order to discover true psychological universals.

Triandis (1994) advocates the use of multi-method probes to unravel the multi-faceted nature of IC. Value constructs have been the most popular research tool in this area (e.g, Chinese Cultural Connection, 1987; Hofstede, 1980; Schwartz, 1994). Attitudes scales have also been widely used (e.g. Hui, 1988; Triandis et al., 1986). Experimental methods have been employed (e.g. Leung & Bond, 1984; Tramfiow et al., 1991). Open-ended questionnaires and ethnographic methods have been utilized (e.g, Bellah et al., 1985; Hsu, 1981; Maday & Szalay, 1976; Wheeler, Reis, & Bond, 1989). Triandis, McCusker and Hui (1990) integrated five different methodologies to yield a consistent pattern of

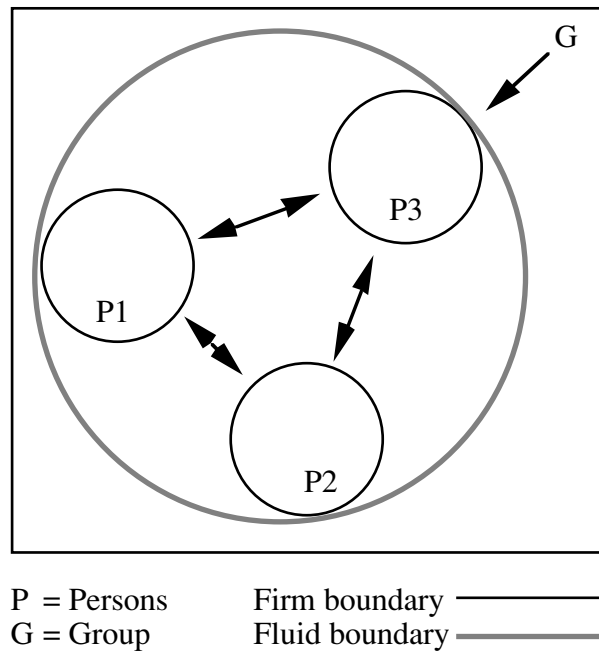
results. A multi-method approach can help to clarify, refine, elaborate, and validate our understanding of IC.

The following section provide schematic representations of IC at the individual-group level. These elaborations attempt to conceptualize explicitly the relationship between individuals and groups based on a literature review. They are descriptive model and not explanatory models. They are approximations and they are not meant to be exhaustive. They are attempts of delineate central features of IC.

Facets of Individualism

Within the present approach, individualism is defined by an explicit and firm individual boundary between self and others. It needs, however, to be supplemented with an analysis of its relationship to collective entities. Figures 1–3 provide a schematic representation of three different facets of individualism.

Figure 1: Facets of Individualism – Aggregate Mode



Aggregate Mode

Figure 1 depicts an aggregate mode. It is defined by three critical features. First, it requires an emphasis on distinct and independent individuals (as represented by solid circles). Second, individuals need to detach themselves from their ascribed relationships such as family, relatives, community, and religion. Third, abstract principles, rules, and norms

(dotted circle) provide mechanisms for unrelated individuals to interact with one another.

In the aggregate mode there is the “belief that each of us is an entity separate from every other and from the group” (Spence, 1985, p. 1288). This belief can “lead to a sense of self with a sharp boundary that stops at one’s skin and clearly demarks self from nonself” (p. 1288). It is defined by a “reference to one’s own internal repertoire of thoughts, feelings, and actions, rather than by reference to thoughts, feelings, and actions of others” (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, p. 226). Sampson (1977) uses the term *self-contained individualism* which emphasizes the values of freedom, independence, self-determination, personal control, and uniqueness. Riesman (1953) describes such individuals as *inner-directed types* who are guided by a *psychological gyroscope* (p. 16). Schwartz (1994) found that one aspect of individualism focuses on self-direction and the other on stimulation and hedonism.

Separation from one’s ascribed relationships is considered to be a prerequisite for the development of a firmly individuated self (Bellah et al, 1985; Hsu, 1973; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1990; Maday & Szalay, 1976; Triandis et al., 1988). From a developmental perspective, individuation and separation from ascribed relationships are considered necessary for healthy human development, while interdependent or “enmeshed” individuals are considered pathological (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1990).

The third feature of the aggregate mode is the emphasis on abstract principles. It is a process by which core values and characteristics of a group are abstracted from a specific context and person. It is similar to Waterman’s (1981) *normative (ethical) individualism* that emphasizes “universality involving respect for the integrity of others” (p. 764) and Kohlberg’s (1969) final stage of moral development. Schwartz (1994) had found that individualism was positively correlated with Social Concern. He notes that “as autonomous selves, individuals in such societies might naturally feel detached from and unconcerned about others” and thus “smoothly functioning social relations require that autonomous individuals internalize the importance of committing themselves to others’ welfare and of expressing their concern by taking prosocial action” (p. 104).

In the aggregate mode individuals interact with others based on principles such as equality, competition, equity, and exchanges based on contracts (Bellah et al, 1985; Hofstede, 1980; Leung & Bond, 1984; Shweder & Bourne, 1984; Waterman, 1981). Members of a group are conceived as independent and unrelated individuals and no one individual enjoys special privileges. Decisions are made equally, based on majority approval. Resources are shared equitably, based on merit and

performance. Individuals are “democratically” elected to represent the group, arbitrate grievances, to oversee the fair distribution of resources, and implement policy and programs on behalf of the group.

Researchers have found that people from the United States describe their personalities in an abstract and context-free manner (Miller, 1984; Shweder & Bourne, 1984). Such a conception contrasts sharply with the Chinese, Indian, Japanese or the Korean view which is predominantly concrete, relational, and bound in a particular behavioral context (Maday & Szalay, 1976; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Miller, 1984; Shweder & Bourne, 1984; Triandis et al., 1990). A tendency to remain concrete and relational was not due to differences in educational attainment, literacy, socio-economic class, or a lack of abstraction skills (Shweder & Bourne, 1984). Shweder and Bourne (1984) note that the emphasis on abstraction was collectively created and supported in the American culture:

This abstracted individual, “man-as-voluntary agent,” is protected by deeply enshrined moral and legal principles prescribing privacy and proscribing unwanted invasions of person, property, and other extensions of the self. Americans are culturally primed to search for abstract summaries of the autonomous individual behind the social role and social appearance (p. 192).

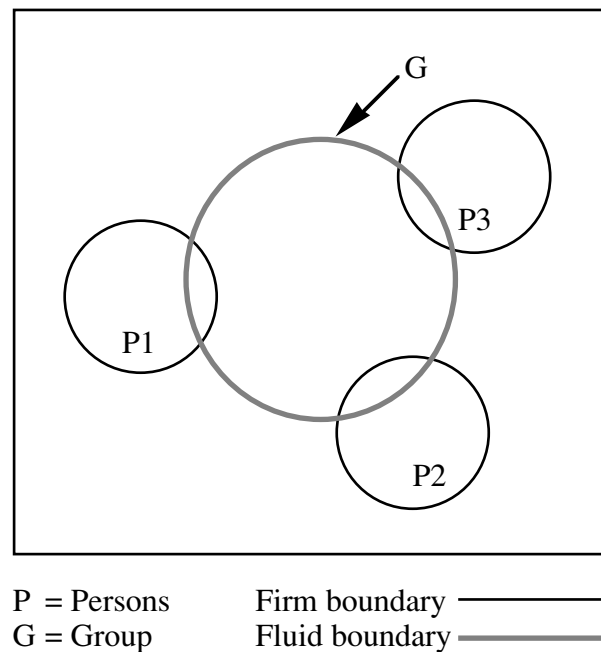
Shweder and Bourne (1984) use the term *egocentric contractual* to describe American individualism. From this perspective, social relationships are viewed as a derivative of the autonomous and abstracted individuals. They interact via mutual consent and contractual relationship. Social situations serve “primarily as standards of reflected appraisal, or as sources that can verify and affirm the inner core of the self” (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, p. 226).

On the surface the individuals in the aggregate mode appear to operate in a rational and value-free way. Each member, however, is socialized from birth to accept the core value system as being supremely natural and universal (Riesman, 1953). As Wirth (1946) observes “the most important thing...that we know about a person is what he takes for granted, and the most elemental and important facts about a society are those things that are seldom debated and generally regarded as settled” (p.xxiv). The way these principles are practiced, however, is uniquely American (Shweder & Bourne, 1984; Triandis, 1990). Bellah et al. (1985) and Triandis et al. (1988) found that the aggregate mode is the prototypical form of individualism in the United States. It represents, however, just one facet of individualism.

Distributive Mode

The central difference between the aggregate and distribute mode is the nature of the group. In the aggregate mode a group is not clearly defined. In the distributive mode a group is explicitly defined (see Figure 2). It can be described as a group that “arises by each member having some similar attributes to every other” (Harré, 1984, p. 930). The boundary of a group is defined by commonality and fluidity. Voluntary organizations, interest groups, and recreational clubs are examples of this type of a group. Since the form and degree of participation is voluntary, permanent loyalty is not demanded from its members. The group persists if it satisfies the needs and interests of its members. It dissolves when it fails to do so. In the distributive mode individuals are “capable of a rapid if sometimes superficial intimacy with and response to everyone” (Riesman, 1953, p. 25).

Figure 2: Facets of Individualism – Distributive Mode

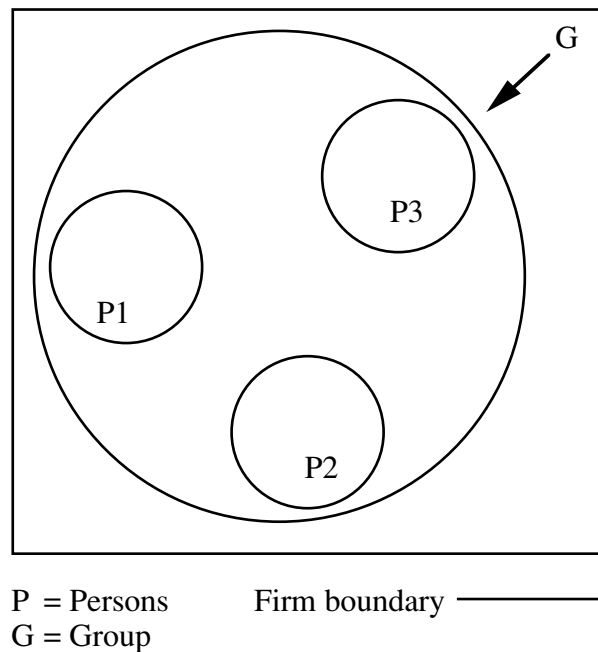


Another feature of the distributive mode is the emphasis on contracts. A contract defines a relationship between professionals (who provide services) and clients (who pay a fee for the services). Doctors, lawyers, accountants, teachers, counselors, and professors provide specialized services to anyone and everyone in need of those services. Similarly, labor and management represent collective entities in which the relationship is defined by a contract.

Static Mode

A third facet of individualism is the static mode (see Figure 3.) It consists of two levels: an individual's inalienable rights, and institutions such as the government that protect freedom and justice for all individuals. The Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the United States, for example, guarantee and protect inalienable rights of all individuals. A detailed description is given in the section on liberalism.

Figure 3: Facets of Individualism – Static Mode



Since individuals are unrelated to one another, they may not always act in a responsible, moral, sane, and altruistic manner (Hogan, 1975). They may exploit or commit crimes against one another or against society (Hogan, 1975). Sampson (1977) notes that highly individualistic societies may “require strong, autocratic governance to control their appetites” (p. 779). In such a society laws are established so that no one person can step beyond the boundaries of the laws. If they do, these individuals are identified, punished, and often incarcerated. The legal system, correctional system, military, and the internal revenue service are examples of the static mode. Everyone in the culture is bound by these laws and theoretically, no one enjoys special privileges.

Although the boundary of the static mode is firm, it is not permanent. Individuals can challenge the boundary of existing laws and regulations, especially if these boundaries are perceived as infringing upon their rights. The law defining abortion rights in the United States is an

example of a law that fluctuates with time, depending on the existing political and legal climate.

Facets of Individualism: Comparative Analysis

The central difference between the aggregate mode and the static mode lies in the fluidity of the group boundary. Individuals in the aggregate mode are bound by normative and ethical principles, while individuals in the static mode are bound by laws. An example provided by Brown (1986) highlights the difference between the two. When one sees another person drowning, one is compelled by a normative or ethical principle to help that person to avoid drowning. One is not, however, bound by any law to save that drowning person. By not saving the drowning person, one has not committed a crime, but one has broken a moral principle. If one took an active part in the drowning (e.g. pushing someone off a cliff), one has broken an ethical principle and one has committed a crime punishable by law. This is the distinguishing feature between the aggregate mode and the static mode. If, however, important moral and ethical principles are not upheld widely, then it can be formalized into laws (e.g. abortion, incest taboo, and child abuse).

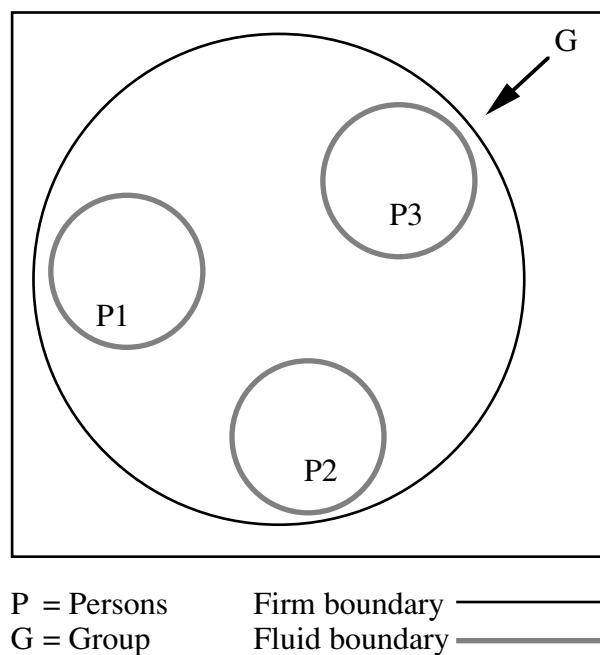
The distributive mode can often resemble the static mode. In the United States many interest groups are formed to protect and propagate certain interests. If a group is effective in maintaining its viability and competes successfully with other organizations, it can become a dominant group. It can develop its own subculture with its own socializing mechanisms. Its goals can be in direct conflict with the goals of other individuals and of society. In such instances, members of society can lose their ability to change the group. Soon the collective loses its fluidity.

In the economic sphere, this dominant interest group is called a monopoly. By law, it is not allowed. If it exists, then it is under strict governmental control. In the service sector, such groups are widespread. Many professions in the United States (such as the legal and medical professions) have a complete monopoly on the services they provide (Kleinman, 1980; Zola, 1983). They are relatively autonomous and resist change. They often serve the interests of their members at the expense of the consumer (Kleinman, 1980; Zola, 1983).

Facets of Collectivism

Collectivism is defined by an explicit and firm group boundary. It is considered to be more than a mere sum of individual characteristics or contributions. Although a collective is the basic unit of analysis, its relationship to individuals must be considered. Figures 4–6 depict three different facets of collectivism.

Figure 4: Facets of Collectivism – Undifferentiated Mode



Undifferentiated Mode

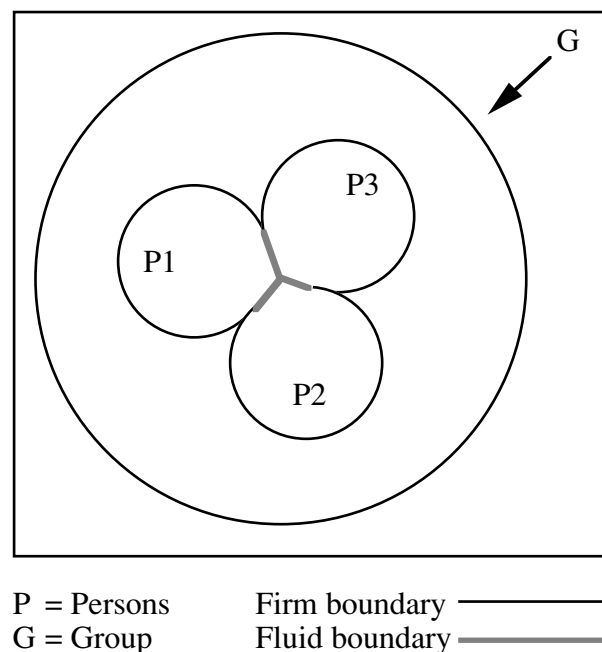
The undifferentiated mode is depicted in Figure 4. It is defined by firm and explicit group boundary coupled with undifferentiated self-group boundary. At the cultural level, the culture and personality school represents the undifferentiated mode (e.g. modal personality). Previous definitions of collectivism have focused on this mode (e.g. Hofstede, 1980; Hsu, 1973; Hui & Triandis, 1986; Triandis, 1988; Triandis et al., 1985). Triandis (1988), for example, defines collectivism as putting great emphasis on: a) views, needs, and goals of the ingroup rather than of oneself, b) social norms and duty defined by the ingroup rather than behavior to get pleasure, and c) beliefs shared with ingroup rather than beliefs that distinguish oneself from the ingroup, and d) great readiness to cooperate with ingroup members” (p. 74). An extreme form of collectivism as defined by Triandis (1988) where an individual is governed and defined by an ingroup would constitute the undifferentiated mode. The

undifferentiated mode can develop in two ways. From a developmental perspective, an individual who has failed to achieve some degree of individuation and separation and who is defined by an “enmeshed” identity represents this mode. Secondly, individuals who have previously achieved some degree of individuation and separation, but chose to give up their self-identity in order to immerse themselves completely in an ingroup (such as a religious, cult, or ideological group) would be another example.

Relational Mode

Figure 5 depicts the relational mode. It is depicted by a porous boundary between ingroup members that allows thoughts, ideas, and emotions to flow freely. It focuses on the relationship shared by the ingroup members. It requires three key features: “the willingness and ability to feel and think what others are feelings and thinking, to absorb this information without being told, and to help others satisfy their wishes and realize their goals” (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, p. 229). Its qualities have been discussed through the concepts of *amae* (“interdependence”) in Japanese culture (Doi, 1981) and by the concept of *chong* (“affection”) in Korean culture (Choi, Kim & Choi, 1993). A detailed description can be found in the section on Parent-Child Relationship.

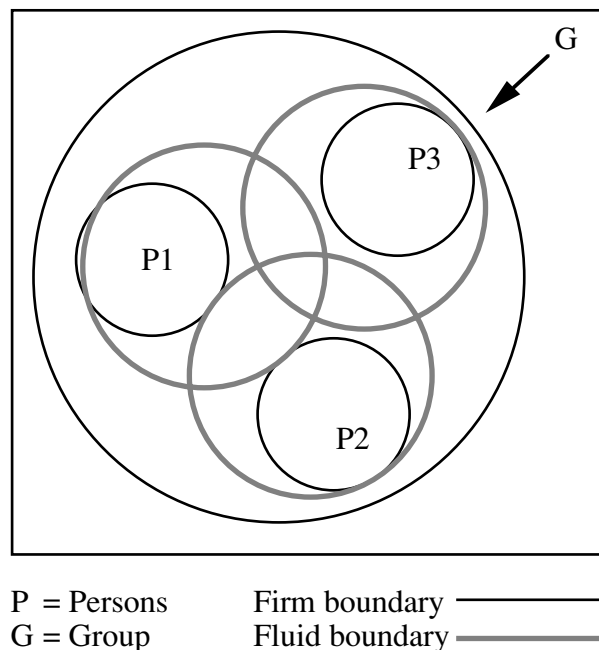
Figure 5: Facets of Collectivism – Relational Mode



Co-Existence Mode

Sinha and Tripathi (1994) coined the term co-existence to describe a model that allows diverse elements, including contradictory elements to co-exist within a culture and within a person (see Figure 6). The co-existence mode separates the private self (as represented by solid lines) from the public self (as represented by dotted lines). The public self becomes enmeshed with collectivist values, such as family loyalty, ingroup solidarity, and national identity. It co-exists with the private self that maintains individualistic values of self-cultivation and personal striving. Sinha and Tripathi (1994) point out that the co-existence appears in all facets of Indian culture: in child rearing practices, in interpersonal relationships, in intergroup relations, and in public institutions. It does not imply dissonance in the Indian culture. It has been empirically verified in a series of empirical studies in India (Sinha & Tripathi, 1994; Sinha & Verma, 1987).

Figure 6: Facets of Collectivism – Co-Existence Mode



Doi (1985) notes that in Japanese culture there are two sides to virtually all social phenomena. He uses the following distinctions: *omote* (meaning “face”) and *ura* (“mind, heart, and soul”), *soto* (“outside”) and *uchi* (“inside”), and *tatemaie* (“principles, rules and conventions”) and *honne* (“true intentions, or the inner self”). These terms are related to one another: “*omote* and *ura* are parallel to the paired concepts of *tatemaie* and *honne*, and...they represent a psychology corresponding to the distinction between *soto* and *uchi*” (Doi, 1985, p. 17). Within the psycho-

logical space these contrasting elements coexist as two contiguous principles (Doi, 1985). The relationship between *tatemae* and *honne* can be conceived as the two sides of a coin lying on a table. The public self (*tatemae*) is the visible side of the coin. The private self (*honne*) is the hidden side of the coin. In the Japanese context, the hidden side needs to be inferred or figured out in order to understand the true nature of the coin.

In public situations, social norms and roles dictate behaviors of individuals. Collective actions need to be orchestrated cooperatively and harmoniously. If an individual's aspirations are not compatible with social demands, he or she is likely to be asked to sacrifice his or her personal interests for group harmony. This does not imply that individuals necessarily agree with the existing social norms. The cultural expectation is that if there are conflicts, individuals must suppress them and locate them within the private domain and not display them in public. For this reason East Asian cultures emphasize the maintenance of one's "face" (*mientze* in Chinese, *ch'emyon* in Korean, *taimien* in Japanese) in public situations. Individuals have a particular status and a role, and they must fulfill them in a socially prescribed manner. Ho (1976) points out that one's "face is lost when the individual, either through his action or that of people closely related to him, fails to meet essential requirements placed upon him by virtue of the social position he occupies" (p. 867). Regardless of an individual's desires, one's "face" has to be maintained to preserve social harmony. Ch'eng (1986) notes that:

trust, mutual dependence, harmony, forming good feelings, and good human relationships all become ingredients in a generalized notion of human relationship which is connoted by the concept of *face*. *Face* is both the goal and means for strengthening and expressing the harmonization of human relationships among men in society. (p. 340).

Facets of Collectivism: Comparative Analysis

Researchers (e.g. Smith, 1985; Markus & Kitayama, 1991) have often failed to distinguish the undifferentiated mode from the co-existence mode. They have suggested that in Japan inner opinions, feelings, and attributes are insignificant constituents of self. Markus and Kitayama (1991) remarked that "it is the individuals' roles, statuses, or positions, and commitments, obligations, and responsibilities they confer, that are the constituents of the self, and in that sense they are self-defined" and that "one's internal attributes (e.g. private attitudes or opinions) are not

regarded as significant attributes of the self” (p. 240). To use the previous analogy, internal attributes represent the hidden side of a coin (i.e. private self) and social demands represent the visible side of the coin (i.e. public self). Doi (1985) points out that “*honne* refers to the fact that individuals who belong to the group, even while they consent to the *tatemaie*, each have their own motives and opinions that are distinct from it, and they hold these in its background” (p. 37). To obtain a complete picture of a situation, the relationship between what is visible and what is hidden must be considered.

Unlike individualists who have one self, in some collectivist cultures individuals may have two or more selves. Azuma (1986) articulates the need to separate the two different realities in Japan that correspond to two different aspects of self. Relational mode is maintained in close relationships: “in interpersonal relationships defined by *amae*, a person may forget about *tatemaie* and live with *honne*” (p. 8). In public situations, an individual must be able to “discriminate *uchi* (“inside”), where *amae* will be accepted and rewarded, and *soto* (“outside”) where *amae* will not be so readily tolerated” (p. 8). In the relational mode guilt plays an important role in controlling a person’s behavior. In the co-existence mode shame plays a central role. When we study Japanese culture, we usually tap the *tatemaie* self and rarely the *honne* self.

Both the undifferentiated mode and co-existence mode accentuate “sameness,” while the relational mode emphasizes “oneness.” The undifferentiated and co-existence mode prescribe behavior via existing norms and expectations that demands role fulfillment at the expense of individuals’ desires, opinions, and ideas. Relational mode, on the other hand, does not necessarily mean sacrificing one’s wishes and goals for the ingroup. It implies that working together collectively, harmoniously, is a way of expressing and enhancing oneself. In East Asia, for example, children are taught to *align* the goals of self-fulfillment with the goals of social integration so that both can be met simultaneously (Kim & Choi, 1994; White & LeVine, 1986).

PART TWO

The purpose of the first part of this paper was to set a stage for conceptual and methodological progress. It provided a descriptive overview of historical developments, social change and theoretical positions and sought to clarify existing confusion by addressing some key issues (i.e. theoretical positions, level of analysis, dimensionality). It articulated alternative schemas that focus on the individual and the group level and provided concrete models that may allow for direct operationalization and cross-cultural testing.

The second part of this paper will focus on the implication of IC on social and applied issues. First, the inter-relationships across the various levels of analysis are examined by contrasting two moral-political philosophies: liberalism and Confucianism. Second, this paper examines how socialization practices maintain, propagate, and reify either individualism or collectivism. Third, the areas of parent-child relationship, the conception of self, and social interaction are reviewed. Fourth, manifestations of IC are examined in the areas of education, organizations, and health. Finally, this paper examines effects of social change and acculturation on IC.

The schematic representation of the three facets of IC are conceptual models derived from the literature review. The goal of such representation is to organize, articulate, and delineate critical features of IC. These descriptions, however, are abstract; they need to be contextualized in a particular cultural context. The following section provides examples of the moral and philosophical foundation of IC by examining two representative prototypes: liberalism and Confucianism. The current review focuses largely on the comparison between the United States and Confucian cultures (i.e. China, Japan, and Korea) due to the availability of literature and the author's familiarity with these cultures. Other moral and philosophical traditions (e.g. Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Islam, communism, and fundamentalism) need to be similarly reviewed to further the comparative analysis.

Moral and Ethical Foundations

Liberalism

Liberalism is a moral and political philosophy that evolved in Western Europe and North America. It represents a sharp break from the ascribed, communal, and medieval social order. It rejects arbitrary authorities and pre-defined conceptions that attempt to affirm, propagate, and reify “traditional” social order (Feinberg, 1973). It advocates a conception of a person that is universal and detached from any persons, situations, or roles (Gewirth, 1982; Scanlon, 1978). Individuals are considered to be autonomous, rational, goal-directed (Gewirth, 1982; Sandel, 1982), and free to choose and control their determinate ends or purposes (Mill, 1975; Taylor, 1985). The content of what is considered good, desirable, or worthwhile is left to the discretion of the individual (Taylor, 1985). The role of the state is to protect human rights that are considered to be basic and shared (Dworkin, 1977; Gewirth, 1982). All individuals, as human beings, hold rights equally, regardless of their ascribed or achieved status.

The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) represents liberal concept of human rights. It affirms equal human worth and advocates that all individuals have an equal right to life, liberty, and security: “all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights” (Article 1). The Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the United States guarantee and protect inalienable rights for all citizens (such as freedom of speech, being considered innocent until proven guilty, the right to bear arms, and democratic representation). These rights are called inalienable because they cannot be usurped or exploited by second parties (such as powerful adversaries or malevolent authorities). They guard against the “totalitarian menace” (Taylor, 1985) which could oppress, harass, and torture individuals on the behalf of national interests (Berlin, 1967). These rights protect individuals’ autonomy and freedom to pursue their own goals (i.e. the principle of non-interference) as long as they do not interfere with the rights of others (Scanlon, 1978).

Laws and regulations are institutionalized to guarantee and protect individual rights. They impose stringent obligations to second parties so they will not intervene in a harmful way. They protect the welfare of the disadvantaged, the defenseless, and the powerless (e.g. minorities, children, and people with disabilities). Lee (1991) points out that “rights characteristically function to protect a sphere of autonomy and fundamental interests of individuals by providing a normative category that is

typically mandatory, definite, and binding” (p. 16). These institutionalized rights are seen as the cornerstone of American individualism:

Individual rights are political *trumps* held by individuals. Individuals have rights when, for some reason, a collective goal is not a sufficient justification for denying them what they wish, as individuals, to have or to do, or not a sufficient justification for imposing some loss or injury upon them. (Dworkin, 1977).

Although the language of rights is abstract, rights are socially defined and validated. They entail duties of each individual to respect the rights of others. They are exercised when one party makes a claim against another. When one person infringes upon the rights of another (such as unjustly causing harm to another person), the victim can demand reparation. If one party fails to fulfill a contract (that was mutually agreed upon by both parties), then the latter could sue for damages. Assertion or denial of rights is essentially adversarial. In order for a claim to be upheld, it is usually adjudicated by a non-partisan third party (e.g. a judge) and fully validated by a legal rule or by moral principles (e.g. through a legal system that upholds procedural justice).

A right consists of four central elements: claim, liberty, power, and immunity (Hohfeld, 1964). For example, a creditor’s right to repayment consists of the following:

a *claim to repayment against* the debtor...a *liberty* (to call or not to call for repayment after due date at the creditor’s discretion), a *power* (to extinguish the debt or, in the event of non-payment, to seek redress), and an *immunity* (to be protected from arbitrary or wilful breach of the repayment). (Lee, 1991, p. 30)

An individual’s rights could be limited if perceived as undermining the viability of public institutions or collective welfare. In *The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948) an individual’s rights are upheld as long as those rights do not “infringe on rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society” (Article 29/1). Similarly, the European Convention of Human Rights (1987) curtails individual rights for the following reason: “interests of national security, public safety or the economic well-being of the country, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others” (Article 8/2).

At the societal level, a liberal conception of rights focuses on negative rights such as non-interference and lacks a clear articulation of substantive goals such as the common good, collective welfare, and social harmony (Gewirth, 1982). This is because, according to liberalism, individuals and not a collective body should decide their own determinate ends. For this reason, rights are stated in negative terms, or as an “opportunity concept” such as (e.g. pursuit of any determinate ends, Taylor, 1985). Sandel (1984) proposes that an ideal society consists of a mere aggregate of rational, self-interested, and mutually disinterested choosers. Kant (1959) conceived of an ideal society to consist of “free and rational sovereigns in the kingdom of ends” (p. 53). Substantive goals represent a weak version of rights called the “manifesto sense of rights” (Feinberg, 1973). Rights in the manifesto sense (such a right to education, health, well-being, and pursuit of happiness) involve no corresponding duties of others, and thus they are not “mandatory, definite, and binding” (Lee, 1991). Substantive goals are handled by concerned citizens, interest groups, or governmental agencies.

Confucianism

If liberalism represents a radical break from the “traditional” medieval order, Confucianism represents an idealization of “traditional” social order. Confucius (551-479 B.C.), saw the universe and all living things in it as a manifestation of a unifying force called the *Tao* (translated as the “Truth, Unity, or the Way”). It constitutes the very essence, basis, and unit of life that perpetuates order, goodness, and righteousness (Lew, 1977). Confucius, born in an agrarian society, expounded his moral and political philosophy to maintain, propagate, and reify this “natural” order.

Tao manifests itself in harmonious opposition of *yin* and *yang*, and in humans through *te* (“virtue, goodness, moral excellence”). *Te* is a gift received from Heaven (Lew, 1977). It is through *te* that a person is able to know the Heavenly Truth and it is the “locus where Heaven and I meet” (Lew, 1977, p. 154). Through self-cultivation *te* can be realized. *Te* provides the fundamental source of insight and strength to rule peacefully and harmoniously within oneself, one’s family, one’s nation, and the world.

There are two inter-related aspects of virtue: *jen* (“human-heartedness”) and *yi* (“oughtness” or “righteousness”). *Jen* is essentially interpersonal and others-oriented. Confucius pointed out three related aspect of *jen*. First, it “consists in loving others” (Analects, XII, 22). Second,

“the man of *jen* is one who, desiring to sustain himself, sustains others, and desiring to develop himself, develops others” (Analects, VI, 28). Third, one should not do to others “what you do not wish yourself” (Analects XII, 2). Mencius notes that without *jen*, a person cannot be considered a human being: “When you see a child drowning in a well, if you do not feel compassion, you are not a human” (Mencius, II/A/6). *Jen* is an essential component of the relational mode in Confucian cultures.

Yi articulates that individuals must perform and fulfill their duties as defined by their particular status and role. Confucius considered society to be hierarchically ordered necessitating that each person must fulfill his or her duties as a moral imperative: “let the ruler be ruler, the minister, the father, and the son” (Analects, XII, 11). *Yi* is the primary basis for behind the co-existence mode in Confucian cultures. *Jen* and *yi* are considered two sides of the same coin. For example, a father of virtue fulfills his duties because he loves his son, and he loves his son because he is the father.

Confucius considered society to be hierarchically ordered and each person had *fen* (“portion” or “place”) in life. Each *fen* had attached roles and each person must fulfill his or her roles. Duties and obligations of each *fen* is prescribed by *li* (rules of propriety). *Li* articulates expectations and duties of each individual according to their status and role. Social order and harmony are preserved when each person observes his or her place in society and fulfills the required obligations and duties.

Munro (1985) points out that a person is seen as occupying a particular set of social roles in a hierarchical social order and this order is viewed as a part of cosmic order. *Fen* articulates the belief that “each thing in nature and cosmos has a fixed place, akin to the fixed social places of father, wife, older son, younger son, and so forth in the family” (Munro, 1985, p. 18). Ch’eng I who notes that “each of all things and affairs has its place [*so*]” and “when it obtains its place there is tranquility; when it loses it there is disorder” (cited in Munro, 1985, p. 267).

Confucius distinguished two competing forces within oneself: the first-order desires (e.g. material and carnal desires) and the second-order desires (i.e. virtues of *yi* and *jen*). To be a virtuous person (a superior person), one must overcome first-order desires and cultivate second-order desires. An inferior person is governed by egocentrism, selfishness, narcissism, and *li* (“profit”). Confucius pointed out that a superior person cultivates the virtues of *yi* and *jen*: “the superior man comprehends *yi*; and the small man comprehends *li*” (Analects, IV, 16). True freedom is obtained by overcoming first-order desires and the lower self through

self-cultivation. Self-cultivation from within, coupled with care and nourishment received without, are considered the necessary and sufficient conditions for development of a truly moral, virtuous, and free person. A virtuous person promotes collective good and social harmony spontaneously and naturally.

Confucius considered all individuals to be linked to others in a web of inter-relatedness. The fundamental principle for governing relationships among individuals, family, society, the world, and beyond is best articulated in his writing entitled “Righteousness in the Heart” (in a chapter called the *Great Learning*, in *The Book of Rites*). He states that:

If there be righteousness in the heart,
there will be beauty in character,
If there be beauty in character,
there will be harmony in the home.
If there be harmony in the home,
there will be order in the nation.
If there be order in the nation,
there will be peace in the world.

Confucius articulated the Five Cardinal Relations as being fundamental relationships. Three are based on the family (i.e. between father and son, elder and younger, husband and wife), one involves the state (i.e. between kings and subjects), and one involves equal status confidants (i.e. between friends). The first four relationships are hierarchical and emphasize the undifferentiated mode. The last relationship is based on solidarity and emphasizes the relational mode. Within each relationship individuals are bound by their appropriate tenor: *ch'in* (affection) between parent and child, *yi* (righteousness) between ruler and subject, *pieh* (distinction) between husband and wife, *hsu* (order) between old and young, and *hsin* (sincerity) between friends (King, 1985). Hu Shih (1919) asserts that in Confucianism humans are seen as social beings: “in the Confucians’ human-centered philosophy, man cannot exist alone; all actions must be in a form of interaction between man and man” (cited in King, 1985, p. 57).

Through *jen* and *yi*, individual family members are linked together in Unity (*Tao*). The primary relationship is the parent-child relationship defined by *hsiao-tao* (“filial piety”). Parents are conceived as vehicles through which the *Tao* is transmitted to, and manifested in, their children. Relationships between parents and children (and also between spouses and siblings) are not based on equality, but on *yi* and *jen*. Parents demand

love, reverence, obedience, and respect from children. Children expect love, wisdom, and benevolence from parents. The parent-child relationship involves more than two individuals. Parents represent one's ancestors and children represent one's progeny.

The Confucian morality puts priority on substantive goals over individual self-interests. Each individual has roles and a position in a family. The behavior of each role and position is formalized in the Confucian code of behavior. Within a family, the father is considered the symbolic head. As such, he holds the authority to represent the family, to speak and act on behalf of the family but not against the family. For example, property was the communal possession of a family. Although the father had the right to dispose of the property, the other family members also have rights to the property. In the selling or leasing of family property, Noboru (1962) found that in traditional China, family members other than the father or the eldest son (such as others sons, daughters and even grandsons) also signed sales and lease contracts (cited in Lee, 1991). The arbitrary decision of the father was generally considered uncustomary or an illegitimate act (Lee, 1991).

A father had the authority, duty, and responsibility of handling family property on behalf of the family and not for himself. Thus, wisdom and benevolence are necessary to ensure that his decisions are not myopic or self-serving. He must consider the long-term implications of his decision on individual family members, the family's reputation, the family's position, ancestors, and progeny. The role of other family members is to obey and respect his decisions. Rights and obligations in Confucianism are thus role-attached, unequal, welfaristic, paternalistic, and situational.

In Confucianism, the family is considered the prototype for all relationships (King & Bond, 1985; Lee, 1991; S. W. Lee, 1990). Society is seen as an extension of the family (Doctrine of the Mean, I, 1). Like a father, an ideal ruler is a person who utilizes his authority for the welfare and common good of the people and not for his self-interests. A ruler, like a father, must be governed by virtues of both *yi* and *jen*. If a ruler was considered totalitarian or tyrannical, he lost the moral basis to rule and people were justified in revolting against him (Lo, 1949).

Confucian political philosophy affirms paternalism and legal moralism. Two types of paternalism have been identified: *authoritarian paternalism* and *benevolent paternalism* (U. M. Kim, 1994). Authoritarian paternalism is defined by *yi*, but lacks *jen*. In other words, authoritarian paternalism exists when the goal of a state is to protect existing social

structure, a way of life, morality, or patriarchal authority and neglecting the welfare of its people. Benevolent paternalism, in contrast, exists when individual needs are provided by the state (i.e. it has both *yi* and *jen*). Benevolent paternalism can be further divided into two subtypes: *non-blamable* and *blamable paternalism* (Feinberg, 1973). Non-blamable paternalism exists when helpless individuals are protected and assisted by the state without usurping their autonomy and freedom (Feinberg, 1983). Blamable paternalism exists when the state deprives individuals of their autonomy and freedom by imposing assistance even when it is not needed or wanted (Feinberg, 1973).¹

Legal moralism prohibits, through laws and norms, behaviors that violate conventional etiquette, lifestyles, and morality in order to preserve these values (Feinberg, 1988). Confucian moralism sternly restricts individual freedom of choice even in non-moral domains. Within the traditional Confucian laws, governmental authorities are assigned to investigate incidence of non-compliance and punish individuals who violates the code of behavior.

Comparisons of Liberalism and Confucianism

Liberalism extols the virtues of individualism and Confucianism glorifies collectivism. Table 1 opposite and Figure 7 provide a summary of differences between the two moral-political philosophies. The liberal tradition focuses on a rational individual's rights to freely choose, define, and search for self-fulfillment; the content of self-fulfillment can range from hedonism to self-actualization. At the interpersonal level individuals are considered to be discrete, autonomous, and self-sufficient, and respectful of the rights of others.

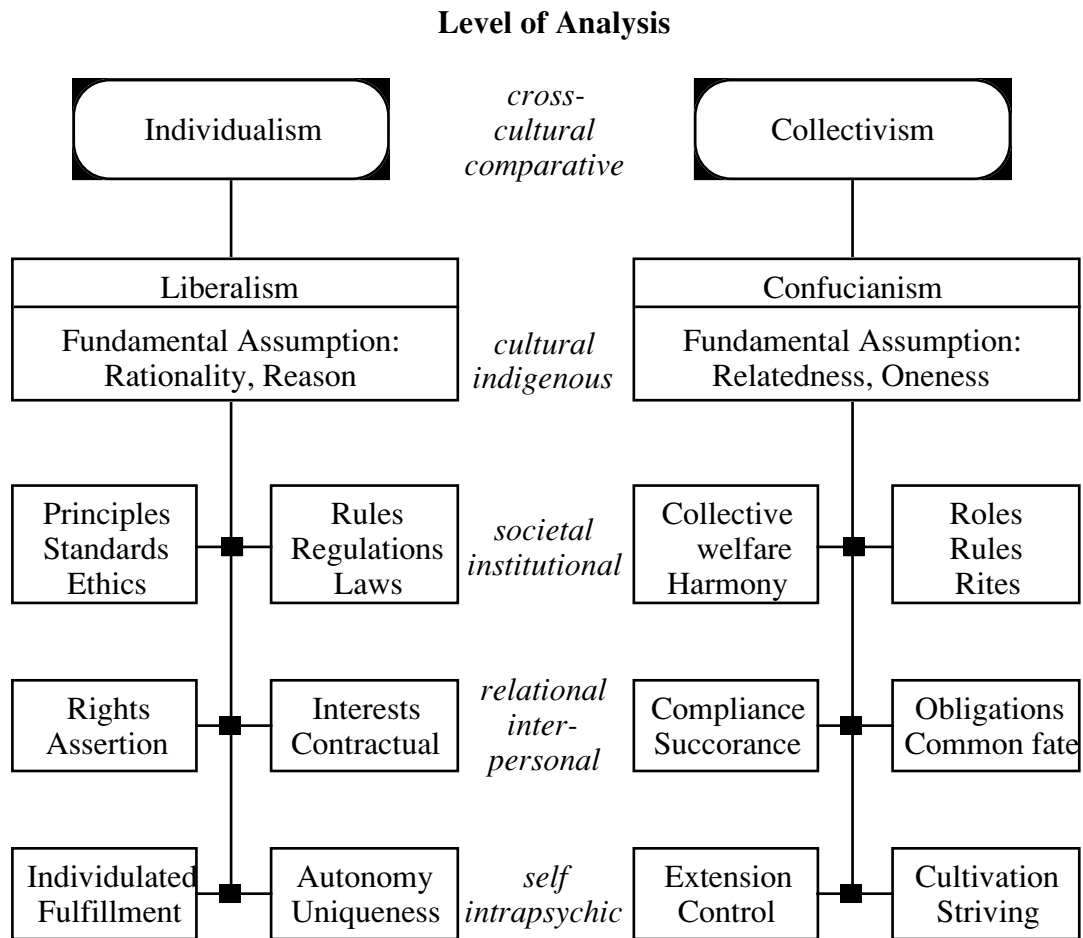
From a societal point of view, individuals are considered as abstract and universal entities. Their status and roles are not predetermined but defined by their achievements (i.e. educational, occupational, and economic status). They interact with others utilizing mutually agreed upon principles such as equality, equity, non-interference, and detachability (i.e. the aggregate mode). Individuals with similar goals are brought together into a group (i.e. the distributive mode). Laws and regulations are institutionalized to protect individual rights with everyone able to assert his or her rights through the legal system (i.e., the static mode). The state is governed by elected officials whose role is to uphold individual

1. Both non-blamable and blamable paternalism are acceptable to Confucianism. In liberalism, only the non-blamable paternalism is acceptable (Feinberg, 1973).

rights and the viability of public institutions. Individual rights are of prime importance and substantive rights are considered a supererogatory.

Table 1: Liberalism and Confucianism – Comparative Analysis

Level of Analysis	Liberalism	Confucianism
Individual Level		
Goals		
– Individual	self-fulfillment	self-realization
– Social	uphold rights	substantive goals
– Means	freedom of choice	self-cultivation
– Barriers	external constraints	internal constraints
Nature of Self		
– Internal	rational	lower vs higher self
– Boundary	discrete	fluid
– Entity	autonomous self-sufficient goal-directed universalistic	embedded interdependent situated particularistic
Interpersonal Level		
Individuals	abstract	relational
Orientation	respect	concern
Basis	commonality	common fate
Status and Role	achieved universalistic	ascribed particularistic
Societal Level		
Norms and Principles	equality, equity non-interference detachability	role fulfillment maintenance of “face” social obligations
Morality	right-based	virtue-based
Conflict Resolution	adversarial arbitration	conciliatory compromise
Justice	egalitarianism procedural	role-based substantive
Order	laws and regulations	roles and duties
Institutions	protection of individual rights	familism legal moralism
State	by people rational principle democratic representation	for people welfaristic paternalism

Figure 7: Individualism and Collectivism by Level of Analysis

In contrast, Confucianism promotes substantive rights as its ultimate goal. Individuals must cultivate themselves to be rid of individualistic and hedonistic desires in order to become a person of *jen* and *yi*. Individuals are conceived to be embedded and situated in a particular role and status. They are bound by ascribed relationships that emphasize common fate. Individuals are encouraged to put other people's and the group's interest before their own.

From a societal point of view, individuals are considered to be inter-related through their ascribed roles. Duties and obligations are prescribed by their roles and they lose "face" if they fail to fulfill them as prescribed. Concession and compromise are essential ingredients in promoting role-based and virtue-based conception of justice. Social order is maintained when everyone fulfills their roles and duties. Institutions are seen as an extension of the family and paternalism and legal moralism reign supreme. A ruler is considered to be a father figure who is paternalistic, moralistic, and welfaristic.

There are several limitations of the present comparison. First, liberalism represents one version of individualism; it should not be equated with individualism. Similarly, Confucianism represents one version of collectivism; it should not be equated with collectivism. These philosophical traditions are described as an example of either individualism or collectivism. There are other examples of individualism (e.g. hedonism, feminism, and humanist traditions in psychology) and collectivism (e.g. Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and fundamentalism).

Second, the purpose of the description is to show a consistent pattern of relationship across different levels. Each philosophical tradition represents a particular constellation of values, beliefs, and behavior that arose in a particular cultural context and has meaning in that context. Table 1 should be read vertically (i.e. across different levels of analysis) and not horizontally (i.e. dichotomous comparisons). The pattern of relationships across the different levels is the focus of comparison and not the dichotomous comparisons.

Third, within a particular culture, liberalism or Confucianism represent ideals that exist in competition with other moral-political philosophies. In the United States, competing philosophies such as conservatism and fundamentalism aim to challenge, discredit, and dislodge liberalism. In China, Buddhism and Taoism have traditionally competed with Confucianism as competing moral-political philosophies. In modern East Asia (i.e. China, Japan, and Korea) liberal ideals have penetrated these societies to compete with Confucian philosophy. Each moral-political philosophy, nevertheless, has profound influence in its respective culture and is propagated through the socialization of children.

Socialization and the Family

The process by which beliefs, values, norms, and skills are passed on to subsequent generations is known as cultural transmission (Segall, Dasen, Berry, & Poortinga, 1990). There are two types of cultural transmission: enculturation and socialization. Enculturation is learning without specific teaching. By an osmosis-like process children acquire values and norms of a particular culture (Segall et al., 1990). Socialization is an explicit transmission of appropriate values through deliberate attempts to shape, coax, and mold children's behavior (Segall et al., 1990). The goal of socialization² is to create a common viewpoint and lifestyle so that when

2. For the sake of convenience, both enculturation and socialization will be collectively referred to as socialization.

children become adults these socialized aspects become supremely “natural” (Wirth, 1946).

Kağıtçıbaşı (1990) describes three types of family structure with their corresponding socialization practices: Pattern X, Pattern Y, and Pattern Z. Pattern Z is typically found in “modern,” urban, industrialized, and Western societies. Family structure is nuclear, with greater equality between men and women; and socialization practices foster autonomy, self-reliance, individuation, and separation. Pattern X is typically found in “traditional,” agrarian communities. The family structure is hierarchical, paternalistic, and extended; and socialization practices emphasize interpersonal and intergenerational dependence. Although Pattern Y represents developing societies that are becoming “modern,” urban, and industrialized, the socialization practices allow for some degree of individual autonomy, but emphasizes emotional interdependence and ingroup loyalties.

Pattern Z is propagated in individualistic societies that foster liberal ideals. Maternal involvement is short-term with emphasis on responsibilities and physical care (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1990). From an early age children are encouraged to be autonomous and to exercise their own judgement. A mother typically maintains her distance with the child and uses that distance to apply external authority. When children mature, they are expected to leave the family to become independent and self-sufficient members of society. This pattern is well-understood and extensively documented (e.g. Kağıtçıbaşı, 1990), and will therefore not be further elaborated.

Pattern X is propagated in “traditional,” agrarian, collectivistic societies. In “traditional” Confucian societies socialization practices emphasized interdependence. These Confucian cultures have experienced a considerable degree of social change (i.e. they have become urban, industrialized, and “modern”). The socialization practices, however, still emphasize substantive goals (Azuma, 1986; Ho, 1986; Kim & Choi, in press).

Kağıtçıbaşı (1990) found that the model of family change is from Pattern X to Pattern Y rather than to Pattern Z. Mishra (1994) has found moderately degrees of both IC to co-exist in two generations of Hindu Indians. Although young, educated respondents living in urban settings favored individualistic values, they also emphasized the importance of collectivistic values. It is interesting to note that the older generation living in rural areas had higher levels of individualism than younger respondents; while younger respondents had the higher level of individu-

alism than older respondents in urban settings. Mishra (1994) notes that the co-existence of individualistic and collectivistic elements are stable and generalized dispositions of Indians and of Indian culture.

Parent-Child Relationship

Rohner and Pettengill (1985) point out that the parent-child relationship is defined by individualism in the United States and by collectivism in Korea. For this reason, American adolescents viewed parental strictness as a manifestation of parental rejection (i.e. low warmth, and high hostility, aggression, and distrust). This view is consistent with the position that American culture encourages independence and self-reliance. For adolescents “parental strictness infringes upon the youths’ sense of their right to be autonomous and self-directing” (Rohner & Pettengill, 1985, p. 527). Strictness, exerted when adolescents behave in an inappropriate or disruptive manner, is antithetical to a warm and harmonious parent-child relationship.

Korean adolescents, in contrast, perceived parental strictness as an indication of parental acceptance (i.e. high warmth and low neglect). In Korea, parental strictness is not viewed as an authoritarian control, but as a benevolent involvement that is necessary for the academic, economic, and social success of adolescents. This pattern of results has been replicated by a subsequent study conducted by Kim and Choi (1994). Similar patterns have been found in research conducted in China and Japan (Feldman & Rosenthal, 1991; Lau et al., 1991; Trommsdorff, 1985).

Within Confucian cultures, mothers and fathers have different roles. The father is the symbolic head of the family and he fosters the co-existence mode. The mother is the major caretaker of the family and she fosters the relational mode. These distinctions are discussed in the following section.

Mother-Child Relationship: The Relational Mode

In traditional Korea, socialization for interdependence starts at the prenatal stage and continues throughout one’s life. (See Kim & Choi, 1994). *T’aekyo* (“prenatal care”) contains rigorous guidelines for pregnant women outlining desirable and undesirable attitudes, emotions, and behaviors during pregnancy (Yu, 1984). These prescriptive guidelines are based upon a belief that a mother’s experience during her pregnancy will directly affect the baby inside her womb and leave lasting impressions on

the child. The goal of *t'aekyo* is to heighten a sense of awareness of the unique psychological and biological bonds between the mother and the unborn child.

When a child was born in traditional Korea, many mothers believed that children needed more than just their milk. They needed symbolic “dew” coming down from a mother. She needed to remain close to the child in order to indulge the child with this essential psychological nutrient. The belief was that the maternal “dew” propagates the existence of an unseen but powerful bond between a mother and her child. Both *t'aekyo* and maternal dew created a strong psychological and emotional bond called *chong* (“affection”).

In an open-ended survey Choi, Kim and Choi (1993) found that the word *chong* elicited the following associations: sacrifice, unconditionality, empathy, care, sincerity, shared experience, and common fate. *Chong* arises from a closely-knit family and friends who spend a long time together and are bound by a common fate. *Chong* does not develop in a contractual, commercial, and rational relationship. Someone without *chong* is described as being conditional, selfish, hypocritical, apathetic, rational, self-reliant, independent, and autonomous. *Chong* is an essential component of the relational mode in Korea.

Although the influence of Confucianism has declined with modernization, researchers (e.g. Azuma, 1986; Ho, 1986; Kim & Choi, 1994) agree that two important features of the relational mode still persist: devotion and indulgence. Mothers in modern Confucian cultures view unselfish devotion to their children as a critical feature of their personhood and motherhood (Azuma, 1986; Ho, 1986; Kim, 1981; Lee & Kim, 1979). Choi (1990) found that Korean mothers' personal identities are often defined by their role as mothers. They become closely and intrinsically tied to their children and see their children as extensions of themselves. Children's accomplishments and failures become their own, and children vicariously fulfill their own dreams and goals. Attaining this vicarious gratification is one of the most important aspects of motherhood, and it is the most valued meaning that Korean mothers have in raising their children.

In modern Confucian cultures, parents are not discipline-oriented in enforcing weaning, bedtime, and toilet training. They are lenient and indulgent in order for a mother to foster the relational mode:

The reason for leniency toward the younger child is that he or she is considered to be not yet capable of “understanding things,” and therefore should not be held responsible for his or her wrongdoing... It is

thought that training cannot be expected to accomplish much for infants or young children; they are viewed as passive dependent creatures who are to be cared for, and whose needs are to be met with little delay or interference. (Ho, 1986, p. 4)

According to Azuma (1986), when a child is born, a Japanese mother remains close to the child to make the child feel secure, to make the boundary between herself and the child minimal, and to meet all of the child's needs; even if that means a tremendous sacrifice on her own part. This type of socialization creates the bond of *amae* ("interdependence"). Children's strong dependency needs, both emotional and existential, are satisfied by their mother's indulgent devotion. As children mature, they sense that it is through the mother that they obtain gratification, security, and love. As such, children become motivated to maintain a close relationship and they do so by gradually taking a more active role by pleasing their mothers and behaving according to their mothers' wishes. Thus, the feeling of interdependence helps children to assimilate their mothers' values and beliefs as their own. Socialization for interdependence have also been documented in Chinese culture (Ho, 1986; Yu & Yang, 1993), Indian culture (Kakar, 1978), and Turkish culture (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1990).

Father-child relationship: The Co-Existence Mode

Devotion is an important element in both the mother-child and the father-child relationship. In a mother-child relationship, it is complemented with indulgence: A mother shows her devotion to her child through indulgence (i.e. it flows downward, from the mother to the child). In a father-child relationship, it is complemented with strictness: Children display their devotion to their father through obedience, respect, and compliance (i.e. it flows upward, from a child to a father). The devotion shown by a mother to her children serves as the foundation and a model for children's devotion to their father.

The respective role of a father and a mother is best summarized in a popular Chinese and Korean phrase, "strict father, benevolent mother." Consistent with the role differentiation, fathers in Chinese culture were perceived by their children as an autocratic, fearful authority figure and a harsh disciplinarian (Ho, 1986). Mothers, in contrast, were generally better liked and viewed as more forgiving (Ho, 1986).

Although the father is the head of the family, in reality he does not hold much power. He transfers his *amae* relationship from his own

mother to his wife (Befu, 1986). He becomes dependent on his wife and is considered “more burdensome and harder to control than other children” (Azuma, 1986, p. 8). In addition, Japanese fathers spend most of their time in the work place and socializing with their colleagues after work (Befu, 1986; Vogel, 1963). A father incurs expenses to meet his social obligations outside of the family. Mothers, in contrast, spend most of their time with their children. A mother is responsible for looking after the children and the household, and she frequently sacrifices her own personal interests to benefit the family. For these reasons, unlike mothers, fathers have difficulty developing *amae* relationships with their children and occupy a peripheral position in the family. As a result, conflicts of interest often develop in the allocation of resources and mothers often develop an alliance with their children against their fathers (Befu, 1986). Azuma (1986) notes that:

in many families the position of the father is peripheral. The formal head of the family, he is accorded respect. However, this respect is symbolic; in reality he does not exert much control. (p. 8)

Although a father is only the symbolic head of a family, he represents a link to the outer world. Through the father, children are linked across time (i.e. through his lineage) and across space (i.e. through his position in a community). It is his responsibility to maintain, propagate, and elevate the position of the family. When making a decision, he must use wisdom and foresight as essential ingredients since his decision affects the family members, lineage, and progeny. Children are considered incapable of understanding such a complex process, and thus they are required to obey, respect, and abide by fathers’ decision. From the children’s perspective, it often means sacrificing their personal interests for the benefit of the family. Thus, fathers represent the outer world which is govern by the co-existence mode and *tatamae* (“principles, conventions”) and mothers represent the inner world governed by relational mode, *amae* and *honne* (“true self”).

Conception of Self

Socialization practices that promote individualism help to foster a conception of self that is discrete, autonomous, and abstract. In contrast, socialization practices that inculcate collectivism promote a conception of self that is embedded, ensembled, and situated. Markus and Kitayama

(1991) describe individuals with the independent view of self as being “egocentric, separate, autonomous, idiocentric, and self-contained” (p. 226). Markus and Kitayama (1991) have reviewed empirical studies and found that the independent view of self emphasizes the following four themes: 1) internal attributes, 2) discrete boundary demarking self and others, 3) self-fulfillment and freedom of choice, and 4) decontextualized and abstracted conception of self. Interdependent individuals, in contrast, are considered to be “sociocentric, holistic, collective, allocentric, ensembled, constitutive, contextualist, and relational” (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, p. 227). These individuals foster a frame of reference that emphasizes: 1) context and situation, 2) positional status and role, 3) internal constraints, 4) others-focused orientation, and 5) social harmony and collective welfare (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Maday and Szalay (1976) empirically verified the importance of the interdependent view of self in Korea and the independent view of self in the United States. They conducted a free association study to examine psychological connotations of “me” with a sample of Korean and American adults. The four most frequent themes that emerged for the Korean sample were: 1) family, love, 2) ideals, happiness, freedom, 3) hope, ambition, success, and 4) money, material goods. The four most frequent themes for American respondents were: 1) I, person, individual, 2) other people, 3) tired, lonely, physical appearance, and 4) good, friendly, sociable.

Maday and Szalay (1976) note that Koreans and Americans need to relate to and prove their worth to a different set of significant others. Americans need to prove their worth to strangers and thus, appearance, friendliness, and sociable behavior are emphasized. For Koreans, the family occupies the central place and individual members are encouraged to contribute to a family’s happiness and material success. These results and interpretations are consistent with other empirical studies (Bellah et al., 1985; Shweder & Bourne, 1984; Triandis et al. 1990).

Interpersonal Interaction

In individualistic societies, individuals are conceived to be autonomous and self-sufficient and are motivated by self-fulfillment. They must, nevertheless, learn to respect the rights of others and interact with others on the basis of mutually agreed upon principles, norms, and values. Two principles that are important in guiding interpersonal interaction are: equality and equity. Equality assumes that everyone has equal rights and

each should be treated with equal dignity and respect and given equal opportunity and access to desired outcomes. The equity principle suggests that rewards should be proportional to an individual's contribution.

Individuals in collectivist societies are encouraged to harness self-interests and personal goals to promote social harmony and collective good. For this reason, adults prohibit aggressive behavior of children (Ho, 1986). Quarrels and fighting among children are not tolerated because they endanger good relations between family members, relatives, and neighbors (Ho, 1986). Individualistic and collectivistic orientations affect many areas of social interaction (i.e. moral judgement, ingroup and outgroup distinction, distributive justice, social rules, conformity, and conflict resolution) and they will be briefly reviewed in the following section.

Moral Judgement

Miller and colleagues (Miller & Bersoff, in press; Miller, Bersoff, Harwood, 1990; Miller & Luthar, 1989) provide consistent empirical support that moral judgement is affected by cultural and philosophical assumptions. Miller et al. (1990) point out that most theories of moral development in the United States affirm the liberal view. From this perspective, justice obligations are conceived as negative rights (i.e. not violating the rights of others) and as objective rights (i.e. preservation of justice and individual rights that are legally validated and that are not socially or personally defined). Since substantive rights cannot be linked to objective obligations or individual rights, they are considered supererogatory and secondary to justice obligations.

The authors note that in the Indian culture, Hinduism propagates virtue-based morality and justice. Miller and Bersoff (in press) point out that social responsiveness and responsibilities are regarded in full moral terms in India (i.e. they are considered objective obligations and are legitimately regulated). In non-life threatening situations, Indians appraised breaches of social responsibilities as moral issues rather than as matters of personal choice or of personal-moral issues. Second, prosocial behaviors that involve minor needs of others were also considered in full moral terms. Third, in situations that involve a conflict between an interpersonal obligation and a justice obligation, Indians gave moral priority to the interpersonal obligation over justice obligation. Americans, in contrast, gave priority to the justice obligation. Americans classified breaches of friendship and kinship expectations and minor needs of other as matters of personal choice or as personal-moral choice.

These results are consistent with findings by Hamilton and Sanders (1983). They found that American subjects use rational rules to assign responsibility for negative outcomes. Japanese subjects, on the other hand, emphasize failures to fulfill role obligations as the primary cause of social wrongdoing. These individuals are encouraged to be reintegrated back into the group to augment their sense of social obligations. These series of empirical studies challenge the universal content of moral codes. Miller and Bersoff (in press) conclude that “the *personal* morality of interpersonal responsiveness and caring is not a universal, but may be a phenomenon specific to highly rights-oriented cultures such as the United States” (p. 36).

Ingroup and Outgroup Distinction

Han and Choe (1994) examined factors that contribute to ingroup and outgroup distinctions in Korea. They investigated three markers that are typically used to distinguish ingroup members from outgroup members: (1) family network and common bloodlines, (2) regional network (i.e. people from the same hometown), and (3) school network (i.e. people from the same school). They have found that the vast majority (over 80%) participate in one or more network activities. Second, through a scenario method, they examined 12 different social acts aimed at a director of a company who was initially a stranger. Respondents discovered, as they were reading the scenario, that they were either related or unrelated to the director. The degree of relatedness to the director was also manipulated. The authors have found that respondents' behavioral intentions that define ingroup activities (such as trying to help him, asking for a favor on a private matter, and voting for him in an election) became augmented with an increase in the social network. This effect was greater for the following categories of respondents: men, those living in rural areas (as opposed to urban areas), and those who were older, less educated and had low-income. The authors have also found that respondents engaged in network activities for pragmatic reasons (i.e. due to social pressure and personal gains) and not necessarily because doing so was consistent with their values or beliefs.

Distributive Justice

In a series of studies, Bond, Leung, and colleagues (Bond, Leung, & Wan, 1982; Leung & Bond, 1982; Leung & Bond, 1984) have found that consistent with liberal ideals, American subjects preferred equitable dis-

tribution of reward depending on one's contribution and considered it to be fair. Chinese subjects, however, discriminated between ingroup members and outgroup members. For outgroup members, Chinese subjects followed the equity norm. For ingroup members subjects equally divided the reward among all members of the group and considered such allocations fair. Leung and Bond (1984) note that for Chinese subjects there is a: "a) heightened distinction between ingroups and outgroups, b) concern for harmony in ingroup situations and equity in outgroup situations, and c) willingness to sacrifice for ingroup members" (p. 802).

Conformity

Markus and Kitayama (1991) note that although conformity is not a desirable quality in individualistic societies, it serves a useful function in promoting substantive goals in collectivistic societies. In an Asch type of conformity experiment, Williams and Sogon (1984) found an unexpected lower rate of conformity with Japanese subjects (27% compared to 33% found in the United States by Asch, 1956), replicating previous findings in Japan (25% found by Frager, 1970, and 22% found by Sako, 1979; cited in Williams & Sogons, 1984). Williams and Sogons (1984) note that in these studies a group consisted of unknown strangers (i.e. outgroup members). When group members were known to the subject (i.e. members of a baseball or a fencing club) the rate of conformity in the Japanese sample increased to 51%. This result is consistent with the above assertion that conformity and sacrifice are meaningful and functional for ingroup situations.

Social Rules

Argyle, Henderson, Bond, Iizuka and Contarello (1986) examined informal rules of 22 social relationships with two samples (university students and adults) from Britain, Hong Kong, Italy and Japan. Overall subjects from collectivist cultures (i.e. Hong Kong and Japan) were more likely than subjects from individualistic cultures (i.e. Britain and Italy) to endorse rules about obedience, maintenance of "face," maintenance of harmonious social relations, and restraining emotional expression. In addition, Argyle et al. (1986) found that Japanese subjects separated the inner and outer relations (*uchi* and *soto*), with fewer rules within the ingroup and more elaborate rules with the outgroup. Similarly, Mann, Radford and Kanagawa (1985) and Radford, Mann, Ohta, and Nakane (1991) found that Australian children and university students adopted

decision rules that focused on self-interest and self-reliance while Japanese children favored decision rules that promote collective good and social harmony.

Conflict Resolution

When conflicts arise between two people or with a group, the preferred mode of conflict resolution rests upon the desired end-state. In individualistic societies, rights serve to articulate the duties and responsibilities of all parties. In conflict situations “not to claim in the appropriate circumstances that one has a right is to be spiritless or foolish” (Feinberg, 1973, p. 252). Claiming one’s rights in the British legal system (and all her former colonies) allows all disputants opportunities to articulate their case directly to a non-partisan third party (Leung & Lind, 1986). It also allows individuals access and control over the process and opportunities to hear all the arguments presented by the second party. The final decision is adversarial and binding.

Confucianism, in contrast, considers yielding and compromise as desirable virtues that promote substantive goals. Confucius considered an individual who is overtly contentious, self-assertive, quarrelsome, or litigious to be contemptible (Lee, 1991). Consistent with the Confucian ideal, Leung and colleagues (Bond, Wan, Leung and Giacalone, 1985; Leung, 1987, 1988; Leung & Lind, 1986) have found that for ingroup situations, Chinese subjects preferred negotiated settlement through a third party without direct confrontation. Consistent with liberal ideals, American subjects preferred direct confrontation to resolve a conflict.

Kurachi (1984) examined a conflict situation involving a teacher and a child, finding two interesting results consistent with the collectivist versus individualistic modes of conflict resolution. American mothers held the teacher primarily responsible for the problem. Japanese mothers, on the other hand, attributed the locus of responsibility to themselves and to their children. Kurachi (1984) notes that when it comes to the welfare of the child, although Japanese mothers were upset about the teacher and felt that the teacher was also responsible, they could not eliminate their feelings of responsibility, obligation, and shame. Japanese mothers were less likely than their American counterparts to directly confront the teacher or the school administrator with the problem. In Japan, confronting the teacher directly is avoided since it could disrupt social harmony and negatively affect the teacher-child relationship.

Communication Patterns

Nagashima (1973) notes that in Western cultures it is the sender's responsibility to produce a coherent, clear, and intelligible message. In Japan, however, it is the receiver's responsibility to make sense out of often subtle, indirect, and contradictory messages. Expressing oneself forcefully and assertively for Japanese can disrupt social harmony, and such behaviors indicate that the sender is deficient in empathy. Two examples of indirect communication were obtained by Bond et al. (1982) who found that Chinese subjects who provided self-effacing attributions after their success were liked better than those giving self-enhancing attributions and by Yoshida et al. (1982), who found that self-effacing individuals were perceived as more competent than self-enhancing individuals (cited in Markus & Kitayama, 1991). In other words, the interpretation of the message was opposite to the actual message. Nagashima (1973) notes that the vital goal of communication (beyond the transmission, reception and interpretation of a message) is the of avoidance of conflict among people who are destined to live in close quarters for a long time.

In the relational mode, communications are based on empathy rather than rationality. For example, when a child makes a mistake, in a rational mode a mother would critically appraise the situation and communicate her assessment to the child. She would articulate the nature of the mistake, teach the child to make an alternative appropriate response, and prevent the same behavior from being repeated in the future. In individualistic cultures, the rational approach is considered as the most constructive and desirable strategy of communication. It would not, however, represent the relational mode. Within this approach, a mother would try to accept, embrace, forbear, or even overlook the mistake. A mother would try to understand from the child's perspective and empathetically relate her disappointments to the child. The emotional arousal serves as a powerful force that encourages the child to shape his or her own behavior.

In the relational mode, mothers speak for the child, on behalf of the child, rather than to the child (Choi, 1990). Choi (1990) has found that Korean mothers are very much aware of their children's reality and do not dissociate themselves from it. Children are not perceived as separate beings to interact, to discipline, and to converse with rationally. From the children's perspective, the world is put forth to them by their mothers. All that is necessary for children is to express whether or not they agree with their mothers' prescriptions.

School Environment and Educational Attainment

The phenomenal educational attainment, especially in mathematics, in East Asian societies has been systematically documented (e.g. Stevenson & Lee, 1990; Stevenson, Azuma & Hakuta, 1986). An important aspect of success has been attributed to the “social-oriented achievement motivation” (SOAM, a desire to fulfill the expectation of the ingroup (Yu & Yang, 1994). The SOAM emphasizes the following four qualities: (1) interdependence, (2) effort, (3) substantive goals, and (4) compatibility of values between the home environment and the school environment.

As documented in the section entitled *Socialization and the Family* (see pp. 41–43 above), mothers in Confucian cultures inculcate a relational mode. As children grow up they are expected to transfer such identification and loyalty from their mothers to other family members, relatives, other individuals (such as teachers), and larger social groups (such as a company). A mother’s job is to use her *amae* or *chong* relationship with her child to prepare her child for adult life. She becomes a mediator between the home environment and the external environment and she gradually implants appropriate social values in her children (Azuma 1986; Ho, 1986; Kim & Choi, 1994).

In Confucian cultures, the relationship between teachers and their students is seen as an extension of the mother-child relationship. A typical climate of Japanese schools affirms maternalism, pressures the student to strive for personal excellence, and encourages students to cooperate in a group (Stevenson, Azuma & Hakuta, 1986). Children are motivated to please the teacher and their attention is focused on the teacher. Even in a class size that is as large as 40 or 60, Japanese students are more attentive, less disruptive, and more devoted to doing their schoolwork and homework than American students are (Stevenson et al., 1986).

The second important value is the emphasis on effort. In Confucian cultures, effort (an internal and controllable factor) is believed to lead to success, especially in education (Stevenson & Lee, 1990; Yu & Yang, 1994). Lebra (1976) has found, in a free-association task, that over 70% of Japanese respondents (both young and old, men and women) attribute success to diligence, effort, and endurance, and only 1% attributed it to ability. Hess et al. (1986) similarly found that Japanese mothers attribute poor performance of their children in school to a lack of effort.

Consistent with Confucian philosophy, individual striving is viewed as a necessary component of the self-cultivation process. Excellence in performance provides evidence that a child has developed a moral char-

acter through perseverance and persistence. It is a visible demonstration that a child has deeper abilities to be a virtuous person. Furthermore, Holloway, Kashiwagi and Azuma (1986) point out that “the emphasis on individual effort includes a sense of responsibility to the group to which one belongs” (p. 272). In virtue-based societies, individuals are pressured to contribute to the group and success is collectively defined and shared. Americans parents, in contrast, blame external conditions (such as the school, luck, difficulty of the task), or uncontrollable internal factors (such as ability) as significant elements in the child’s level of performance (Hess et al., 1986; Holloway et al., 1986).

Finally, White and LeVine (1986) note that in Japan, there is a greater congruence between the values emphasized in the home environment and those learned in the school environment than there is in the United States. In the United States, individualistic values are often in conflict with relatively rigid classroom structure, curriculum, and the teacher-student relationship. In addition, students, parents, teachers, and administrators often hold different views about the meaning of success and factors that lead to success. This diversity of viewpoints is considered to be the strength of individualistic societies. In Japan, there is greater congruence among all parties about the goals of education and the method of achieving this goal. This collective agreement is a fundamental requirement of virtue-based societies. White and LeVine (1986) point out that this congruence minimizes conflicts and contradictions in the development of a child’s character, ability and values. They conclude that:

Clearly, Japanese goals for the child can more easily be achieved in the setting of the school than can ours. Our goals and ideologies are in conflict with the realities of children’s development, regardless of cultural setting. Moreover, in the United States, the institution of the school has not provided an environment in which our ideologies of child development and actual qualities valued in the child can be inculcated. (p. 61)

Organizational Behavior

The construct of motivation explains why individuals initiate, direct, maintain, and terminate a specific action in a particular situation. It is used to explain an individual’s preference of one activity over another, their vigor of response, and their persistence over time. It is considered to

be an essential factor in productive efficiency. Markus and Kitayama (1991) point out that current theories of motivation examine factors that are internal to individuals (e.g. the motive to enhance one's self-esteem, to gain maximum rewards, to avoid cognitive conflict, or to self-actualize). Yu & Yang (1994) similarly argue that theories developed in the United States, especially David McClelland's formulation of achievement motivation, are based on individualistic assumptions. Within McClelland's model, the goal, incentive values of the goal, standard of excellence, evaluations of one's efforts, and results of one's efforts are defined by the individual. Similarly, the linkages across the domains of culture, socialization, personality, and society are based on individualistic assumptions. Such a model reflects an "individual-oriented achievement motivation" or IOAM (Yu & Yang, 1994). It is defined as an individual's desire to achieve some internalized standards of excellence.

To understand achievement motivation in Confucian cultures, Yu & Yang (1994) proposed an alternative model, the SOAM. The most important goal in SOAM is collective good, social harmony, and social obligations. Substantive goals coupled with emphasis on effort, discipline, industriousness, frugality, a willingness to make sacrifices, education, achievement, and respect for authorities have contributed to the phenomenal economic success in East Asia (Bond & Hofstede, 1990; Redding and Wong, 1986; Yu & Yang, 1994). The goal, incentive values of the goal, standard of excellence, evaluation, and fruits of one's efforts are defined and shared by the group (Yu & Yang, 1994).

According to U. M. Kim (1994), organizations in Japan and Korea are perceived as extensions of a family. In these societies, companies and the government encourage paternalism and communalism. To examine the nature of paternalism and communalism in Korea, surveys were obtained from personnel managers from mining and manufacturing firms with more than 100 employees with 90% response rate (i.e. 985 out of 1,097). U. M. Kim (1993) found that the vast majority (over 80%) of the managers strongly endorsed the ideas of paternalism and communalism. He found that many companies provide services to foster paternalism and communalism, which are believed in turn to enhance production, efficiency, solidarity, loyalty, job satisfaction, and social control.

In Japan, Misumi (1988) assumed, along with his colleagues and company executives, that the *authoritarian paternalism* would be the most effective leadership strategy. It was taken for granted that supervisors would unilaterally give orders and subordinates would passively obey them. In reality, this type of leader was the least effective. In contrast, those leaders who emphasized *benevolent paternalism* were much

more effective. Misumi (1985, 1988) has found that leaders who demanded high productivity were effective only when they were able to develop a strong sense of group solidarity. In a study of leadership conducted in four nations, Smith, Misumi, Tayeb, Peterson and Bond (1989) found that leaders in individualistic cultures (i.e. Britain and the United States) stressed performance, whereas leaders in collectivist cultures (i.e. Hong Kong and Japan) emphasized both performance and group solidarity.

Sullivan, Suzuki and Kondo (1986) found that in the United States and Japan, the nature and role of a group are conceived very differently. They found that American managers used the equity principle to allocate rewards and provided greater rewards to individuals when the group's influence on individuals was low. In the mind of American managers, the successful person working alone can expect the greatest share of rewards (Sullivan et al., 1986). According to Sullivan et al. (1986), American managers focus on *risk reduction* (i.e. individual members in a well-functioning group help to insure that group members do the assigned and expected work). A well-functioning group ensures the expected outcome by encouraging individual members to monitor the activities of other members and thereby reducing the probability of unexpected and unpleasant outcomes.

The Japanese managers, in contrast, distributed rewards equally and gave greater rewards to individuals who worked in a group and who had been influenced by the group (Sullivan et al., 1986). According to Sullivan et al. (1986), Japanese managers see groups as *productivity enhancers* (i.e. as a facilitating factor). Consistent with this belief, Japanese managers rewarded individuals who worked with their group members in a highly interdependent manner and who were highly influenced by the group's attitudes and advice, regardless of their level of performance. In other words, managers are sending a strong message that "there is much to gain and nothing to lose" when individuals choose to work in a group (Sullivan et al., 1986, p. 393). Consistent with Sullivan et al.'s (1986) study, Gabrenya, Wang and Latané (1985) found that for meaningful, skill-related tasks, American students who worked in a group tended to loaf (called "social loafing"), while Chinese students tended to work harder in group (called "social striving").

Health

House, Landis and Umberson (1988) reviewed the literature that examined the link between social relationships (e.g. marriage, contacts with

extended family and friends, and group affiliations) and health status (i.e. physical and psychological). A review of prospective and cross-sectional studies conducted in both rural and urban areas revealed a consistent and compelling positive relationship between social relationship and health. It was found that those individuals who were socially isolated were less healthy and had higher mortality rates and health problems than those who were socially integrated. For example, unmarried persons have a higher rate of mortality (including suicide), tuberculosis, and psychiatric disorders (such as schizophrenia). These studies controlled for confounding variables such as demographic factors (e.g. age, socioeconomic status), health status (e.g. blood pressure, serum cholesterol level), risk-factors (e.g. smoking, alcohol consumption), lifestyle factors (e.g. physical activity, use of preventive health services), and psychological factors (e.g. personality, life satisfaction). Positive benefits of social support have been similarly documented in various social and health sciences with a compelling degree of consistency (e.g. Cobb, 1976; Gottlieb, 1983; Kleinman, 1980).

Triandis et al. (1988) point out that tight ingroups in collectivistic cultures provide social support that buffer against disease. Triandis et al. (1985) found that *allocentrics* in the United States received more social support, expressed greater satisfaction with the quality of social support, and experienced less alienation, anomie, and loneliness. At the cross-national level, Bond (1991) has found that countries that score high on Cultural Inwardness (i.e. collectivism) have a lower incidence of diseases such as cancer, heart disease, and ulcers.

Lumsden (1984) similarly found low rates of mental illness in tightly integrated religious communities of Hutterites in Canada. Lumsden (1984) points out that the integrated structure of the Hutterite colonies provides individual members with social support, rewards, and security. There are, however, social costs of remaining in a segregated community that shuns outside contacts. Individuals are often asked to sacrifice their personal interests to the benefit of the group. They also need to invest a significant portion of their time and energy in maintaining harmonious familial and social relationships. These two factors may actually contribute to the experience of psychological distress for some individuals. Furthermore, subordinate members (such as women) bear greater costs than those who occupy superordinate positions (such as men). This can lead to the "oppression of daily life" (Lumsden, 1981, p. 16). Bond (1991) has similarly found that there are costs of maintaining high levels of Cultural Inwardness. These societies have low observ-

ance of human rights with women with relatively low status. It is therefore apparent that while support received by ingroup members can promote psychological well-being, there are psychological and social “costs” of remaining in a tightly knit ingroup as well.

Social Change and Acculturation

Acculturation is defined as culture change that results from continuous first-hand contact between two distinct cultural groups (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936). During the process of acculturation, individuals may experience five types of changes: physical, biological, cultural, social, and psychological (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987). First, physical changes may occur (such as a new place to live, new housing, and new climate). Second, biological changes may occur (such as new disease and interracial marriages). Third, cultural changes may occur, with the original political, economic, religious, social, and linguistic systems becoming replaced. Fourth, a new set of social relationships may be formed based on a reclassification of ingroups and outgroups (e.g. based on race or ethnicity). Finally, psychological changes may occur, including shifts in attitude, values, behaviors, and lifestyles. The type and degree of change that individuals experience depends largely upon the characteristics of two cultures in contact. The following section focuses on cultural and psychological changes as they relate to IC.

Acculturation

Five types of acculturating groups that vary on the two dimensions of freedom of contact and mobility have been identified: the Native People, immigrants, sojourners, refugees, and ethnic groups (Berry et. al., 1987). For these acculturating groups, four different adaptive strategies exist (Berry et al., 1987). One mode of acculturation is to give up one’s heritage culture in favor of the host culture (i.e. Assimilation). This implies a separation from, and abandonment of, one’s culture, community, and family. Another option is to cling to one’s heritage culture and denounce the larger society (i.e. Separation). In the third mode, known as Marginalization, individuals are out of psychological contact with both their heritage culture and the larger society and are hopelessly confused. Marginalization and Separation cannot be viewed as adaptation since both modes are correlated with low life-satisfaction and high mental health problems (Berry & Kim, 1988; Berry et al., 1987). The three

modes of acculturation (Assimilation, Separation and Marginalization) are considered to be subtractive modes of acculturation since they require some loss of cultural elements.

The fourth option is to synthesize, integrate, or adopt both cultures (i.e. Integration). Integration refers to a bicultural mode of acculturation in which one maintains one's heritage culture while participating actively in the larger society. Integration is an additive mode of acculturation and is similar to the co-existence mode. The goal of Integration is to acquire, synthesize, or integrate new cultural elements to the old so that individuals can function effectively in both cultures. The additive model allows a relatively smooth transition from one culture to another and allows the propagation of a continuous sense of personhood, family integrity, and cultural identity. It is the option that various ethnic groups prefer (Berry, Kim, Powers, & Bujaki, 1989). It is also correlated with the existence of high life-satisfaction and low mental health problems (Berry, Kim & Boski, 1987; Wong-Reiger & Quintana, 1987).

Compatibility and continuity of values may be disrupted for acculturating individuals when the home environment maintains collectivism and the larger society fosters individualism. Pettengill and Rohner (1985) extended their research of parent-child relationship with a sample of Korean-American adolescents. Results reveal that when viewing parental strictness as a sign of parental rejection, Korean-American adolescents responded like their Americans counterparts and unlike their Korean counterparts. Kim and Choi (1994) similarly found that Korean adolescents viewed parental strictness as parental acceptance, while Korean-Canadian and Korean-American adolescents viewed parental strictness as parental rejection. Korean Canadian and Korean American parents, however, still maintain collectivistic orientation. This contrast in values is the source of parent-child conflict in the two acculturating samples. In both studies, parental strictness was positively correlated to the amount of conflicts Korean-American and Korean-Canadian adolescents experienced with their parents.

Social Change

Compared to acculturation, social change is a relatively gradual, diffuse, and mediated process (Berry, 1980). In social change, internal pressures or external stimuli for change are mediated by existing cultural institutions, structures, and norms. Families, communities, and culture often buffer the experience of these changes by an individual.

One assumption that has been propagated in the social sciences is the movement away from collectivism to individualism (e.g. modernity theory). Kağıtçıbaşı (1990) and Kim, Triandis, Kağıtçıbaşı, Choi & Yoon (1994) document that this not the case. With increased influences from the West, three trends have appeared in modern Confucian societies and other collectivist cultures. First, the ingroup and outgroup boundary has become more differentiated and discrete. In traditional agrarian communities, people knew one another and grew up together, with outgroup members such as strangers being rare entities. With increased industrialization, urbanization, and globalization, people in modern Confucian cultures have to interact with outgroup members in greater numbers, frequency, and degree. In these situations, they have learned to separate ingroup situations from outgroup situations. When interacting with outgroup members, they adopt individualistic orientations, and with ingroup members they maintain collectivistic orientations.

Second, in modern Confucian societies there is less emphasis on the undifferentiated mode coupled with a greater emphasis on the co-existence mode. The co-existence mode reflects a dynamic interplay between individual and group loyalties. Kağıtçıbaşı (1990) notes that a balance between autonomy and relatedness is not unstable or discordant, but it reflects two fundamental needs of human existence. In modern Confucian societies, the separation of the private self from the public self has become much more pronounced.

Third, the patrilineal and patrilocal focus, especially the role of the father in a family, has become much more peripheral and the role of the mother has become indispensable (Azuma, 1986; Befu, 1986). With increased occupational demands, Japanese fathers are more likely to develop spend their time with their colleagues and not with their family (Azuma, 1986). Mothers, on the other hand, have become the most powerful person within a family. In traditional Confucian societies, a mother's power was limited by the presence of extended family members, especially by her mother-in-law. With greater nuclearization and urbanization, the mother has become the single and most important socializing agent.

During the process of acculturation and social change compatibility and continuity of values that are important to smooth life-span development may be disrupted. Kim (1990b) reviewed several empirical studies which revealed that if values that are socialized in the family are compatible with the values emphasized in social institutions, children experience little or no conflict. If they are not, children do not fully benefit from

their educational experiences and may display problem behaviors. For example, the Native Hawaiians represent the lowest achieving ethnic group in the United States (O'Donnell, Tharp & Gallimore, 1982). Through the Kamehameha Early Education Program, researchers were able to create a school environment for the Native Hawaiians that was compatible with their family environment. When this task was accomplished, the Native Hawaiian children soon reached the national average in academic performance. Similarly, Kağıtçıbaşı, Sunar and Bekman (1989) created community-based learning centers to educate largely illiterate mothers of young children in Turkey. By working with mothers to create a more compatible home environment for learning, the group achieved significant improvements in the academic achievement of the children. Stevenson et al. (1986) have shown that the phenomenal success in educational attainment of Japanese students, especially in mathematics, is attributable to socialization practices of mothers which are compatible with practices supported by the Japanese educational system and culture. Finally, Misumi (1985) attributes the economic success of Japan to the development of small group processes that are compatible with the relational orientation. These studies emphasize the importance of compatibility and the continuity of life-span development in different contexts (i.e. family, community, and society).

Compatibility and continuity of values are likely to be disrupted for countries that emphasize subtractive modes of acculturation (Kim & Berry, 1986). Compatibility and continuity of values are possible in countries that pursue an additive mode of acculturation, such as the policy of Multiculturalism (Berry, 1991). In countries such as Canada, which promote Multiculturalism, there is a recognition of different levels of participation: individual, community, and national. At the individual and community level, this policy encourages individuals to maintain their heritage culture and ethnic loyalty. At the national level, unity and cooperation are fostered. Diversity of individuals and ethnic groups are not seen as problems but as assets. The United States, in contrast, fosters diversity at the individual level, but the assimilation policy discourages diversity at the community level. Ethnic diversity and loyalty are seen as problems that need to be eliminated. Assimilation policy does not allow compatibility and continuity of values to exist when individuals or communities choose to be loyal to their family and ethnic heritage. Multiculturalism (at the national level) and Integration (at the individual level) are associated with healthy human development in psychological, social, economical, and political spheres (Kim, 1990a; Murphy, 1975; Ward and Hewstone, 1985; Wong-Rieger & Quintana, 1987).

Compatibility and continuity of values are likely to be disrupted in countries that are experiencing social and political turmoil. Those countries which have able to develop or maintain their collective abilities to respond to these challenges are able to maintain functional compatibility and continuity. The co-existence model (or Integration) in individual, community, and cultural levels appears to be the most stable and effective mode of adaptation during acculturation and social change.

Summary

The purpose of the this paper has been to weave a pattern across different levels of analysis: individual, interpersonal, institutional and cultural. It has been a long and arduous journey that covers a wide expanse of academic territory: moral and political philosophies, socialization, conception of self, interpersonal interaction, education, organizations, health, acculturation and social change. Each facet of IC is like a thread that is used to weave a pattern. Individualism represents a particular pattern with key moral and philosophical threads that are used to maintain, propagate, and reify particular social structures and norms. Similarly, collectivism represents a pattern with a different set of moral and philosophical threads that are used to maintain, propagate, reify particular social structures and norms. The boundary within a culture or across cultures, however, is dynamic. Thus, the patterns depicted by IC are crude approximations that need further refinement, elaboration and validation.

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