

An analysis of the responses of 1,614 subjects from 10 cultures shows that the Leung-Bond procedure provides illuminating ways of extracting both strong (Separation From In-Groups, Independence, and Personal Competence) and weak (Task Orientation) etics relevant to individualism, and weak etics (Dependence on Others, Sociability) relevant to collectivism. Additional richness in the available information is provided when intracultural factor analyses are carried out in each culture. It appears that the most complete picture is obtained when both etics and emics are examined.

AN ETIC-EMIC ANALYSIS OF INDIVIDUALISM AND COLLECTIVISM

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The study of individualism and collectivism no longer requires an introduction in cross-cultural journals, because it has earned a section in the *Annual Review of Psychology* (Kâğitçibaşı & Berry, 1989), and a chapter in the

AUTHORS' NOTE: We thank Michael Bond for comments on an earlier draft of this article. The Chinese data were collected by Dongyi Wang of the Department of Psychology, Northeastern Normal University, Chang Chun, Jo-Lin, the People's Republic of China.

JOURNAL OF CROSS-CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY, Vol. 24 No. 3, September 1993 366-383
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relatively unimportant in particular cultures; although self-reliance is correlated with individualism, one can find self-reliance also in collectivist cultures, but the meaning of the construct changes. In individualist cultures, self-reliance is linked to the idea, "I want to do my own thing"; in collectivist cultures, it is linked to the idea, "I want to be responsible, and not be a burden on my collective." The intensity of the level of cooperation, and the other attributes that are linked to collectivism and individualism also vary with culture, as does the definition of the "in-group" within which one is to cooperate.

In-groups are defined by common fate. Thus any social construct that leads to common fate (e.g., women may receive similar wages) results in in-groups. But the relative importance of these in-groups shifts, depending on the perception of common fate. During a war the nation is the in-group; in ordinary circumstances the nuclear family is. Shifts from one in-group to another are common and reflect the situation. In some cultures the nation is more of an in-group (e.g., in Japan) than in others (e.g., in the United States).

The antecedents of collectivism include resource scarcity (e.g., famine), the presence of large families, and making a living through agricultural activities that require cooperation (e.g., building canals, food storage facilities). Circumstances that make common fate especially salient, for example, living in a fortified town and being attacked by an enemy, build this cultural pattern. The antecedents of individualism are affluence, social mobility, geographic mobility, cultural complexity, urbanism, exposure to the modern mass media, and making a living that requires individual pursuits (e.g., writing a book).

Correlates of collectivism include a strong emotional attachment to the in-group, the definition of the self as an aspect or a "representative" of the in-group, behavior regulated by in-group norms, emphasis on in-group harmony, acceptance of in-group authorities, and the perception of the in-group as relatively homogeneous. Correlates of individualism include emotional detachment from in-groups, behavior regulated by attitudes and cost/benefit computations, the perception of the in-group as more heterogeneous than out-groups, and willingness to confront in-group members with whom one disagrees.

The socialization patterns that are found in collectivist cultures emphasize obedience, duty, sacrifice for the group, cooperation, favoritism toward the in-group, acceptance of in-group authorities, nurturing, and interdependence. The patterns that are found in individualist cultures emphasize independence, self-reliance, creativity, and acceptance of disobedience if the child is especially competent. In individualist cultures people are very good at entering

Thus it is possible to identify both the etics and emics of the constructs under study, by following the Leung-Bond procedure. In this article, we will use the Leung-Bond procedure, which is "an individual level multi-cultural factor analysis," and we will compare it with discriminant analysis (determining what discriminant functions discriminate optimally the cultures) and pancultural factor analysis, as well as intracultural factor analyses. So the same set of data will be examined in all possible ways, except via cross-cultural factor analysis, which is not appropriate because the number of cultures is too small. In addition, the discriminant functions can be compared with the discriminant functions of an earlier study (Triandis et al., 1986) that used a somewhat different set of cultures, to see if replication is possible. As Leung and Bond point out, pancultural and cross-cultural factor analyses usually yield the same results, so the analysis we are missing is not going to challenge the completeness of the exercise.

METHOD

BASIC DESIGN

We requested 100 male and 100 female students from each culture. The convenience of administration resulted in different numbers. We had gender-balanced student samples from France ($n = 358$), Venezuela ($n = 99$), Poland ($n = 227$), the People's Republic of China or PRC ($n = 200$), Chile ($n = 141$), Illinois ($n = 353$), Japan ($n = 78$), Hong Kong ($n = 189$) and Indonesia ($n = 200$). From India we had 109 employed men (19 to 55 years of age) instead of students (18 to 25 years of age) and no females. Thus the 10 cultures provided data from 1,876 subjects.

The Leung-Bond procedure requires that the samples be approximately equal so that the data from one culture will not distort the analysis by having too many subjects from that culture. We randomly eliminated some subjects from the large samples, so that the final sample sizes were as follows: Chile: 141; France: 200; Hong Kong: 189; Illinois: 198; India: 109; Indonesia: 200; Japan: 78; People's Republic of China: 200; Poland: 200; Venezuela: 99; for a total of 1,614. We did not separate males from females for Japan, because the sample was relatively small.

SELECTION OF CULTURES

The cultures include several ones that Hofstede (1980) identified as collectivist and individualist.

1. **Separation From In-Groups:** This factor is defined by "Even if the child won the Nobel prize, the parents should not feel honored in any way" and "Children should not feel honored even if the father were highly praised and given an award by a government official for his contributions and service to the community."
2. **Independence:** This factor is defined by loadings on "I would rather struggle through a personal problem by myself than discuss it with my friends" and "When faced with a difficult personal problem, it is better to decide what to do yourself, rather than follow the advice of others" and negative loadings on "What I look for in a job is a friendly group of co-workers" and "I like to live close to my good friends."
3. **Personal Competence:** This factor is defined by a positive loading on "Individuals should be judged on their own merits, not on the company they keep" and a negative loading on "I enjoy meeting and talking to my neighbors everyday."
4. **Task Versus Social Emphasis:** This factor is defined by "In most cases, to cooperate with someone whose ability is lower than oneself is not as desirable as doing the thing on one's own" and "If the group is slowing me down, it is better to leave it and work alone" and a negative loading on "I enjoy meeting and talking to my neighbors everyday."
5. **Dependence on Others Versus Self-Sufficiency:** This factor is defined by "Children should live at home with their parents until they get married" and negative loadings on "One should live one's life independently of others as much as possible" and "What happens to me is my own doing."
6. **Sociability:** This factor is defined by high loadings on "Aging parents should live at home with their children" and "I enjoy meeting and talking to my neighbors everyday."

PANCULTURAL FACTOR ANALYSES

Nine factors had eigenvalues greater than 1.00, and accounted for 56% of the common variance.

1. **Separation From In-Groups:** This factor is identical to Factor 1 of the Leung-Bond procedure.
2. **Independence:** This factor is defined by loadings on "I would rather struggle through a personal problem by myself than discuss it with my friends" and "One should live one's life independently of others, as much as possible" and negative loading on "I enjoy meeting and talking to my neighbors everyday."

3. **Self-Reliance:** This function is defined by "In most cases, to cooperate with someone whose ability is lower than oneself is not as desirable as doing things on one's own" and "I would rather struggle through a personal problem by myself than discuss it with my friends," and by substantial loadings on items that reflect hedonism and competitiveness. The scores in Venezuela and Hong Kong were high on this function, whereas the scores in Poland and the PRC were unusually low.
4. **Independence From Others:** This function is defined by "What happens to me is my own doing," "Children should not feel honored if their father were highly praised . . . ," and "One does better working along than in a group." High scores were obtained in the PRC and Poland, and low scores in Indonesia and Chile.

Four discriminant functions were also extracted from the second discriminant function, based on the standardized scores.

1. **Family Sociability:** This function is defined by "Aging parents should live at home with their children" and "What I look for in a job is a friendly group of co-workers." The scores in the PRC and Indonesia were high on this function, whereas the scores in the French and Illinois samples were low.
2. **Family Interdependence:** This function is defined by "I like to live close to my good friends," "I can count on my relatives for help . . . ," and "I would help within my means, if a relative . . . is in financial difficulty." The scores obtained in France, Venezuela, and Chile were high on this factor, whereas the score obtained in Illinois was low.
3. **Competitive Hedonism:** This function is defined by "The most important thing in my life is to make myself happy" and "It is important to me that I perform better than others on a task." The score in Hong Kong was high on this function, whereas the scores in Venezuela, Poland, and the PRC were low.
4. **Solitary Action:** This function is defined by "One does better working alone than in a group," "If a group is slowing me down, it is better to leave it and work alone," and "I tend to do my own things, and most people in my family do the same." The scores in Poland and the PRC were high on this factor, whereas the scores in India and Indonesia were low.

TABLE 1
 Factor Scores From the Leung-Bond Procedure,
 in Standard Score Form, Times 100

Culture	Separation	Independence	Personal			Sociability
			Competence	Task	Dependence	
Chile	-76	09	143	21	17	-130
France	-28	-25	109	-13	-54	-103
Hong Kong	-92	-07	-102	59	31	-05
Illinois	-31	47	26	-24	15	13
India	-83	-29	47	17	58	24
Indonesia	-60	-01	-40	05	51	92
Japan	-50	28	174	116	26	-12
People's Republic of China	-72	-59	73	14	33	93
Poland	01	01	-01	-02	-01	-01
Venezuela	-23	-60	-22	-86	-01	+88

REPLICATION OF DISCRIMINANT FUNCTION ANALYSES

The four factors of the unstandardized discriminant function analysis were conceptually the same as the four factors of the Triandis et al. (1986) discriminant function analysis. However, the discriminant function analysis based on the standardized scores was not the same. Because the previous analysis was also based on unstandardized scores, these results are as expected. Apparently, the standardization does change the results rather substantially. One can ask if the factor Family Integrity, which in the Triandis et al. (1986) study correlated with Hofstede's (1980) scores, with a rank-order of .73, can do so again, even when we use the Leung-Bond standardized scores. Table 2 shows the relevant data. This time the rank-order correlation is only .25. Three samples deviated were Chile, Illinois, and India. India also deviated in the Triandis et al. (1986) study. Illinois may be more collectivist than the East and West coast of the United States, so the Illinois score is not as extremely individualist as was Hofstede's U.S. score. Chile may represent cultural change in the quarter century between the two data collections, which will be discussed below.

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

One can examine cultural differences by inspecting Tables 1 and 2. Table 1 shows the factor scores of the cultures on the six Leung-Bond factors. As

TABLE 3
Examples of Emic Factors Extracted From
the Intracultural Factor Analyses That Do Not Overlap
With the Etic Factors From the Leung-Bond Method

From Indonesian males and females

Affiliation Without Competition loaded highly on "I like to live close to my good friends" with a mean of 5.2; and "It is important for me that I perform better than others at a task" with a mean of 1.8.

High Concern for In-Group and Low Internal Control, loaded .56 on "I would help within my means if a relative told me that s(he) is in financial difficulty," with a mean of 5.2; and loads .46 on "What happens to me is my own doing," with a mean of 2.6.

From several collectivist cultures

Modernity: This factor was found in the People's Republic of China, India, and Indonesia among males. It includes often high levels of agreement with "Individuals should be judged by their own merits, not by the company they keep" (India: 5.0; China: 4.8; but Indonesia: only 2.3).

Modern Virtuous Sociability: This unique factor is defined by high loadings on "Aging parents should live at home with their children" (mean of 5.4 is very high), which reflects filial piety, hence the label "virtuous"; "One should live independently of others as much as possible" (mean of 5.5), which is part of the current doctrine of Chinese modernization, hence the label "modern"; and "What I look for in a job is a friendly group of co-workers" (means of 5.7), which reflects "sociability."

From individualist cultures

Self-Reliance With Competition is a factor that has high loadings on several self-reliance items, as well as on "It is important to me that I perform better than others on a task."

Internal Control is a factor that is defined by high loadings on "What happens to me is my own doing," as well as several self-reliance items.

pressure for modernization, like China and India, and lower pressure for modernization, like Indonesia.

DISCUSSION

The Leung-Bond analysis resulted in six factors. Separation From In-Groups suggests an emotional detachment from in-groups that one can find among individualists. All cultures reject these items, but collectivist cultures do so more extremely than individualist cultures. The most negative scores were found in Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, and the People's Republic of China. The least negative scores were found in France, Illinois, and Poland. Independence contrasts with interdependence and sociability, a factor that had been identified in Triandis et al. (1986). Cultures high in Independence

these items. The additional set of items was also factor analyzed, and the factors from the present article and these additional factors were placed in second-order factor analyses. These analyses resulted in additional unique factors. For example, the Indonesian females had a factor that we called *Insecurity When There Is Distance From In-Groups*, because it had high loadings on items that reflect insecurity and anxiety, as well as items that reflect emotional detachment from the family.

Most interesting in this set of analyses was that certain factors that were identified in collectivist cultures via factor analyses (e.g., *Serving the In-Group, Cooperation, Harmony Within the In-Group, Attention to the Needs of Family and Friends*) were *entirely missing* in the factor analyses of the data of the individualist cultures, whereas factors that were extracted in individualist cultures (e.g., *Distance From Parents, Competition*) were *missing* from the collectivist cultures.

Finally, a close examination of patterns of loadings suggested differences in the meanings of factors, such as for example in Indonesia, self-reliance correlates with "insecurity," whereas in Illinois it correlates with "competition." In other words, the emic analyses provide a sense of what ideas correlate with individualism and collectivism in different types of cultures, and as a result enrich our understanding of the constructs.

In the case of the Japanese sample only, we had in addition to the responses to the 21 items, the subject's ratings of 56 values constructed by Schwartz (see Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987). An "individualism score" was constructed based on the answers to the 21 items. This score was correlated with the ratings of each of these values. The following values were correlated with individualism, beyond the .01 level: equality (equal opportunity for all); freedom (freedom of action and thought); a Spiritual Life (emphasis on spiritual not material matters); an Exciting Life (stimulating experiences); Self-Respect (belief in one's own worth); Independent (self-reliant, self-sufficient); Intelligent (logical, thinking), helpful (working for the welfare of others), and enjoying life (enjoy food, sex, leisure, etc). The analysis of values based on the responses of Americans and students from the People's Republic of China (Triandis et al., 1990) had identified Equality, Freedom, and Exciting Life, a Varied Life, and Enjoying Life as the key values of individualists. The *convergence* with the present Japanese findings supports the generality of the association of our measure of individualism with Schwartz's above-mentioned values. For the Japanese sample, we also examined the association of responses to specific items and specific values. For example, "One should live one's life independently of others as much as possible" correlates with an Exciting Life .28, $p < .006$; "I would help within my means . . ." correlates with National Security .25, $p < .012$; "I would struggle through a personal

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Harry C. Triandis was given the centennial citation for science by the American Psychological Association's Committee for International Affairs on August 14, 1992, stating: "for his significant contributions to the establishment of cross-cultural psychology as a distinct scientific discipline. In a career spanning more than 30 years, he initiated cross-cultural studies of attitudes, beliefs, and behavior; developed new methodologies that ensure equivalence of measurement across cultures; and worked diligently to improve scientific collaboration among researchers from different cultures."

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