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Prior research has established that the “social sharing” of emotions is an integral part of an emotional experience. Whereas earlier studies have focused on universal features of sharing (e.g., rate, frequency, delay), this study investigates social and relational aspects of sharing hypothesized to be more open to cultural variation. A total of 555 adolescents from the Indian, immigrant Indian, and the English culture recalled episodes of fear, shame, and sadness, and answered questions related to the sharing of these experiences. Results revealed that each of these emotions is associated with sharing patterns that are unique to them. The cross-cultural differences in sharing evidenced related to a greater importance and implication of the in-group in the emotional lives of adolescents in the Indian and immigrant Indian adolescent groups, as compared to the English adolescents.

CULTURAL VARIATIONS IN SOCIAL SHARING OF EMOTIONS
An Intercultural Perspective

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Social sharing is the term used to describe the process during which a person, having experienced an emotion, recounts this experience to his or her social environment. The process essentially entails the transmission of information and experience of a personal and emotional nature, from the person experiencing the emotion to his or her sociocultural environment. Rimé (1989; Rimé, Philippot, Boca, & Mesquita, 1992) defines social sharing as having two prerequisites, (a) the reevocation of an emotion in a socially shared language, and (b) at least at the symbolic level, an addressee. For some time, there has been considerable evidence to show that a major negative emotional experience (earthquake, war, loss of spouse/child, etc.) often comes with social sharing (e.g., Pennebaker & Harber, 1993; Tait & Silver, 1989).

More recently, several studies have shown that social sharing is in fact associated with most emotional experiences, both positive and negative, and that it is present in a number of different cultures (Rimé, Finkenauer, Luminet, Zech, & Philippot, 1998; Rimé, Mesquita, Philippot, & Boca, 1991; Rimé et al., 1992). The current study carries the investigation into social sharing a few steps further in two ways. First, it extends the range of social sharing variables examined by going beyond the commonly used measures of rate, delay, and frequency to examine the relational and social aspects of the sharing process. Second, it explores the process of social sharing from a cross-cultural perspective, in view of the fact that most of the existing data in this field are from respondents in Western European countries.
SOCIAL SHARING AS A PART OF THE EMOTION PROCESS

Emotion has often been described as a multicomponent (e.g., Scherer, 1984) or a multifaceted phenomena (e.g., Frijda, 1986). More recently, research carried out by Rimé and his colleagues has established social sharing to be an important part of the subjective component of emotion. Their work and other experimental and retrospective studies provide extensive evidence showing that social sharing is associated with more than 80% of emotional experiences, both intense and moderate emotions (Mesquita, 1993; Rimé et al., 1991, 1992, 1998; Singh-Manoux, 1998).

The experience of an emotion involves individuals processing the event and its implications by recycling or rehearsing the event (Horowitz, 1979). This rehearsal is believed to enable individuals to gradually tolerate more distressing aspects of the event (Horowitz, 1979, 1982, 1986), find acceptable meaning in the event (Tait & Silver, 1989; Taylor, 1983), and rebuild their belief system, which may have been affected by the emotional event (Janoff-Bulman, 1992). In other words, emotional information processing allows the individual to integrate and assimilate emotional experiences into existing beliefs and, if required, to recover from them. As social sharing entails repetition and recounting of the event, it is likely to be involved in the process of emotion processing and recovery. Also, talking to others about the emotional event and related concerns may serve to directly communicate the individual’s needs to others, who may help the individual to cope with the emotional event and its consequences.

There are several reasons to suggest that social sharing may be a necessary and integral part of most emotional experiences. At the individual level, sharing of an emotion with another person may go some way in meeting the needs of social comparison, cognitive articulation, dissonance reduction, and that of coping that are engendered by the experience of an emotion (Rimé et al., 1991, 1998). At the sociocultural level, it is thought to be involved in the construction of both personal and group memory for important events (Rimé et al., 1998), and the social knowledge of emotion (Rimé, 1995).

EMOTION AND CULTURE

Although the described literature seems to suggest that social sharing is widespread and that it may play an important role in coping with emotional events, little is known about the manner in which social sharing is shaped and informed by the sociocultural context in which it occurs. This is especially true considering the increasing attention being paid to the fundamentally relational nature of emotions (Frijda & Mesquita, 1994; Keltner & Gross, 1999; Keltner & Haidt, 1999). There is also a growing awareness of the fact that emotions and culture have a reciprocal effect on one another (Keltner & Haidt, 1999; Kitayama & Markus, 1994; Markus & Kitayama, 1991, 1994). Sociocultural norms and expectations, governing both the experience and the expression of emotion, influence several aspects of the emotion process. Furthermore, cultural groups have been found to differ on how relationships with others are handled and the way in which social control is used (Parkinson & Manstead, 1992; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988). It thus seems feasible that there are culturally defined ways of emotion management, making the existence of cross-cultural differences in social sharing very likely.

One of the explanations offered by researchers to account for the cultural variation in psychological functioning, broadly, is that of individualism/collectivism (Hofstede, 1980; Hui & Triandis, 1986). Individualists see themselves as distinct from any group; and what is
more, they pursue needs, interests, and goals that are private and unique to themselves. The
core values of an individualistic group are autonomy, competitiveness, self-sufficiency, and
achievement. Collectivists value harmony and group solidarity and are willing to sacrifice
personal interests and goals for those of the group. Here, the self is defined as part of a group
(Triandis, 1994), leading not only to an emotional attachment to the group but also to height-
ened concerns about self-presentation and loss of face. One of the defining aspects of collec-
tivism is the concern that one has for others (Hui & Triandis, 1986), resulting in the subordi-
nation of individual goals to the goals of a collective, and a pursuit of harmony and interdependence within the group.

Individualism has been associated with a higher need for affiliation (Hui & Villareal,
1989), the explanation for this link lying in the ease with which people in individualistic cul-
tures make friends and enter social groups. However, the aforesaid link between affiliation
and individualism is qualified by the finding that collectivists may interact with fewer peo-
ple, but they tend to have more intimate relationships (Wheeler, Reis, & Bond, 1989). These
various aspects of individualism and collectivism will, inevitably, be reflected in the process
of social sharing, which entails the involvement of the sociocultural group in the emotional
life of the individual.

To examine the differences in social sharing across cultures varying in individualism and
collectivism, we conducted an exploratory study among adolescents. Adolescents particip-
ing in this study were drawn from three cultures, namely, Indian, immigrant Indian, and
English. These cultures represent different levels of individualism, the English culture is
rated as being highly individualistic and the Indian culture the least individualistic
(Hofstede, 1980). As several studies have already clearly established the predominantly
collectivistic orientation of Indians (e.g., Agarwal & Misra, 1986; Misra & Gergen, 1993;
Verma, 1985) and the individualistic orientation of the English, the present study did not
include a specific measure of individualism and collectivism.

The immigrant Indian group examined here forms a true ethnocultural group (cf. Berry,
Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 1992) in that its members interact socially, and retain their own
practices in matters of language, religion, and social norms. The psychological functioning
of an immigrant group is influenced both by the host culture and the individual’s own culture,
with an emphasis on the original culture’s position for issues that are private and agreement
with the host culture’s point of view on issues that are public (Triandis, Kashima, Shimada, &
Villareal, 1986). As emotions relate to the private aspects of an individual’s life, the immi-
grant group can be expected to show sharing patterns that resemble the patterns found in the
original culture rather than the host culture.

This study explores the social sharing associated with three emotions, namely fear, sadness,
and shame. Given that positive and negative emotions are associated with distinct pat-
terns of characteristics (cf. Diener & Emmons, 1985; Mesquita, 1993), an attempt to exclude
emotional valence as a confounding variable in the analyses was made by only examining
negative emotions. This small subset of emotions has previously been included in most stud-
ies on social sharing (cf. Rimé et al., 1991, 1992) and, if required, will allow for comparison
of results. All three emotions are similar in that they involve withdrawal behavior as opposed
to aggressive-approach behavior (Scherer & Wallbott, 1994). However, shame differs from
fear and sadness on a few crucial aspects. It is typically the result of norm transgressions
(Frijda, 1993; Manstead & Tetlock, 1989), with the self being held responsible for the causality
regarding this emotion (Scherer, 1997). Indeed, the sharing of shame has been found to
differ from the sharing of the other emotions (Rimé et al. 1991, 1992). Moreover, it is
possible that shame will be shared differently in different cultures as it is a “social emotion” (Caplowitz-Barrett, 1995; Mesquita, 1993), and is, therefore, more open to learning and socialization processes (cf. Scherer & Wallbott, 1994).

HYPOTHESES

Rate, delay, and frequency of sharing. Considering that the sharing of shame is likely to involve admitting to norm transgressions, it is expected to be associated with both a lower rate and a lower frequency of sharing compared to both fear and sadness in the three groups.

As documented earlier (Rimé et al., 1998), collectivists are expected to register a lower frequency of sharing as compared to the individualists, both in terms of the number of times of sharing and the number of people with whom the emotional event is shared. It is likely that this is because collectivists interact with a limited number of people due to their association with fewer ingroups. This main effect of culture will test for lower frequency of sharing in the Indian and the immigrant Indian groups as compared to the English group.

Identity of sharing partner. Adolescence entails both closer relationships (Flannery, Torquati, & Lindemeier, 1994) and more self-disclosure (Franzoi & Davis, 1985) with peers. This leads us to predict that in the three groups, adolescents will choose friends over others as preferred sharing partners. Moreover, we expect this effect to be particularly true in the collectivistic cultures in which friendships are closer (Verkuyten & Masson, 1996), and the adolescent’s relationship with parents is unequal due to the higher power distance found in these cultures (Hofstede, 1980). Consequently, the Indian and the immigrant Indian groups are expected to share more with friends than parents when compared to the English group.

As compared to fear and sadness, the self is more to blame for the experiences of shame, consequently it is less likely to be shared with parents in all three groups.

Initiation of sharing: self/sharing partner/other. Collectivists feel a higher degree of involvement in the lives of other members of the ingroup (Hui & Triandis, 1986), hence the social environment will be expected to initiate sharing in the collectivistic Indian and immigrant Indian cultures to a greater extent. This leads us to predict that sharing partners in the Indian and the immigrant Indian groups will initiate sharing of the emotions examined to a greater extent as compared to the English group. Considering that shame entails perceived inconsistencies with personal standards or falling short of the expectations of others (Manstead & Tetlock, 1989), we expect the respondents themselves to initiate sharing it to a lesser degree in comparison to fear and sadness in all three groups.

Content of sharing. The closer relationship between the individual and the ingroup in collectivistic cultures will induce more intimate sharing than in individualistic cultures. The intimate sharing in Indian and the immigrant Indian group will take the form of sharing of feelings and a greater demand for help/advice, rather than factual details concerning the emotional event.

The experience of shame involves causal attribution typically directed toward the self, along with a greater inconsistency between one’s behavior during the event and internal standards (Scherer, 1997), leading us to believe that the respondent is unlikely to delve too deeply into their feelings while talking about shame. In fact, the sharing of shame events in all three
groups is expected to entail the sharing of factual details concerning the event rather than the feelings of the sharer.

*Reaction of the sharing partner.* Closer involvement of the ingroup in collectivistic cultures is expected to be reflected in the more active role taken by sharing partners in collectivistic cultures as opposed to the passive reaction of the individualistic sharing partner (Mesquita, 1993). More precisely, this active role taken by the sharing partners in the Indian and the immigrant Indian groups will lead them to give advice and want to do something about the emotional event.

The main effect of emotion type on the reaction of the sharing partner is related to shame being distinct from the other two emotions. Shame results from transgressions of social norms, and for social norms to operate adequately, transgressions of these norms need to be sanctioned by the social group. Consequently, the sharing partner in all three groups will be expected to be more critical of the respondent when experiences of shame are shared as compared to the sharing of fear and sadness.

*Perceived effects of sharing.* Given the way in which the emotional lives of the collectivists has been conceptualized, it is hypothesized that the Indian and the immigrant Indian groups will perceive the relational benefits of sharing, in terms of feeling close to the sharing partner, to a greater extent when compared to the English group.

**METHOD**

**PARTICIPANTS**

The participants were 9th and 11th graders from public schools in New Delhi in India and London in the United Kingdom. Participation of the respondents was solicited through the help of the school authorities, and no payments were made either to the schools or to the respondents. The criterion used for the identification of the immigrant Indian sample was based on the “ethnic identity forms,” which are routinely filled in by students and held in the records of schools in London. All the respondents from the English sample were Caucasian.

In all, 585 adolescents responded to the questionnaire; 30 (5.1% of all questionnaires) of these questionnaires were rejected on grounds of being incomplete. The final sample was composed of 179 Indian adolescents from New Delhi (94 men and 85 women), 182 immigrant Indian (89 men and 93 women) and 194 English (99 men and 95 women) adolescents from London. The average age of the 9th graders was 14 years, 9 months (age range 13 years, 4 months to 16 years, 1 month), and that of the 11th graders was 16 years, 9 months (age range 15 years, 10 months to 18 years, 4 months). Of all the respondents, 51.5% were from the 9th grade and 48.5% of them were from the 11th grade; and there was no significant difference in the number of 9th and 11th graders in the three cultural groups, $\chi^2(2, N = 555) = 1.15$, ns.

Although it is difficult to ensure equivalence across samples, the socioeconomic status and the educational level of the schools represented in the sample was very similar. All the participating schools drew their students from the urban middle-class and had a homogeneous population. All the English adolescents of Indian origin who participated in this study were British citizens and were born and brought up in England. The Indian and the immigrant Indian group in this sample are similar in that they both have a Hindu background.
PROCEDURE

Several schools in the middle-class suburbs of London and New Delhi were sent a letter stating the purpose of the research and soliciting their participation in the research. The schools that wished to participate then contacted their respective 9th and 11th graders and informed them that this research was examining the emotional life of adolescents in different cultures. On a prearranged date, the experimenter met with a group, ranging from 12 to 15 respondents at one session in a classroom. The respondents were first given general background information on the nature of the research and were guaranteed total anonymity. The participants were reminded to choose only one response to multiple-choice questions and to encircle only one number in response to a scaled item. Finally, they were asked to recall a recent situation in which they had experienced a strong emotion of the kind indicated to answer the questionnaire. On average, the younger participants took 40 minutes to fill in the questionnaire and the older participants took about 25 minutes.

QUESTIONNAIRE

The social sharing questionnaire was nine pages long, with three sections, composed of three pages each for the three emotions examined (fear, sadness, and shame). The sequence of presentation of the three emotions was randomized over respondents to control for order effects. The construction of the questionnaire was based on semistructured, exploratory interviews carried out on adolescents in India and England. In addition, some of the items were drawn from the various questionnaires utilized by Rimé et al. (1991, 1992) in their investigation into social sharing. The final version of the questionnaire was pilot tested to ensure that participants from the target age groups understood the questionnaire and were capable of responding to it.

The first question asked the respondents to describe in a few sentences the situation that led to the experience of the emotion, followed by whether this experience had been shared (1 = yes, 2 = no). Subsequently, they answered questions relating to the delay of sharing, with (1 = same day, 2 = same week, 3 = same month, 4 = later, 5 = not yet shared), the frequency of sharing (1 = never, 2 = once, 3 = two to four times, 4 = more than five times) and the number of people with whom the experience had been shared (1 = nobody, 2 = one person, 3 = two to four people, 4 = more than five people). This was followed by a list of questions relating to the first sharing of the experience. The initial question here related to the identity of the sharing partner (parents/grandparents/uncle/aunt; brother/sister/cousin; stranger; a professional; boy/girl friend; friend). Then, on 3-point scales (1 = never; 3 = always), the respondents were asked whether the sharing had been initiated by themselves, the sharing partner, or external factors.

Thereafter, the content of the sharing (“asked for advice/help,” “factual/superficial sharing,” “intimate sharing of feelings”) and the reaction of the sharing partner was assessed (“gave you advice,” “listened and agreed,” “criticized your behavior,” “felt the same as you,” “related a similar experience,” “wanted to do something about what had happened to you”) with the respondent having to choose the option that best described his or her own experience in relation to the emotion in question. Finally, the perceived effects of sharing by the participant were assessed on 5-point scales (1 = not at all, 5 = very much): (1) feeling better, (2) feeling relieved, (3) feeling no different, (4) feeling closer to the person with whom shared, (5) feeling calmer, and (6) feeling worse.
All participants responded to the questionnaire in English as this was the language of instruction in the participating schools. English is one of the national languages of India. Hindi, the other national language, is mostly employed in the north of India, and as the present sample was not composed exclusively of Hindi speakers, the English version of the questionnaire was the practical choice for the Indian sample.

RESULTS

The data analysis consisted of 3 (emotion) × 3 (culture) repeated measures ANOVA, with emotion treated as a within-subject factor and culture as a between-subjects factor; and hierarchical loglinear analysis when dealing with categorical data. Loglinear analysis was used for model selection, which entailed commencing with higher order associations and eliminating as many of them as possible while still retaining a good fit between observed and expected cell frequencies. A good model is the one with a nonsignificant likelihood ratio statistic ($G^2$), indicating a model that is not significantly worse than a more complex one. The second step involved analyses with the best fitting model to explain the identified effects, with the focus here on a significant $G^2$.

RATE, DELAY, AND FREQUENCY OF SHARING

As predicted, shame was associated with a lower rate of sharing ($\chi^2(2, N = 555) = 33.10, p < .001$) as compared to the other two emotions (sharing rate: 80.5% fear, 69.0% shame, and 82.3% sadness). The analysis concerning the effect of emotion type on frequency also supported the hypothesis, both for number of times of sharing, $F(2, 551) = 23.96, p < .001$, and number of people with whom shared, $F(2, 551) = 21.61, p < .001$. Shame, as compared to the emotions of fear and sadness, was shared fewer times and with fewer people (see Table 1). Contrary to the hypothesis, there was no main effect of culture.

The average delay of sharing ($M = 2.58$) indicated that most experiences were shared, on average in a little over a week. Further analysis revealed that shame was shared with a longer delay, $F(2, 551) = 6.99, p < .001$, than either fear or sadness (see Table 1).

IDENTITY OF SHARING PARTNER

As predicted, friends were chosen as preferred sharing partners in all three groups (see Table 2), with the odds of choosing peers to parents being 2 to 1 across groups. The best fitting model, $G^2(24) = 30.13, p < .18$, identified using the backward elimination procedure in hierarchical loglinear analysis, included no interactions between culture and emotion but only main effects. Although there was a main effect of culture, partial $G^2(10) = 74.71, p < .01$, it was not the predicted effect of adolescents choosing to share less with parents in the Indian and immigrant Indian groups. Table 2 shows that the main effect of culture was due to the Indian and the immigrant Indian groups choosing to share with their siblings to a greater extent when compared to the English group.

As predicted, emotion type had an effect on the choice of sharing partners, partial $G^2(10) = 49.58, p < .01$. Adolescents chose parents as sharing partners when experiencing shame to a lesser degree as compared to fear and sadness. Results also revealed that the odds of sharing
fear with a professional (doctor, psychologist, etc.) are higher than sharing either shame or sadness with this category of sharing partner (see Table 2).

**INITIATION OF SHARING:**
**SELF/SHARING PARTNER/OTHER**

Respondents reported initiating the sharing themselves to a greater extent ($M = 2.11, SD = .71$) as compared to sharing partners ($M = 1.70, SD = .73$) or external factors ($M = 1.77, SD = .69$). The predictions relating to the main effects of culture, $F(2, 258) = 8.31, p < .001$, and emotion type, $F(2, 257) = 13.72, p < .001$, were supported only partially. Only in the immigrant Indian group ($M = 1.86, SD = .77$) did the sharing partner initiate sharing to a greater extent as compared to the English ($M = 1.62, SD = .66$) and the Indian ($M = 1.63, SD = .73$) groups. As for effects of emotion type, it was both the sharing of shame ($M = 1.99, SD = .75$) and fear ($M = 2.08, SD = .68$) that was initiated by the sharer himself or herself to a lesser degree as compared to sadness ($M = 2.24, SD = .68$) across the three groups.

**CONTENT OF SHARING**

The content of sharing was analyzed through a loglinear model, the model with a good fit included only the main effects of culture and emotion type, $G^2(12) = 18.47, p < .10$. As predicted, culture affected the content of sharing, partial $G^2(4) = 76.31, p < .01$, but only one aspect of the hypothesis was supported by the data. As is clear from Table 3, the Indian participants were more likely than the immigrant Indian and the English groups to ask for advice or help during the sharing process. However, the three groups were equally likely to share their feelings. The results (see Table 3), through post hoc comparisons, also reveal that the odds of engaging in superficial sharing of factual details are higher in the English group as compared to the Indian group.

As expected, the experience of shame, partial $G^2(4) = 58.12, p < .01$, was associated most strongly with superficial sharing of factual details and less strongly with intimate sharing of feelings (see Table 3). The analysis also revealed that the odds for seeking help/advice during sharing fear are higher than during sharing shame or sadness.

**TABLE 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Delay and Frequency of Sharing as a Function of Culture and Emotion Type</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Culture</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Immigrant</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>M</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Delay of sharing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frequency</td>
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<td>Number of times</td>
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***p < .001.
REACTION OF THE SHARING PARTNER

Loglinear analysis revealed that culture had an effect on the response of the sharing partner, partial \( G^2(10) = 99.40, p < .01 \). As predicted, more of the sharing partners in the Indian group reacted actively by dispensing advice, whereas more of the English sharing partners reacted passively by listening and agreeing with the sharer (see Table 4). The emotion type affected the reaction of the sharing partners, partial \( G^2(10) = 152.57, p < .01 \). As predicted, the odds of the sharing partner being critical are much higher for the experience of shame than for the other two emotions (see Table 4). The other effect of emotion type revealed that sharing partners were more likely to respond actively (gave advice, wanted to do something
about the incident) for the experience of fear, and more supportively (listened and agreed, felt the same) for the experience of sadness (see Table 4).

**PERCEIVED EFFECTS OF SHARING**

As predicted, a culture $\times$ emotion type $\times$ effects of sharing MANOVA revealed a multivariate effect of culture, $F(6, 254) = 4.95, p < .001$. The results supported the hypothesis that the Indian and the immigrant Indian groups would report feeling closer to the sharing partner more strongly than the English participants (see Table 5). The analysis also revealed that compared to the English group, the Indians and the immigrant Indians also reported other benefits of sharing—feeling better and relieved as a result of sharing.

There was an unexpected main effect of emotion type, $F(12, 247) = 3.33, p < .001$. This effect was traced to the following results: the effects of feeling better, relieved, and calmer after sharing were more strongly associated with the experience of fear as compared to the experiences of shame and sadness; and the emotion of sadness was seen to lead to feelings of closeness with the sharing partner when compared to the other two emotions.

**DISCUSSION**

The essential goal of this study was to examine a broad range of social sharing variables from a cross-cultural perspective. The results indicate that a majority of emotions experienced by individuals are shared, and that they are shared several times and with several people. For the adolescent population, friends constitute the favored sharing partners, with parents and siblings coming some way behind. The sharing process is mostly initiated by the sharer himself or herself. It entails the sharing of feelings by the person experiencing the

---

**TABLE 4**

Reaction of Sharing Partner as a Function of Culture and Emotion Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reaction of Partner</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>Immigrant Indian</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Fear</th>
<th>Shame</th>
<th>Sadness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Odds</td>
<td>Odds</td>
<td>Odds</td>
<td>Odds</td>
<td>Odds</td>
<td>Odds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f Ratio</td>
<td>f Ratio</td>
<td>f Ratio</td>
<td>f Ratio</td>
<td>f Ratio</td>
<td>f Ratio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gave advice</td>
<td>36.5</td>
<td>2.51**</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listened and agreed</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>0.39**</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>2.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criticized your</td>
<td>08.2</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>09.8</td>
<td>0.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>behavior</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felt the same</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>1.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Related similar</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>1.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>experience</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanted to do</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>07.4</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>08.8</td>
<td>0.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>something</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Frequency figures show the percentage of participants who checked that alternative.

*p < .05. **p < .01.
emotion; with the sharing partner offering assistance and listening and agreeing with the sharer. The social-sharing literature suggests an inconsistent relationship between sharing and recovery when recovery is measured as the decrease in distress caused by the emotional event (e.g., Rimé et al., 1991, 1992). The results obtained from this study clearly show that the effects of sharing as perceived by the sharer include wider elements such as feelings of relief, calm, and closeness to the sharing partner.

SOCIAL SHARING ACROSS CULTURES

The measures of rate, delay, and frequency of sharing are similar in the three groups examined here, leading to the conclusion that these aspects of social sharing are not associated with the cultural context. However, the effect of culture, and the resulting emotional socialization on the other social-sharing variables, was found to be extensive. The importance of the effect of culture on the sharing process begins to emerge when one examines social-sharing variables that implicate the sociocultural environment. We had predicted that fewer adolescents from the Indian and immigrant Indian groups would share with their parents as compared to their peers from the English group. This hypothesis was based on the existence of a higher power distance in collectivistic cultures, in which an unequal distribution of power is quite acceptable, leading to a parent-adolescent relationship that is fairly unequal. An unequal parent-adolescent relationship would not be conducive to the sharing of personal emotional experiences. The results failed to support this hypothesis, indicating either that higher power distance does not manifest itself in the choice of sharing partners or that higher power distance does not effect the parent-adolescent relationship. Nevertheless, when compared to the English group, a greater proportion of the Indian and the immigrant Indian group share with their siblings, clearly reflecting the importance of family-related ingroups in the Indian culture (Verma, 1985).

The dimension on which respondents from the Indian and the immigrant Indian groups differ markedly from the English group relates to the extent to which the social environment is implicated in their emotional lives. The sharing partner was reported to initiate sharing more strongly in the immigrant Indian group as compared to the other two groups. The sharers in the Indian group not only demanded more help/advice, but also reported getting more help/advice from their sharing partners. In addition to perceiving the relational benefits of

### Table 5
Perceived Effects of Sharing as a Function of Culture and Emotion Type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Effects of Sharing</th>
<th>Immigrant Indian</th>
<th>Indian</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Fear</th>
<th>Shame</th>
<th>Sadness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Better</td>
<td>3.55 (1.43)</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>3.02</td>
<td>3.39</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>3.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relieved</td>
<td>3.28 (1.44)</td>
<td>3.03</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td>2.99</td>
<td>2.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No different</td>
<td>1.85 (1.28)</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>2.81</td>
<td>1.95</td>
<td>1.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closer to partner</td>
<td>3.01 (1.51)</td>
<td>2.88</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>3.57</td>
<td>2.62</td>
<td>2.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calmer</td>
<td>3.14 (1.39)</td>
<td>3.02</td>
<td>2.88</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>2.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worse</td>
<td>1.40 (0.88)</td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>1.48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.
sharing to a greater extent, the adolescents from both the Indian and the immigrant Indian group also saw sharing to be more beneficial in general.

The results clearly indicate that the individualistic or collectivistic orientation of the respondents is reflected in their social-sharing patterns. Individualists value their independence and self-sufficiency, leading their sharing to have a passive quality, with no great demands being made on the sociocultural environment during the sharing process. As compared to the Indian and the immigrant Indian group, a higher proportion of adolescents in the English group reported superficial sharing relating to factual details of the emotional event. The ingroup appears to respond in a similar fashion, with some detachment and little inclination to interfere. Here again, a higher proportion of the English sharing partners simply listened and agreed and fewer of them gave advice. The collectivists, on the other hand, value interdependence and emotional attachment to the ingroup, seeking to enhance it during the sharing process by actively involving the ingroup in their emotions. Respondents reported more benefits of sharing, both relational and personal (feeling better, feeling relieved) in the Indian and the immigrant Indian groups. This suggests that the process of sharing is more valued in the Indian and the immigrant Indian groups, bolstering the position that interdependence and concern for others are at the heart of collectivism.

The immigrant Indian group behaves very much like the Indian group, providing support for the assertion that on issues that are significant and personal, the conduct of the immigrant group resembles that of the original group. As compared to the English group, both the Indian and the immigrant Indian adolescents share more with siblings and appreciate relational and personal benefits of sharing to a greater extent. Their sharing is less passive and is less factual in content, and fewer of the sharing partners simply listen and agree. The sharing patterns of this immigrant group indicate that the importance of the ingroup and an individual’s relationship with ingroup members is clearly unaffected by the host culture.

SOCIAL SHARING ACROSS EMOTION TYPE

The results obtained from the study examining social-sharing variables provide ample evidence to suggest that the sharing process is not independent of the kind of emotional experience being shared. The three emotions examined in this study reveal patterns of sharing that are unique to them, leading us to believe that different emotions are associated with distinct sharing patterns.

It is the experience of shame that is shared very differently when compared to the experiences of fear and sadness. Fewer of the shame experiences are shared to begin with, they are not only shared with a longer delay, but also shared less frequently and with fewer people. Parents and older family members are chosen less often as sharing partners for the purposes of sharing shame. The participants reported initiating the sharing of shame to a much lesser degree, the process entailing the sharing of factual details rather than feelings. The behavior of the sharing partner, in response to shame, also differs in that respondents report them to be more critical. The sharing of shame is also not associated with many benefits, either of a personal or a social nature.

The emotion of shame has been variously conceptualized as involving an inconsistency between an action and personal standards or expectations of others (Manstead & Tetlock, 1989), or resulting from incipient or actual social rejection (Frijda, 1993). The above-mentioned aspects of shame are plainly manifest in the sharing associated with this emotion. As compared to the other two emotions examined, it is not only shared differently, but also involves a distinct reaction from the social environment. The results here clearly show that
the person experiencing shame does not want to share it to the same extent as the other two emotions. The emotion of sadness is a result of the absence of something one values (Frijda, 1993) or a separation from an object of attachment, and these antecedent qualities are clearly reflected in the way it is shared. Furthermore, the sharing partner behaves differently by initiating the sharing more and being more supportive of the person experiencing sadness. Fear is chiefly a response to threat (Frijda, 1993), and again this is evident in the various measures of social sharing. In an attempt to alleviate the threat, sharing fear is instituted by the sharer to a greater degree, individuals who can help practically are chosen more frequently as sharing partners, and active involvement of the sharing partner is solicited to a greater extent. The functionality of the sharing process is evident not only from reported feelings of relief and calm resulting from sharing, but also from the response of the sharing partner who reacts with greater offers of help, advice, and assistance on the part of the sharing partner.

A puzzling aspect of the results relates to the absence of interaction between culture and emotion type in the data. Shame is known to be more salient in collectivistic cultures (Bierbrauer, 1992; Hui & Triandis, 1986; Triandis et al., 1988), and it is also used more frequently as a mechanism of social control. The transgression of norms threatens the well-being of the group and ought to be sanctioned to a greater extent in collectivistic cultures. Nevertheless, the sharing pattern associated with shame was found to be similar in the three groups examined in this study. There is clear evidence to suggest that individuals with a collectivistic orientation respond to norm violations with more shame than those with an individualistic orientation (Bierbrauer, 1992); however, little is known about the quality of this experience and how the ingroup handles shame in collectivistic cultures. The results obtained here certainly suggest that the ingroups in the Indian and immigrant Indian groups are not more critical or unsympathetic as compared to those in English group, particularly for the adolescent population examined in this study.

In very general terms, it would appear that adolescents share differently than adults do. Their sharing rate (80%) is considerably lower than that of adults (90%, Rimé et al., 1991, 1992), and they share with a longer delay. Approximately 40% of adolescents in this study shared on the day they experienced the emotion as compared to 55% of the adult population in Rimé’s studies (Rimé et al., 1991, 1992). These findings suggest that adolescents may be more concerned with how others view and evaluate them, leading them to be more cautious in sharing their emotions. Comparison between adult and adolescent sharing patterns on measures other than rate, delay, and frequency of sharing is not possible due to the paucity of data in what remains an emerging field of study. The results reported here already suggest that the concerns of the age group being examined will be reflected in the sharing patterns.

It is very clear from the results obtained in this study that there are important variations in the way in which different emotions are shared. This article has only examined the social sharing associated with three of the negative emotions, consequently it is unclear how the present results would relate to positive emotions. In future studies, it also would be important to examine the social-sharing patterns associated with more complex, socially constructed emotions (e.g., pride, embarrassment, guilt, and so forth). As emotions are best conceptualized as dynamic processes resulting from appraisals of the environment, complex emotions are likely to implicate societal standards to a greater extent. Some emotions, certainly those that are socially constructed, involve the appraisal of an event against social norms, cultural conventions, and the expectations of significant others to a greater degree. Cross-cultural comparisons of such emotions would serve to enhance the understanding of the way culture influences the social-sharing process.
Future research in this domain would benefit from the inclusion of a specific measure of individualism-collectivism. This would allow categorical relationships to be established between emotional behavior, social-sharing patterns in this case, and culture. It would also permit the examination of the individualism-collectivism variable at an individual level. In other words, the emotional behavior of idiocentrics and allocentrics, irrespective of their cultural grouping, could be examined.

The data reported in this research has the predicament of originating from verbal reports. However, it is now widely acknowledged that the retrospective questionnaire data on recalled emotional experiences has its place in the research on emotions (cf. Scherer, Wallbott, & Summerfield, 1986). The hypotheses generated by the data in this research can now be investigated in other studies using various methodological instruments.

REFERENCES


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Catrin Finkenauer obtained her Ph.D. at the University of Louvain, Belgium. Her research focuses on communication in relationships and individual and social effects of secrecy. She now works as an associate professor at the Free University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands.
To fully understand wisdom, culture must be taken into account. Several previous studies have shown that people in diverse cultures define wisdom differently. Two studies investigated the concept of wisdom in Taiwanese Chinese culture through examination of implicit theories of wisdom. In study 1, a master list of the behavioral attributes of a wise person was compiled from the responses of 296 adult participants. Another group of adult participants (N = 616) was asked to rate this master list for wisdom in study 2. The ratings were factor analyzed. Results show that Taiwanese Chinese have well-formed conceptions of wisdom consisting of four factors: competencies and knowledge, benevolence and compassion, openness and profundity, and modesty and unobtrusiveness. A tentative definition of wisdom is proposed according to these findings.

CONCEPTIONS OF WISDOM AMONG TAIWANESE CHINESE

SHIH-YING YANG
National Chi-Nan University

The present project aims to further understanding of wisdom by investigating people’s conceptions of wisdom in Taiwanese Chinese cultural context.

What is Wisdom?

Wisdom is important but difficult to define. Contemporary discussions in psychology are still in the process of reaching a common agreement on the definition of wisdom. Reviewing the literature, one can identify three repeating themes that are likely to be prominent in future discussions: integration, action, and positivity.

The most frequently mentioned aspect of wisdom is integration. Wisdom entails the integration of what are usually considered to be separate systems (e.g., interpersonal, intrapersonal, and extrapersonal) and processes (e.g., affective, cognitive, and conative) in understanding life and dealing with human affairs. Wisdom often cuts across confines and maintains a balance of conflicting interests (Clayton & Birren, 1980; Dittmann-Kohli & Baltes, 1990; Erikson, 1968, 1982; Kramer, 1990; Labouvie-Vief, 1990; Sternberg, 1998). It emerges when one is able to integrate past, present, and future (Baltes & Staudinger, 1993); to reach a balance among interests of technical, practical, and emancipatory knowledge.

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(Holliday & Chandler, 1986); to synthesize knowledge and doubt (Meacham, 1990); to maintain an integration of feeling, thought, and behavior across intrapersonal, interpersonal, and transpersonal domains (Orwoll & Achenbaum, 1993; Orwoll & Perlmutter, 1990); and to achieve an equilibrium with oneself, others, and the world (Simonton, 1990).

Second, there exists a strong emphasis on action and behavior in the various theories of wisdom. More so than intelligence, wisdom is demonstrated through acting out the integrated knowledge and thoughts in real-life situations (Clayton, 1982; Dittmann-Kohli & Baltes, 1990). For some, wisdom is validated actions (Assmann, 1994), optimum forms of behaviors (Birren & Fisher, 1990), action-guiding judgments (Kekes, 1983), and brilliant applications of knowledge to real-life contexts (Meacham, 1983). For others, wisdom includes the procedural (Baltes & Smith, 1990) and tacit knowledge (Sternberg, 1998) that is gained by putting thoughts into action.

Third, wisdom is positively valued in a cultural context (Holliday & Chandler, 1986; Staudinger & Baltes, 1996). At a more personal level, wisdom is theorized as a desirable state that can be intrinsically rewarding in its own right (Csikszentmihalyi & Rathunde, 1990), an exceptional ability to grasp paradoxical and contradictory human nature (Clayton, 1982), an ideal end-point of human growth (Baltes & Smith, 1990), and the highest virtue one’s ego strength can ever reach (Erikson, 1968, 1982). Wisdom also brings forth positive outcomes in a larger scale (Assmann, 1994; Baltes & Staudinger, 1993). Wisdom is a mode of knowledge that enables understanding of the ultimate consequences of events in a holistic and systemic way, and as such can serve as the best guide for what is supremely good (Csikszentmihalyi & Rathunde, 1990). A wise decision is what is good for the greatest number of people in the long run (Birren & Fisher, 1990). It is through wisdom that a common good is accomplished (Staudinger, 1998).

Altogether, to have wisdom is to know how to lead a good life (Assmann, 1994), hence wonderful things and experiences are made possible. Holliday and Chandler (1986) believe that it is through wisdom that we learn the means that lead to good ends and the possibility of living a satisfying life. Similarly, Kekes (1983) contends that the more wisdom one has, the more likely one will succeed in living a good life. Certainly, one can lead a good life if one is able to manage one’s life well by solving one’s personal problems satisfactorily. Yet, perhaps the concept of having a good life can also be interpreted from the perspective that it is the result of exerting positive influences (Sternberg, 1998). By making the world a better place (Baltes & Staudinger, 1993), one lives a good life.

Wisdom and Cultural Context

Wisdom is a cultural product that is valued, evaluated, and maintained by a structured group of people (Dittmann-Kohli & Baltes, 1990; Holliday & Chandler, 1986); the concept of wisdom becomes meaningful only when it is understood in a cultural context (Staudinger, 1996). Moreover, wisdom is defined differently in different cultural contexts. From literature reviews and historical surveys, it is evident that the definition of wisdom has changed when the cultural context changed from Hebrew, Greek, Zen Buddhist (Assmann, 1994) to different eras of Western civilization (Clayton & Birren, 1980). As Sapir (1963) strongly argues, “The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached” (p. 209). The concept of wisdom cannot be fully understood without incorporating the cultural contexts in which it is manifest.
People’s Conceptions of Wisdom

To understand wisdom in a given cultural context, some psychologists have studied conceptual prototypes of a wise person (Clayton & Birren, 1980; Holliday & Chandler, 1986; Sternberg, 1985). It is through prototypes that psychologists learn the implicit theories of wisdom of a particular culture that powerfully influence people’s conduct and judgment (Cantor & Mischel, 1979; Neisser, 1979; Rosch, 1977; Yang & Sternberg, 1997b). “The first step in achieving some better understanding of the concept of wisdom lies in the direction of determining more precisely how this notion is commonly understood” (Holliday & Chandler, 1986, p. 8). Understanding how conceptions of wisdom are expressed through daily communication and social interactions may constitute the key to understanding the concept of wisdom. Because formal theories in psychology derive in part from scientists’ implicit theories of the construct under investigation, understanding implicit theories can provide a basis for understanding explicit psychological theories (Sternberg, Conway, Ketron, & Berstein, 1981). If there exists a mismatch between wisdom as conceived by ordinary people and wisdom as proposed in a given scientific theory, to the extent that ordinary people do not recognize what is depicted in the theory as being relevant to wisdom in real-life settings, then it would be reasonable to conclude that the theory relates to a construct other than wisdom (Polanyi, 1958).

Previous Studies on Wisdom

Previous studies on wisdom have made use of three types of research: prototypical studies, laboratory studies, and interviews.

Prototypical studies. Many studies have shown that prototypes of a wise person help researchers to better understand people’s conceptions of wisdom in a given cultural context. However, most of these studies were of Western populations, and the results highlighted the ability, the knowledge, and the cognitive aspects of wisdom. Clayton conducted the first empirical study on the concept of wisdom in Southern California (Clayton & Birren, 1980). She and her colleagues used 13 wisdom-descriptive words collected from a pilot study (e.g., experienced, pragmatic, knowledgeable) and 2 other clarification words (aged and myself) to analyze the structure of the concept of wisdom. Participants were asked to rate on a 5-point scale how similar each pair of the all possible, nonredundant combinations of the 15 words would be (105 altogether). The collected data were then analyzed through multidimensional scaling. The results showed that wisdom was perceived as an attribute representing the integration of general cognitive (e.g., knowledgeable, experienced), affective (e.g., understanding, empathy), and reflective qualities (e.g., introspective, intuitive).

Sternberg (1985) also conducted studies on American’s conceptions of a wise person. After collecting 156 characteristics of an ideal wise person from 17 nonstudent adults through a newspaper advertisement, he asked another 30 nonstudent New Haven adults to rate those characteristics on a 9-point scale to gain the 40 top-rated characteristics of a wise person. Forty Yale students then sorted the 40 items into piles on the basis of which behaviors were “likely to be found together” in a wise person. After the sortings were analyzed with a nonmetric multidimensional scaling procedure, the results revealed three bipolar dimensions of principal-axis solutions that yielded the following six core components of the American conception of wisdom: reasoning ability, sagacity, learning from ideas and environment, judgment, expeditious use of information, and perspicacity.
Holliday and Chandler (1986) conducted a series of prototypical studies on Canadian people’s conceptions of wisdom. After collecting 79 words/phrases characterizing a wise person from 150 participants, they then supplemented these words with another 24 descriptors reflecting dominant themes appearing in the psychological accounts of wisdom, and 20 wisdom-associated words from other prototype lists (e.g., intelligent, perceptive). Their Final Attribute List for Wisdom consisted of 123 descriptive terms. Another group of 150 Canadian participants representing three age groups (young, middle-aged, senior adults) were asked to rate the Final Attribute List for Wisdom on a 7-point scale. After the ratings were factor analyzed, they found the following five factors for wisdom: exceptional understanding, judgment and communication skills, general competencies, interpersonal skills, and social unobtrusiveness.

Laboratory studies. Baltes and his colleagues have also conducted a series of laboratory studies on German participants to test their explicit theory that wisdom is expertise on the fundamental pragmatics of life (Baltes & Smith, 1990; Dittmann-Kohli & Baltes, 1990; Staudinger & Baltes, 1996). The five criteria that index the expertise of wisdom are as follows: rich factual knowledge (e.g., extensive database about life matters), rich procedural knowledge (i.e., a repertoire of mental procedures), life span contextualism (i.e., the understanding of multiple life span contexts), relativism (e.g., variations in values, goals, and life priorities), and the ability to understand and manage uncertainty (i.e., the relative indeterminacy and unpredictability of life).

In their laboratory, Baltes and his colleagues asked German participants to “think aloud” through hypothetical tasks of life planning, life review, and existential life management (Smith & Baltes, 1990; Smith, Staudinger, & Baltes, 1994; Staudinger, Smith, & Baltes, 1992). The tasks they used generally involved a fictitious character dealing with life matters and making life decisions. For example, one life-planning task was “A 14-year-old girl is pregnant. What should she/he consider and do?” One of the existential life management dilemmas was: “Somebody gets a phone call from a good friend who says that he can’t go on any more and that he has decided to commit suicide. What should one do and consider?” (Baltes, Staudinger, Maercker, & Smith, 1995, p. 159). The resulting verbal “thinking aloud” protocols were then analyzed according to the aforementioned five criteria. They hypothesized that an expert-like wisdom would be rated high on all of the aforementioned five criteria.

In general, their results provide empirical support for their theory, although the average scores for the top-performance of wisdom were lower than expected. Overall, it seems that the closer the controlled laboratory settings resembled real-life situations, the better participants performed on the wisdom-related tasks.

Interview studies. At least two independent interview studies showed cultural differences in the context of wisdom. Valdez (1994) conducted structured interviews on 15 Hispanic peer-nominated wise informants in rural Southern Colorado. She found that the Hispanic conceptions of wisdom put an emphasis on spiritual (rather than cognitive) aspects of a person’s life, attitude toward learning (rather than possessing experience), and service and caring in interpersonal relationships (rather than giving good advice). Levitt (1999) interviewed 13 Tibetan Buddhist monks in a monastery located in the Himalayan region of India. The monks described wisdom as including attributes such as having the ability to recognize Buddhist truths about reality (emptiness) and the place of the self within this reality (being
nonself), as being beyond suffering, as being compassionate to others, and as treating all creatures as worthy and equal. “After this level of insight is attained, one is thought to become clear of mind and to reach a state wherein one can ‘do things effortlessly’ ” (p. 92).

THE TAIWANESE CHINESE CONTEXT AND THE PRESENT STUDIES

The epistemology and metaphysics found in the predominant Chinese philosophies (e.g., Confucianism, Taoism) differ tremendously from the ones found in Western traditions (de Bary, 1988; Lao, 1985-1986; Yang & Sternberg, 1997a), and Chinese people have been found to reason and behave differently from people of other cultures (Stevenson & Stigler, 1992; Wei, 1986; Yang & Bond, 1990), including people in Japanese and Korean cultures (Markus, Mullally, & Kitayama, 1997).

Though Chinese in culture and population, Taiwan has diverged from Mainland China since it was ceded to Japan in 1895. Its differentiation from the mainland was again reinforced in 1949 when Chiang Kai-shek’s former Chinese government moved to Taiwan. Since then, Taiwan has developed differently in cultural, political, and economic domains (Cohen, 1992; Vogel, 1991), and has come to constitute a distinct version of Chinese civilization.

Goals of the Present Studies

Studying Taiwanese Chinese conceptions of wisdom will further the understanding of wisdom. Moreover, it may also aid in the understanding of the impact of culture on human reasoning, if its findings are extended to other Chinese populations around the world (e.g., Hong Kong Chinese, Mainland Chinese, Singaporean, and other overseas Chinese). The two major questions to be answered in the present studies are: What are the components of Taiwanese Chinese conceptions of wisdom? And, what kinds of behavioral attributes are entailed in these conceptions of wisdom?

To answer the above questions, two studies were conducted. In Study 1, a master list of the behavioral attributes of a wise person was compiled from a group of adult participants. In Study 2, another group of adult participants was asked to rate the master list of behavioral attributes for wisdom. The ratings of Study 2 were then factor analyzed.

STUDY 1

METHOD

Participants

Two-hundred and ninety-six participants were recruited from a diverse range of occupations and age groups in Kaohsiung and Taipei in Taiwan. Fifty-eight percent were women (n = 171). The majority of the participants (approximately 69%, n = 204) were nonstudent adults with occupations ranged over more than 31 categories.

Adult nonstudent participants were mostly recruited at the site of the national college entrance exam. Some nonstudent participants were approached at their places of work, and a
very small number of college/graduate students were approached at their universities. The questionnaires were distributed in more than 13 locations.

**Materials and Design**

Participants received an open-ended questionnaire written in Chinese with one major question: “According to your own opinion, how would you characterize a wise person?” An additional question asked: “Are there any benefits or disadvantages to being a wise person?” Participants were reminded that there was no right answer and were encouraged to express their ideas freely.

The Chinese word for wisdom used in this study was *Chih-huei*. This word was chosen after consulting the results of a pilot study conducted during the winter of 1995 in Taiwan (Yang, 1996). The choice of the word Chih-huei is also consistent with the translation found in several English-Chinese and Chinese-English dictionaries (*Eurasia’s Modern Practical English-English and English-Chinese Dictionary*, 1979; *Far East Practical English-Chinese Dictionary*, 1988).

**Procedure**

All questionnaires were administered by a female Taiwanese researcher. It took approximately 15 to 30 minutes to fill out the questionnaire.

**RESULTS**

**Categorization and Compilation of Master List of Behavioral Attributes of a Wise Person**

After collection, each behavior or attribute was given a number and entered into a computer. There were 1,893 raw entries altogether. These entries were sorted into 197 categories according to their meanings. Items that had similar wordings and meanings were grouped together. The categorized list was then examined by two Taiwanese graduate students at Yale University. The two examiners were given the categorized list independently and were instructed to reassign any item that according to their judgment did not fit the category to a more appropriate or even new category.

Examiner A reassigned 31 items from 20 categories to 18 categories. Examiner B rearranged 36 items from 26 categories to 28 categories. The two cross-examiners’ lists of reassignments shared 5 items. After disagreements were resolved according to within-category consistency, the most repeated description in each category was then selected to represent that category. This new categorized list was again examined. After two sets of categories were combined, a common agreement over the categorization was reached. Categories with attributes/behaviors that were listed by fewer than 4 participants were excluded, resulting in 100 categories of behavioral attributes of a wise person.

**Construction of the Questionnaire for Study 2**

After the items were randomly ordered, a questionnaire for Study 2 was constructed out of the master list of the attributes/behaviors of a wise person. A Taiwanese graduate student at
Southern Connecticut State University was asked to proofread the Chinese questionnaire. The master list of 100 behavioral attributes was then translated into English and is presented in Yang (2000). Three English-Chinese bilingual Yale graduate students inspected the English translation.

STUDY 2

METHOD

Participants

Six hundred and sixteen participants were recruited for the second study. Participants were recruited from more than 28 institutes in six different cities in Taiwan (i.e., Taipei, Kaohsiung, Tainan, Pingtung, Hualien, and Kenting), located on the east and west coasts, as well as the southern and northern parts of the island. The total sample covered a range of diverse age groups, occupations, and educational levels. Sixty percent ($n = 367$) of the participants were women, and approximately 57% of the 616 participants ($n = 353$) were nonstudent adults. The majority ($n = 406, 66\%$ of the total sample) had a college- or university-level education, and 22% of the participants ($n = 136$) had a graduate-level education. The ages of participants ranged from 18 to 20 years old to above 65 years old, with roughly two thirds ($n = 400, 65\%$) of the total sample under age 30. One third ($n = 206, 33\%$) of the total was above age 30 but under 50.

Materials and Design

Wisdom questionnaire. The 7-point Wisdom Questionnaire constructed from the randomly ordered 100 behavioral attributes of “a wise person” was rated by participants in terms of their relative agreement with the extent to which the behavioral attributes on the list are frequently observed in “a wise person,” with the rating 1 representing strongly disagree and 7 representing strongly agree.

Procedure

Most questionnaires were mailed to collaborators to be administered in universities and workplaces. Some of the questionnaires were personally administered by the author, a Taiwanese woman, in universities and places of work. Participants filled out their questionnaires during breaks, after work, at the end of classes, or at home.

RESULTS

Factor analyses and tests on the ratings from the Wisdom Questionnaire were conducted to investigate the major conceptual components of wisdom in Taiwanese Chinese culture and their replicability. First, exploratory factor analyses were conducted to identify basic conceptual dimensions in Taiwanese conceptions of wisdom, and then a confirmatory factor analysis was used to verify the derived factors.
Exploratory Factor Analyses for Wisdom Questionnaire

Preliminary factor analysis. After missing values were filled by a regression procedure, a maximum-likelihood factor analysis was performed on the data collected from 616 participants. The scree plot of eigenvalues suggested that between three and five factors should be extracted; all of the third, fourth, and fifth factors had an eigenvalue greater than 1. The Tucker and Lewis’s reliability coefficients for three-factor, four-factor, and five-factor solutions were 0.76, 0.78, and 0.80, respectively, showing that the solutions explained a moderately high proportion of nonerror variance. Rotation of factors revealed that the three-factor solution was conceptually not very interpretable, whereas the five-factor solution had only a few items that loaded on the fifth factor. Hence, four factors were retained.

In the 100-item set, the chi-square for the four-factor solution was 11,368.61 ($df = 4,556, p < .0001$); subtracting this chi-square from the no-common-factor solution gave a resulting chi-square difference of 277,661.02 ($df = 394, p < .0001$). The significant difference between chi-squares indicates that the four-factor solution explained a significant amount of variance, accounting for 42.52% of the total variance with a least-square estimation. The four factors then were rotated using an oblique Harris-Kaiser procedure.

Deleting low-loading and undifferentiated items. Inspection of the initial solution revealed that many items loaded less than .40 across all factors, and some items did not differentiate among different factors. Those items may have a high proportion of unique or error variance, and hence, can be considered as “noise” in the four-common-factor model. After the low-loading and nondifferentiated items were deleted, the remaining 69 items were reanalyzed using a maximum-likelihood factor analysis. The four factors that emerged accurately replicated the four factors initially extracted. The Tucker and Lewis’s reliability coefficient for the new four-factor model was .83, explaining a moderately high proportion of nonerror variance. The chi-square for the four-factor solution was 5,507.91 ($df = 2,076, p < .0001$); the difference between the chi-square of this model and the one of the no-common-factor model was 20,546.73 ($df = 270, p < .0001$), indicating a significant amount of variance explained by the four-factor model. A least-square estimate of the final communality showed that the four factors accounted for 46% of the total variance.

After rotating using an oblique Harris-Kaiser procedure, the variance explained for each factor, ignoring other factors, was 21.44 for Factor 1; 17.26 for Factor 2; 15.89 for Factor 3; and 5.78 for Factor 4. Respectively, they accounted for 31%, 25%, 23%, and 8% of explained variance.

The items of Factor 1, such as, “One who has a passion for truth and knowledge,” “Is able to analyze and resolve problems and their causes,” and “Thinks clearly: has high mental capacities,” described the knowledge, thinking, and problem-solving abilities a wise person possesses; therefore, this factor was labeled as “Competencies and Knowledge.”

The items of Factor 2, such as, “Is good hearted,” “Is able to bring harmony to society, home, and all others around; brings about joy and harmony,” and “Is sincere and warm-hearted,” emphasized the kindness and the beneficent effects a wise person may have for the surrounding environment. Factor 2 was labeled as “Benevolence and Compassion.”

The items loading on Factor 3, such as, “Enjoys one’s life fully; lives one’s life with a sense of peacefulness and contentment,” “Is able to think about all aspects of things and in great detail, and to think beyond what the ordinary person thinks,” and “Takes in a complex situation at a glance,” focused on abilities to open oneself to life experiences (McCrae &
Validation and a Confirmatory Factor Analysis for the Four Wisdom Factors

Preliminary validation for the four-factor solution. To gain preliminary cross-validation for the four-factor solution, the total wisdom sample pool \((N = 616)\) was subdivided by its demographic variables: gender, occupational type (i.e., student vs. nonstudent), educational level, and age group (i.e., 18-20, 21-25, 26-30, 31-35, 36-40, 41-45, 51-55, 56-60, 61-65, above 65). The 10 age groups were collapsed to form two roughly equal sized groups: Age 18 to 25 \((n = 274)\) and Age 26-plus \((n = 342)\). To examine whether similar factors would emerge in different subsamples, coefficients of congruence within each demographic variable were calculated. The results showed that the corresponding factors in the diagonals had coefficients that ranged from 0.70 to 0.96, indicating moderately high to excellent congruence of the four extracted factors across different demographic samples. However, the off-diagonal coefficients were in the range of 0.002 to 0.50, indicating extremely to moderately poor matches between the noncorresponding factors. The coefficients of congruence also revealed that the four extracted factors remained fairly invariant across different demographic samples.

Confirmatory factor analysis. After four interpretable factors were identified from the wisdom ratings, further analyses were conducted on the randomly split samples to further assess the replicability of the four wisdom factors. The following analyses were performed to examine the hypothesis that Taiwanese Chinese people have well-developed conceptions of wisdom.

Development sample. To further ascertain that the four extracted factors were meaningful and would be replicated, the total pool of the wisdom sample \((N = 616)\) was then randomly split into two halves. A maximum-likelihood factor analysis was then performed on the first half of the sample, the development sample \((n = 308)\), with the 69-item set. Four factors emerged that accurately replicated the four factors initially extracted and explained 46% of the total estimated communality. The chi-square for the four-factor solution was 4,124.53 \((df = 2076, p < .0001)\); the difference between this chi-square and the one of the no-common-factor model was 9,931.64 \((df = 270, p < .0001)\), indicating that the four-factor model explained a significant amount of variance. The Tucker and Lewis’s reliability coefficient was 0.80, showing the four-factor solution accounted for a moderately high proportion of nonerror variance. The four factors were then rotated using an oblique Harris and Kaiser procedure. The percentage of the variance accounted for by each factor, when ignoring other
factors, was 31% for the Competencies and Knowledge factor, 27% for the Benevolence and Compassion factor, 23% for the Openness and Profundity factor, and 8% for the Modesty and Unobtrusiveness factor.

**Subscales of factors.** To maximize interpretability and validity of the four factors, a composite of marker variables for each factor was identified. Six items that had high loadings and remained stable across demographic variables were selected for each factor from the factor pattern of the first-half sample (see the first four columns of Table 1).

**Validation sample.** After the 24 items were selected, the preceding analysis was then cross-validated on the second half of the randomly split wisdom sample \((n = 308)\). Validation for the factors was assessed by extracting and rotating four factors, using the 24-item set selected from the factor analysis of the development sample.

The factor pattern remained invariant across the two factor structures, with the defining items loading high on their representing factors (see the last four columns of Table 1). The chi-square for the four-factor model of the second-half sample was 361 \((df = 186, p < .0001)\); the difference between the chi-square for this model and the one of the no-common-factor model was 3,508.55 \((df = 90, p < .0001)\), indicating that this four-factor model explained a significant amount of variance. The Tucker and Lewis’s reliability coefficient for this model was .93, accounting for a high proportion of nonerror variance. Altogether, using a least-square estimation, the four factors accounted for 54% of the total variance. Respectively, the four factors, when ignoring other factors, accounted for 25%, 24%, 24%, and 19% of the explained variance.

**The Four Wisdom Scales and Their Relations with Demographic Variables**

**Validation for the four factor subscales.** To validate the four wisdom-factor subscales, Pearson correlation coefficients between the least-square estimated factor scores for the 69-item set and the ones of the 24-item set were calculated based on the complete wisdom sample. In Table 2, the results showed that the diagonal coefficients ranged from .92 to .97, indicating excellent matches between the corresponding factors. Hence, the four wisdom subscales adequately represented the 69 items.

**Relations with demographic variables.** Do people in different demographic categories conceive of wisdom differently? To investigate demographic differences, \(t\) tests were conducted based on subscale means of the subsamples (see Table 3). The age groups, because of the large difference between the group sizes and also missing values in some of the age cells, were not compared here.

The results showed that there were no significant gender differences in the ratings for any of the four wisdom subscales. Male and female participants did not differ in their ratings on the Wisdom Questionnaire. Being a student or a nonstudent also did not affect participants’ ratings on the first three factors (i.e., Competencies and Knowledge, Benevolence and Compassion, and Openness and Profundity). However, there was a significant difference in the ratings of a Modesty and Unobtrusiveness factor subscale. Student participants rated items of this subscale significantly lower than did nonstudent participants, indicating that student participants disagreed more strongly on the unfavorable items as the characteristic behavioral attributes of a wise person.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Development Sample</th>
<th>Validated Sample</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Factor 1</td>
<td>Factor 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86. Is able to analyze and resolve problems and their causes</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>−26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87. One who has a passion for truth and knowledge</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>−24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57. Learns from the experiences and mistakes of others</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92. Is cool and calm</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>−16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90. Is able to make long-term rather than short-term considerations</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>−19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. Thinks clearly: Has high mental capacities</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>−17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Is good hearted</td>
<td>−18</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Is able to bring harmony to society, home, and all others around;</td>
<td>−41</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brings about joy and harmony</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Is constantly happy and contented</td>
<td>−28</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Is sincere and warmhearted</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62. Is benevolent and compassionate; treats the world and all the creatures in it with love and compassion</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Is very humble and courteous</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. One who is able to flexibly (creatively) apply one’s (scholastic) knowledge to daily life</td>
<td>−03</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Is able to transform/turn an adverse situation to one’s or everyone’s advantage</td>
<td>−18</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Enjoys one’s life fully; lives one’s life with a sense of peacefulness and contentment</td>
<td>−29</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
12. Takes in a complex situation at a glance; is astute; has acuity; is very perceptive and observant  
   21 \ -07 \ 58 \ -12 \ -06 \ -01 \ 89 \ 0

11. Is able to think about all aspects of things and in great detail, and to think beyond what the ordinary person thinks  
   27 \ -14 \ 56 \ 03 \ 06 \ -11 \ 80 \ 06

5. Is able to make one’s life meaningful, worthwhile, fulfilling, and valuable  
   -02 \ 25 \ 34 \ -07 \ 03 \ 09 \ -07 \ -01 \ 85

72. Is showy; draws excessive attention to self  
   -08 \ -04 \ 01 \ 73 \ 09 \ -07 \ -01 \ 85

52. Is too clever for one’s own good  
   02 \ 13 \ -20 \ 72 \ -08 \ 11 \ 02 \ 77

32. Conceited and stubborn, with a sense of superiority; is proud and arrogant  
   -01 \ -08 \ -06 \ 71 \ 10 \ -09 \ -05 \ 77

26. One who has high expectations for oneself and others, and is therefore more likely to be disappointed  
   06 \ 07 \ -16 \ 67 \ -02 \ 08 \ 0 \ 74

60. One who takes advantage of and manipulates others; prone to committing crimes, but is more likely to get away with it  
   -20 \ -04 \ 07 \ 61 \ -12 \ -13 \ 08 \ 60

85. Life appears more difficult; is psychologically more tired and weary; thinks and therefore worries too much  
   12 \ 07 \ -10 \ 61 \ -08 \ -03 \ 16 \ 61

NOTE: Factor 1 = Competencies and Knowledge, Factor 2 = Benevolence and Compassion, Factor 3 = Openness and Profundity, Factor 4 = Modesty and Unobtrusiveness. Numbers are presented with decimal points omitted. Maximum likelihood analysis sometimes produces factor loadings that are greater than 1. It is so because factors are maximally correlated with variables while giving best estimate of population reproduced correlation matrix.
With respect to differences across educational level, significant differences were found in the ratings of the Competencies and Knowledge factor subscale, the Openness and Profundity factor subscale, and the Modesty and Unobtrusiveness factor subscale. A graduate participant tended to agree more strongly that items of Factor 1 (Competencies and Knowledge) and Factor 3 (Openness and Profundity) were the frequently observed attributes of a wise person than did participants without graduate education. However, contrary to their pattern of rating on Factor 1 and Factor 3, a graduate participant tended to rate the unfavorable items lower than did the participants who did not have a graduate level of education. It seemed that graduate education to some extent played a role in differentiating participants’ conceptions of wisdom; people who had a graduate level of education tended to conceive wisdom as more related to competencies and knowledge, openness and profundity, as well as modesty and unobtrusiveness, than did people who did not have a graduate level of education.
DISCUSSION

In general, the results show that Taiwanese Chinese have well-established conceptions of wisdom that consist of at least four conceptual factors: Competencies and Knowledge, Benevolence and Compassion, Openness and Profundity, and Modesty and Unobtrusiveness. Because conscious efforts were made to recruit participants from diverse occupations and age groups all over Taiwan, the results of the present studies are probably generalizable to the total Taiwanese Chinese population. However, those findings cannot be applied to Taiwanese aborigines, who share a different cultural history and comprise roughly 2% of the population in Taiwan (The Republic of China Year Book 1998, 1998), nor can the results be assumed for other Chinese populations residing around the world.

Taiwanese conceptions of wisdom. For most Taiwanese Chinese, a wise person is a person who has a broad range of competencies and knowledge, is benevolent and compassionate toward others, holds profound yet open-minded attitudes about life, and remains modest and unobtrusive in social interactions. This prototype entails cognitive, affective, and conative components. It also covers intrapersonal (e.g., “Enjoys one’s life fully,” “Thinks clearly”), interpersonal (e.g., “Is benevolent and compassionate,” “Is able to transform an adverse situation to everyone’s advantage”), and extrapersonal (e.g., “Is able to bring harmony to society,” “Is able to think beyond what the ordinary people think”) domains. With the broad range of competencies and full passion for knowledge, a wise person’s modesty and unobtrusiveness may be a result of the integration of knowledge and doubt (Meacham, 1990). Moreover, the conceptions of wisdom present an image that is predominately positive, even though the present studies included unfavorable descriptions.

Those findings seem to be similar to those of previous studies. The cognitive (Competencies and Knowledge), affective (Benevolence and Compassion), and reflective (Openness and Profundity) components correspond to what was found in Clayton and Birren’s study (1980). Moreover, many behavioral attributes in Competencies and Knowledge bear resemblance to the items found in the first five factors in Sternberg’s study using Americans (Reasoning Ability, Sagacity, Learning from Ideas and Environment, Judgment, and Expeditious Use of Information), as well as to the descriptions found in two of the five factors in the study by Holliday and Chandler (1986) using Canadians (Judgment and Communication Skills, and General Competencies). Such examples are: “Is able to analyze and resolve problems and their causes” (Reasoning Ability, and General Competencies), “Learns from the experiences and mistakes of others” (Learning from Ideas and Environment, and General Competencies), “Exercises good judgment” (Judgment and Communicative Skills), “Can sharply distinguish between right and wrong” (Expeditious Use of Information), and “Is able to organize one’s life satisfactorily” (Sagacity). Furthermore, they also entail factual and procedural knowledge in the fundamental pragmatics of life.

Similar to the findings of Staudinger, Lopez, and Baltes (1997), the results of the present studies show that wisdom is related to the openness to experience personality dimension. A wise person may be similar to individuals who are high in openness to experience in their being more reflective, thoughtful, both about themselves and about the world; they may also be more attuned to inner feelings, both their own and those of others (McCrae & Costa, 1985). However, it is also quite likely that wise persons may go beyond what is expected of those open individuals in their tendency to penetrate reality and to grasp meanings at a deeper level.
Wisdom and demographic variables. What role do gender, education, and occupation play in Taiwanese conceptions of wisdom? Contrary to what Orwoll and Achenbaum (1993) have speculated, the present results seem to suggest that male and female Taiwanese Chinese share similar conceptions of wisdom. This lack of gender difference is consistent with the finding in Clayton and Birren (1980). Education seems to play an important role in Taiwanese Chinese conceptions of wisdom. Students in general tend to perceive wise persons as being more modest and unobtrusive, whereas it is less the case for nonstudent adults who may be more tolerant with those unfavorable descriptions. Perhaps working experiences in the real world contributed to this difference.

The results also show that participants with a graduate level of education conceive of wisdom as much more positive than do the participants who do not have a graduate level of education. It seems that people who had graduate education insist that a wise person should have more competencies and knowledge, and that he or she should be more open to experience, profound, modest, and unobtrusive. Because some of the graduate participants were already employed, this difference may not be attributed to the lack of real-world experiences. The significant effects could be attributed to the difference between the sample sizes. Nonetheless, it is possible that people who sought and accomplished graduate education identify more with the ideals entailed in their knowledge than do those who did not. Although Orwoll and Perlmutter (1990) did find that highly educated people were more likely than less educated people to be nominated as wise, so far how one’s conceptions of wisdom influenced by that person’s own level of education is still not clear. Moreover, it appears that the Chinese people in Taiwan are in general agreement over the importance of benevolence and compassion observed in a wise person.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

How do the present findings contribute to our understanding of wisdom in general, and where do they lead us? Comparing the present findings cross-culturally to what was found in a Hispanic cultural context, the spiritual aspect is not salient in Taiwanese Chinese conceptions of wisdom. Though the conceptions of wisdom of both Tibetan Buddhist and Taiwanese Chinese include having compassion toward all creatures in the world, it seems that Taiwanese Chinese emphasize more strongly that a wise person be able to bring harmony and joy to home and society, rather than be beyond suffering. The cultural-specific findings are in concordance with the Confucian ideal of humanity (jen/ren), according to which the ultimate goal of learning is to bring peace and harmony to the world, which one can achieve through cultivating one’s personal life (Great Learning, 1963). In addition, this emphasis on harmony not only has a collective orientation (Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asial, & Lucca, 1988), it also reveals the ideal Chinese strive in maintaining their psychosocial homeostasis (Hsu, 1971) and relationships with others (Hwang, 2000).

Though Modesty and Unobtrusiveness factor might be an artifact derived out of participants’ responses to the “disadvantages” of being a wise person, it seems to be a finding rather specific to Chinese-originated cultures, which corresponds with the image of the sage upheld throughout both Confucian (e.g., Confucius: The Analects, 1979; The Doctrine of the Mean, 1963; Mencius, 1970) and Taoist texts (e.g., The Book of Lieh-tzu, 1990; Chuang Tzu, 1964). In both traditions, the sage modeled after nature functions everywhere while others are hardly aware of their accomplishments. “When his [sage’s] task is accomplished and his
work is done, the people all say ‘It happened to us naturally.’” (Lao Tzu: Tao Te Ching, verse XVII, 1963). Accordingly, it is reasonable to speculate that the factor of Modesty and Unobtrusiveness may in some way reflect the image of the sage depicted in Confucian and Taoist writings.

In the modern world, perhaps a wise Taiwanese Chinese behaves modestly and unobtrusively because he or she is experienced in handling the Chinese interdependent selfhood (Ho, 1995) and preserving other people’s “faces” in social interactions (Gabrenya & Hwang, 1996). Also supporting this factor is the significant self-effacement effect in five out of the eight personality dimensions found among Hong Kong Chinese (Bond, Leung, & Wan, 1982).

In general, descriptions of wisdom are manifested through handling daily events (e.g., “Is able to transform an adverse situation to one’s or everyone’s advantage,” “Is able to analyze and resolve problems and their causes”), managing one’s own life (e.g., “Is able to make one’s life meaningful, worthwhile, fulfilling, and valuable,” “Enjoys one’s life fully; lives one’s life with a sense of peacefulness and contentment”), and contributing to social improvement and progress (e.g., “Is able to make contribution to enhance and improve society, exert influence, and make a difference,” “Is able to bring harmony to society, home, and all others around”). After putting these facets together, wisdom can be defined as the integration of reasoning and behavior, embodying both symbolic and tacit knowledge, which deals with real human life in a benevolent yet profound and open-minded manner that can further actualize human possibilities in a positive direction.

Historical studies of the evolution of the concept of wisdom through different eras in Chinese civilization are needed. Because the present studies investigated Taiwanese Chinese conceptions of wisdom through people’s conceptions of a wise person, the actions needed to accomplish wisdom and the positive consequences of wisdom remain to be explored. In-depth studies are needed to understand wisdom through a person’s own real-life experience. For example, interviews on ordinary people’s real-life wise decisions and wise actions that have exerted a significant yet positive effect in their and others’ lives would contribute to understanding of wisdom. In the last analysis, individual actualization of conceptions of wisdom in real life, and the positive impact of these wise decisions and actions, may be the vehicle of the advance of human civilizations.

NOTES

1. In Taiwan, parents were anxious about their children’s performance in the national college entrance examination. This examination took place over 2 days, and it was customary for the parents to wait in the garden outside the examination halls until the examination was over, just to comfort or serve food to their children. This situation presented an excellent opportunity for the researcher of the first study to ask them to complete the questionnaire while they were waiting for the exam to finish.

2. The original questionnaire and its English translation are available on request.

3. Compared to the total population in Taiwan, this sample had a large percentage of women. According to the Taiwan Statistical Data Book 1999 (1998), the total population was 48.73% women at the time of data collection in 1998 (p. 20).

4. The percentage of nonstudent adults in this sample was close to the one in the total population, 76.21% at the end of 1998 (Taiwan Statistical Data Book 1999, 1998, p. 273).

5. At the end of 1998 in Taiwan, the 18- to 29-years age group consisted of roughly 20% of the total population, whereas the 30- to 49-years age group consisted of 24% of the total population (Taiwan Statistical Data Book 1999, 1998, pp. 23-24).
6. According to Tucker and Lewis (1973), when the sample size is large ($N \geq 120$; see also Gorsuch, 1983), the likelihood ratio statistics tend to reject an otherwise acceptable factor model—model with fewer nontrivial common factors. In this case, the Tucker and Lewis reliability coefficient presents a better indication of the adequacy of the variance accounted for by a factor model.

7. Though modesty was listed in the Canadians’ conceptions of wisdom (Holliday & Chandler, 1986), the characteristics found in their Social Unobtrusiveness factor differed tremendously from the ones in the present Modesty and Unobtrusiveness factor. I concluded that there was less relation between the two factors than their labels suggested.

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Yang,K.S.,&Bond,M.H.(1990).Exploringimplicitpersonalitytheorieswithindigenousorimportedconstructs:

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Within-nation cultural variation across regions provides a largely untapped resource for examining cross-cultural relations usually studied at the international level. The current study examines the relations of collectivism, helping behavior with strangers, and pace of life across regions of the United States. The study shows that within-nation cultural variation can be used both to (a) cross-validate findings generated at the international level, findings that are otherwise exceedingly difficult to cross-validate, and to (b) generate new findings. The current study provides cross-validation for the previously reported negative relation at the international level between collectivism and a faster pace of life. The study also provides evidence that in the context of helping strangers, collectivism is negatively associated with certain types of helping behavior. In particular collectivism was negatively associated with the “planned” (as opposed to “spontaneous”) and “giving” (as opposed to “doing”) types of helping.

**INTRANATIONAL CULTURAL VARIATION**

**Exploring Further Implications of Collectivism Within the United States**

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A defining aspect of cross-cultural psychology over the years has been its reliance on studies using international boundaries as the central strategy for demarcating the world’s various cultures. This practice is not without its merits, as the existence of a nation-state encourages homogenization of, for example, language, law, education, mass media, sense of history, and identity (see Tweed, Conway, & Ryder, 1999). Nonetheless, such tendencies do not preclude regional cultural differences within national borders (see Hermans & Kempen, 1998). Federated countries, such as the United States, China, and India, are good exemplars of such variation, with language, law, education, and so forth, showing regional differences. In these countries, the nesting of state or provincial government within national government is mirrored by the nesting of regional culture within national culture.

Although the United States has long been considered the most prototypic of individualist nations (e.g., Hofstede, 1980), this country contains considerable regional variation within its borders. Recent work by Vandello and Cohen (1999) investigating collectivism in the United States provides some of the most convincing empirical evidence to support this claim. Using the 50 American states as their unit of analysis, they constructed a U.S. collectivism index based on behavioral measures that has adequate internal reliability, correlates well with a self-report measure of collectivism, and demonstrates theoretically meaningful relationships with other variables, including suicide rate, frequency of binge drinking, and levels of gender and racial inequality.

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Although caution should be exercised in interpreting the precise meaning of collectivism within a more generally individualist culture, we believe that this demonstration of intranational variation provides a largely untapped resource for individuals conducting cultural research. Specifically, cross-cultural researchers who exclusively focus on international cultural comparisons face the problem of satisfactorily cross-validating their findings due to the restricted number of national cases available—even the most ambitious studies (e.g., Chinese Culture Connection, 1987; Hofstede, 1980) do not exceed 50 countries, making cross-validation difficult in practice. The current investigation highlights a way by which this largely artificially imposed limitation might be overcome by taking advantage of intranational cultural variation. That is, the method we describe here shows how regional cultural variations within a country can be utilized to cross-validate findings from international research and potentially generate new findings for international application. Our purposes, then, are to illustrate this method while simultaneously elaborating our understanding of American collectivism by comparing it with other behavioral variables thought to be influenced by the collectivism dimension.

In the present study, we pose two specific questions relating collectivism to two other variables shown to differ across cultures at the international level: (a) What is the relationship between collectivism and various helping behaviors? and (b) What is the relationship between collectivism and pace of life? The present report hopes to shed some light on these questions by looking at how the U.S. collectivism measure of Vandello and Cohen (1999) correlates with the helping (directed toward strangers) and pace of life measures developed by Levine and his colleagues (Levine, 1997; Levine, Lynch, Miyake, & Lucia, 1989; Levine, Martinez, Brase, & Sorenson, 1994; Levine, Miyake, & Lee, 1989). To identify potential mediators of the relations, the effect of controlling for five other demographic factors was also explored.

PREDICTIONS

Collectivism and helping. Collectivism involves a heightened commitment and attention to other people (e.g., Kagitcibasi, 1997; Levine, 1997). Based on this evident “concern” for others (Hui & Triandis, 1986, p. 231), it would not be unreasonable to expect that collectivism is more likely to be associated with prosocial helping behaviors. Indeed, some evidence suggests that persons with a collectivistic cultural background have more of an orientation toward helping. For example, Freeberg and Stein (1996) found that Mexican Americans, when compared to Anglo-Americans, both endorsed more collectivistic attitudes and were more likely to report that they felt an obligation to assist family members. Similarly, Farver, Welles-Nystrom, Frosch, Wimbarti, and Hoppe-Graff’s (1997) analyses of children’s imaginative “toy” narratives suggested that Indonesian children were more likely to tell stories about helpful and friendly figures than either American, German, or Swedish children; on the other hand, American children were more prone to using aggressive imagery than the other three cultures. Farver et al. (1997) suggested that these results, in part, can be understood as a difference in the collective orientation of the cultures, with Indonesia being considered the most collectivistic and America the most individualistic.

However, many cultural researchers (e.g., Leung & Bond, 1984; Schwartz, 1990; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988) acknowledge that collectivists typically show notable differences in behavior toward ingroup and outgroup members. For this reason, it is also reasonable to predict that collectivism involves less concern for others’
welfare in situations involving outgroup members (see Bond & Smith, 1996). Thus, to the
degree that strangers are considered a part of an outgroup, this thinking would suggest that
the present study ought to reveal a negative relationship between collectivism and helping.

Indeed, evidence using an individual-level measure of individualism/collectivism sug-
gests that persons lower on individualism tend to have more prosocial values relevant to
direct interpersonal issues, but persons higher in individualism tend to have more prosocial
values at a universal and abstract level (Triandis et al., 1986, cited in Schwartz, 1990). This
suggests that persons higher in individualism may be more likely to help outgroup members,
and less likely to help ingroup members, than persons lower in individualism (see Schwartz,
1990). Other evidence pertains more directly to a cross-cultural understanding of helping
behavior. In a series of naturalistic experiments, Feldman (1968) studied differences in help-
ing behavior in cities from three different countries: France (Paris), Greece (Athens), and the
United States (Boston). Hofstede’s (1980) work suggests that these countries differ in their
levels of collectivism, with Greece being the most collectivistic, the United States the least
collectivistic, and France somewhere in between the two. Did the countries differ in their
treatment of strangers? The answer, overall, is “yes.” Although Feldman (1968) was not pri-
marily interested in simple overall differences between nations, a glance at the mean patterns
suggests that, on average, Americans were more likely to help, and Grecians the least likely.
By itself, this would suggest that collectivists were less likely to help strangers.

However, it is worth noting that the empirical story from Feldman’s work with regards to
the broader ingroup/outgroup question is a little murkier. Feldman also looked at differences
in helping behavior toward people who were from the same country (“compatriots”) and
people from a different country (“foreigners”), and this evidence suggested that, on the
whole, Grecians were the least biased toward foreigners of the three nations (indeed, Gre-
cians generally helped foreigners more than compatriots). Because of these theoretical
ambiguities, although Feldman’s (1968) studies are interesting, it is perhaps difficult to draw
a simple theoretical conclusion from them with respect to our current question.

Indeed, at a broader level, the exact nature of the relationship between individualistic atti-
dudes and cooperative or interdependent values has been the topic of some debate. Some have
argued that individualism necessarily promotes antisocial behavior, whereas others have
argued that individualism actually promotes interdependent behavior (for a different per-
spective, see Kagitcibasi, 1997; for a review, see Waterman, 1981). Because neither the
above theoretical or empirical considerations conclusively suggests which of the competing
predictions are most likely to be correct, all analyses of the collectivism-helping relation
were conducted with two-tailed tests.

Collectivism and pace of life. In contrast to the uncertainty surrounding helping behavior,
both the theoretical and empirical literatures on collectivism and pace of life suggest a
straightforward negative relation. More specifically, Levine (1997) points to evidence that
because cultures high on collectivism are more focused on affiliation than achievement (e.g.,
Triandis, 1994, cited in Levine, 1997), members may be more likely to eschew the ever-prev-
alent “time-is-money mindset” (p. 18) that can increase the pace of life in cultures that fall
toward the individualism pole. Furthermore, previous research at the international level,
using an index similar to the one used here, demonstrated a negative correlation between col-
lectivism and pace of life at the international level (Levine, 1997). The present study pro-
vides an opportunity to cross-validate this finding at the intranational level of analysis.
METHOD

MEASURES

U.S. Collectivism Index

Vandello and Cohen’s (1999) U.S. collectivism index is composed of the following eight state-level variables: The percentage of people living alone (reverse-scored), the ratio of people carpooling to work to driving alone, the ratio of divorces to marriages (reverse-scored), the percentage of elderly people living alone (reverse-scored), the percentage of households with grandchildren in them, the percentage of people with no religious affiliation (reverse-scored), the average percentage of Libertarian votes over four presidential elections from 1980 to 1992 (reverse-scored), and the percentage of self-employed people (reverse-scored). These raw scores were then standardized and added together to form the composite index of U.S. collectivism (see Vandello & Cohen, 1999).

Helping Indexes

In an ambitious project, Levine and colleagues (1994) sent male experimenters to 36 U.S. cities. These experimenters had been trained to enact four different helping scenarios. In one scenario, they asked for change for a quarter (“change”). In another, they accidentally dropped a pen (“dropped pen”). In the third scenario, the experimenter, wearing a large leg brace and limping, dropped a pile of large magazines and tried (without success) to pick them up (“hurt leg”). The fourth scenario was even more elaborate: the experimenters dressed up as blind persons and acted as if they needed help crossing the street (“blind person”). For each scenario, the percentage of enactments eliciting an offer of help was calculated.

In addition to these four live scenarios, Levine and colleagues (1994) developed two other helping indexes. First, a stamped, addressed letter was randomly placed on the windshields of cars with a note reading, “I found this next to your car” (Levine et al., 1994, p. 74). The percentage of returned envelopes was then calculated (“lost letter”). Finally, per capita United Way contributions were measured (“United Way”). A total helping index was then constructed from these six variables, all of which measured helping behavior directed toward strangers.

Pace of Life Indexes

Levine, Lynch, and colleagues (1989) collected four different measures of the pace of life across 36 U.S. cities, 35 of which were the same as those for the helping index reported above. First, during business hours and in downtown locations, they measured the walking speeds of pedestrians across distances of 60 feet (“walking speed”). Second, they measured how long it took a bank clerk to either give change for two $20 bills (always requesting the same denominations), or to give two $20 bills for this same amount of change (“bank speed”). Third, they tape-recorded the responses of postal workers to a question about the differences between different types of mail, and later calculated the talking speed of the individuals by dividing the number of spoken syllables by the total time it took to say them (“talking speed”). Lastly, the percentage of watches worn by randomly selected downtown persons was counted (“watches worn”). These raw scores were then standardized and added
together to form the composite index of pace of life. The overall pace of life index is largely uncorrelated with the overall helping index, \( r = -0.02 \) (Levine et al., 1994).

**Demographic Variables**

To ascertain potential mediators of the relations, the effect of controlling for five demographic factors was also examined. These demographic variables were chosen in part because each has been demonstrated to have (or is closely linked to another variable that has been demonstrated to have) some relationship with collectivism, helping, and/or the pace of life—thus, it was believed that each of these variables might be an important mediator of any collectivism-helping or collectivism-pace of life relationship. The demographic variables were as follows:

1. The percentage of persons within the state who fell below the poverty line in 1994 (“poverty”). Poverty in the United States is positively correlated to collectivism (Vandello & Cohen, 1999). It may be that being poor causes persons to be dependent on one another, and this dependence may lead to both high collectivism (Vandello & Cohen, 1999) and an increased predisposition to help.
2. Per capita income by state in 1995 (“income”). Personal income affords another indicator of wealth or poverty in each state.
3. Gross state product, 1994. Industrialization is negatively related to collectivism at the international level. Gross state product measures “output attributable to the factors of production located” within that state (Bureau of the Census, 1997, p. 442), and was used as a proxy for industrialization.
4. City population density (“density”). Density was computed for each of the cities proper in 1990; the greater metropolitan areas of cities were excluded for these computations. Population density is associated with both collectivism (Vandello & Cohen, 1999) and helping (Levine et al., 1994).
5. Percentage of persons who fell within a minority group in 1994 (“minority percent”). Because cross-ethnic differences in collectivism have been suggested (see Vandello & Cohen, 1999), it seemed prudent to include a variable relevant to ethnicity.

The vast majority of the above demographic statistics were obtained through the Bureau of the Census’s (1997) publication *Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1997*. The population densities of four cities (Santa Barbara, California; Youngstown, Ohio; Canton, Ohio; and East Lansing, Michigan) were obtained via the Internet (United States Census Bureau, 1999).

**CORRELATIONS**

The present study involved 37 cities spread out across the following 17 states (number of cities within each state in parentheses): California (9), Georgia (1), Illinois (1), Indiana (1), Kentucky (1), Louisiana (1), Massachusetts (3), Michigan (2), Missouri (2), New Jersey (1), New York (3), Ohio (3), Pennsylvania (1), Rhode Island (1), Tennessee (4), Texas (2), and Utah (1). For all correlations between city-level variables and state-level variables, each city represented a separate case in the analysis (in other words, the state-level scores were entered separately for all cities, including those cities within the same state). This resulted in all correlations having an \( N \) of 36, with some states’ scores being represented multiple times. Because all cities represented in this research were sampled independently of one another,
with participants in one city being highly unlikely to directly influence the scores derived from participants in another city, this approach meets accepted criteria of independence.

Of course, due to the fact that one state (California) contributed more than one quarter of the cities in the present study, the above analytic strategy suffers from the possibility that any effects found may be asymmetrically driven by one state. To ensure that this was not the case, we also performed all primary analyses at the state level. For these analyses, all city-level scores were averaged within each state, producing 17 state-level scores. These state-level analyses yielded results that were largely identical, in the inferential story that they told, to those performed at the city level. We opted to focus our results and interpretation on the city-level correlations, following the principle of Cohen (1990) to use the highest available \( N \) and thus avoid discarding our most precious commodity, information, unless there is a compelling statistical reason to do otherwise. For completeness, we also have included all relevant state-level analyses in tabular form for the interested reader.

### COLLECTIVISM AND HELPING BEHAVIOR

#### RESULTS

**Primary findings.** A zero-order correlation showed only a weak negative relation between the U.S. Collectivism Index and the Helping Index, \( r(36) = -.27, p = .115 \), but after controlling for five relevant demographic variables, this association was stronger and statistically significant, \( r = -.41, p = .022 \). (The meaning of this suppression effect will be discussed below.) In addition, to more closely examine how each demographic variable impacted the collectivism-helping relationship, each variable was also partialled out separately. These analyses revealed that this relationship strengthened when controlling for poverty, personal income, and city population, but was substantially weakened when controlling for minority percentage (see upper panel of Table 1; here, and for all further references to this table, interested readers may examine the equivalent location of Table 2 for state-level analyses, discussed previously).

**Type of helping behavior.** Feldman’s (1968) work suggested that a different pattern of cross-cultural results emerged for different helping scenarios. Similarly, the present findings suggested that collectivists and individualists helped in different types of situations, with the six different helping scenarios revealing considerable variation in the relation between helping and collectivism. Four of the helping measures were negatively related to collectivism, whereas two of them (“dropped pen” and “hurt leg”) were positively related. The largest zero-order effect was for United Way contributions, which showed a strong negative relation with collectivism, \( r(36) = -.48, p = .003 \) (although this correlation was substantially reduced when controlling for the five demographic variables; see upper panel of Table 1).

To better understand this variability, we examined more closely the relation between (a) the extent to which collectivism is associated with helping, as measured by the zero-order correlations, and (b) three dimensions along which helping contexts vary and for which each scenario was scored (the dimensions were empirically derived by Pearce & Amato, 1980, cited in Levine et al., 1994). This series of dimensions included helping behaviors characterized as (a) spontaneous versus planned, (b) doing versus giving, and (c) nonserious versus serious. All six helping scenarios had previously been scored on each of these dimensions.
### TABLE 1
Collectivism-Helping and Collectivism-Pace of Life Correlations: City-Level Analyses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zero-Order Correlation</th>
<th>Collectivism When Controlling for:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collectivism-helping correlations (two-tailed tests)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helping index</td>
<td>-.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dropped pen</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hurt leg</td>
<td>.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change</td>
<td>-.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blind person</td>
<td>-.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lost letter</td>
<td>-.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Way</td>
<td>-.48**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collectivism-pace of life correlations (one-tailed tests)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pace of life index</td>
<td>-.52**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walking speed</td>
<td>-.48**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank speed</td>
<td>-.32*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking speed</td>
<td>-.34*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watches worn</td>
<td>-.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: N = 36 for all correlations. GSP = gross state product.
*p < .05. **p < .01.

### TABLE 2
Collectivism-Helping and Collectivism-Pace of Life Correlations: State-Level Analyses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zero-Order Correlation</th>
<th>Collectivism When Controlling for:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collectivism-helping correlations (two-tailed tests)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helping index</td>
<td>-.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dropped pen</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hurt leg</td>
<td>.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change</td>
<td>-.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blind person</td>
<td>-.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lost letter</td>
<td>-.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Way</td>
<td>-.60*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collectivism-pace of life correlations (one-tailed tests)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pace of life index</td>
<td>-.47*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walking speed</td>
<td>-.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank speed</td>
<td>-.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking speed</td>
<td>-.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watches worn</td>
<td>-.36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: N = 17 for all correlations. GSP = gross state product.
*p < .05. **p < .01.
(Levine et al., 1994). For this analysis, the six scenarios served as the cases in Table 1 (rows 1 to 6). For the variables, the dimension scores were entered first (columns 1 to 3), and the collectivism-helping Fisher’s $z$ scored correlation (see Howell, 1992) was entered as the final variable (column 4). This procedure resulted in a $4 \times 6$ data matrix, with the relations of interest being the correlations of columns 1 to 3 (nature of the helping situation) with column 4 (relation between collectivism and helping). The collectivism-helping correlation had a strong negative association with both the spontaneous/planned and doing/giving dimensions, $r_s(6) = -.85$ and $-.79$, two-tailed $p = .031$ and .062, respectively. (The correlation that emerged on the nonserious/serious dimension was likely due to sampling error, $r(6) = -.12$, two-tailed $p = .823$.) Thus, collectivism within these six contexts of helping strangers is associated with more helping in those situations that require spontaneous response than in situations requiring planning and more helping in situations requiring direct action than in situations requiring monetary donation.

**DISCUSSION**

In general, a negative relation emerged between collectivism and helping behavior toward strangers, especially when controlling for poverty, personal income, and city population. That collectivism, which emphasizes social affiliation over achievement (e.g., Levine, 1997) and a heightened concern for others (Hui & Triandis, 1986), should inspire less helping seems almost paradoxical. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that the social umbrella of collectivism does not typically include the entire breadth of humankind (Schwartz, 1990); rather, it has a limited scope of persons to whom it applies (Bond & Smith, 1996). Thus, the present results suggest that if you are a stranger, you are, on the whole, less likely to reap the benefits of increased social cohesion that comes with collectivism.

We expected demographic factors to in part mediate any collectivism-helping relation and thus expected that controlling for demographic factors would reduce the effect sizes. In contrast, we found a suppression effect such that the effect size tended to increase with the addition of the control factors. One interpretation is that controlling for economic and social factors merely reduces “noise,” thus reducing the error term in the inferential analysis so that the actual relationship under inquiry can be more accurately examined. Such an interpretation suggests that the primary theoretical benefit in controlling for economic and social crowding indicators is that it allowed us to ensure that the relationship of interest holds when accounting for the economic and social circumstances in each state or city. In this sense, economic indicators such as poverty can be seen as partially “masking” the real relationship between collectivism and helping (for discussion of suppressors, see Cohen & Cohen, 1983; Pedhazur, 1997). Of course, it may be that the suppression means something theoretically important beyond mere “masking”—but it is unclear at this point exactly what that meaning may be.

The only variable that substantially reduced the collectivism-helping relationship when accounted for was minority percentage. Why might this be the case? One obvious reason is that ethnocultural groups within the United States themselves differ on collectivism, with the larger European American culture tending to be less collectivistic than many of the minority groups (in every state used here, European Americans were the majority group). Thus, it may be that minority percent serves as a proxy for collectivism (see Vandello & Cohen, 1999, for discussion).

Interestingly, the present results revealed that the collectivism-helping relationship was dependent on the particular type of helping involved. At a broad level, this result reminds us
to be cautious when making sweeping generalizations about the relationship between culture and behavior. Although the overall pattern suggests an inverse collectivism-helping relationship, this relationship is not monolithic—indeed, one could easily imagine that if the selection of helping scenarios had included more of those situations in which collectivistic cultures are more likely to help, the overall picture would be quite different.

More specifically, this investigation suggests that, in America at least, the collectivism of a given region is associated with more help given directly and spontaneously, and less help given when allowed time to deliberate. Why might this occur? One possibility is that those situations in Levine et al.'s (1994) study that required deliberate, planned helping might also be those situations in which the persons in need of help were most likely to be classified as an outgroup member. Consider the two helping behaviors that showed the largest negative correlations between collectivism and helping, “lost letter” and “United Way giving.” In neither of these instances were the person(s) to receive the help physically present, and it may be that this psychological distance between the helper and the persons in need made those persons more likely to be classified as an outgroup member. Because, as suggested earlier, there is reason to suspect that collectivism involves less help given to outgroup members, such an explanation may help to elucidate the differential relations between collectivism and the six helping scenarios.

Furthermore, Schwartz (1990) proposed that individualists attend more closely to the “universal context beyond the ingroup” (p. 149). This broader focus may lead cultures low on collectivism to generate comparatively fewer helping behaviors in situations arising from “close interpersonal contexts” (p. 149). In sum, such cultures may de-emphasize helping those immediately present because of this broader view, whereas cultures higher on collectivism may especially de-emphasize helping strangers not present because of outgroup attributions.

Of course, this reasoning is based on post hoc speculation, and as such it is unsurprising that it possesses some problems. For example, the “physical distance = outgroup” assumption may well not hold in a situation such as the “lost letter” one; people may assume that someone mailing a letter in an area that they frequently traverse in is somewhat similar. On another note, not all of the evidence is consistent with the idea that more direct contact with the person in need leads to a more positive collectivism-helping relationship. For example, all of the helping behaviors used in Feldman (1968) involved direct contact with the potential helper—and, in those studies, the most collectivistic nation’s members helped the least. Similarly, in the present study, two of the “direct contact” behaviors showed negative collectivism-helping relationships (see Table 1). Although not undermining entirely the present explanation, this suggests that an inverse collectivism-helping relationship can extend into the realm of direct helping.

In addition, Feldman’s studies are unclear as to whether they provide evidence that the more collectivistic Grecians are more likely to help ingroup (vs. outgroup) members. As noted above, his research suggests that Grecians are less biased in their helping of foreigners than are the more individualistic Americans and French. Feldman (1968), drawing on the ideas of Triandis, Vassiliou, and Nassiakou (1967; cited in Feldman, 1968), suggests that this is because Grecians are more likely to categorize foreigners as a “temporary” part of the ingroup. Although this may of course be true, we are yet unconvinced. Another plausible explanation may be that Grecians recognize foreigners as outgroup members and are not biased against them in spite of this (and, indeed, may be biased in favor of outgroup members). If this is the case, it may be inconsistent with the thinking that collectivists are less likely to help outgroup members.
Of course, one does not want to make too much of the Feldman study’s application to wider cultural issues, given that the study had only three cultural units under the investigative lens. All of the above together, however, does suggest that it would be premature to make any strong conclusions regarding ingroup/outgroup distinctions from the present study. Although the present study contributes directly to our understanding of how culturally measured collectivism relates to helping behavior toward strangers, the exact psychological processes underlying the effect are somewhat ambiguous. Clearly, future research should clarify the psychological nature of the helping scenarios used in the present studies along ingroup/outgroup (and other) lines.

Another possible explanation for the different collectivism-helping relationships on different types of helping behavior merits discussion. The potential faster pace of life in cultures low on collectivism may impact this relationship: Although less collectivistic cultures may be in general more likely to encourage helping strangers, this principle may break down when those strangers require more immediate help for which time had not been previously allotted. In other words, a culture with a hurried pace of life may be less likely to promote immediate assistance of those in need. But do less collectivistic regions in the United States, in actual fact, have a faster pace of life? We now turn to this collectivism-pace of life relationship.

COLLECTIVISM AND PACE OF LIFE

RESULTS

Primary analyses: Intranational level. Consistent with previous research using nations (Levine, 1997), the correlation between U.S. collectivism and the overall pace of life index was strongly negative, $r(36) = -0.52$, one-tailed $p < .001$. However, this effect was reduced to a trend by the partialling out of the five demographic mediators, $r = -0.26$, one-tailed $p = .076$. As with the helping analyses, the individual impact of each demographic indicator was separately assessed. Three of these variables had little effect, whereas poverty and minority percentage substantially reduced the collectivism-pace of life correlation, $r_s = -0.32$ and $-0.33$, both one-tailed $p < .03$ (see lower panel of Table 1). Closer examination of the pace of life measures revealed that three of the four individual pace of life indicators were moderately to strongly negative, whereas the fourth indicator, watches worn, was not associated with collectivism (see lower panel of Table 1).

Supplementary analyses: Mediation of the international collectivism–pace of life correlation. Levine (1997) reported that collectivism was negatively correlated with the pace of life at the international level, but did not examine the effect of controlling for demographic factors. Thus, to determine whether the mediation effects described above at the within-nation level were also mirrored at the international level, we turned our attention back to Levine’s (1997) original analyses. The pace of life index Levine constructed at the international level was based on three indicators. One of these directly overlaps with those used within the United States: Measurements of walking speed. The other two are conceptually related but methodologically different: The speed of service by a post office employee and the accuracy of clocks. In the present analyses, we correlated this overall index with the collectivism index reported by Hofstede (1980). Hofstede reported collectivism scores for 22 of
the 31 nations used in Levine’s (1997) pace of life analyses; thus, 9 nations were dropped from these analyses. Levine (1997) did not report the magnitude of the collectivism-pace of life correlation; but, consistent with his suggestion, our analyses yielded a negative correlation of substantial size, \( r(22) = -0.55, p < .01 \).

To identify potential demographic mediators in Levine’s (1997) data, we obtained gross domestic product (GDP) per capita scores for 1989 from the United Nations statistical archives (1993; one political region, Taiwan, had to be dropped from all GDP analyses because no GDP score was reported for it) and the percentage of minority ethnic groups comprising the population via the Internet (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2000; one nation, France, had to be dropped from all minority percentage analyses because no ethnic breakdown was reported). When controlling for both GDP per capita and minority percentage, the collectivism-pace of life correlation was reduced to zero, \( r = -0.00 \), one-tailed \( p > .497 \). Analyses on each mediator separately, however, suggested that the majority of this mediation effect was accounted for by GDP: When controlling for GDP alone, the collectivism-pace of life correlation was reduced to almost zero, \( r = -0.06 \), one-tailed \( p > .40 \); on the other hand, controlling for minority percent alone had little effect. (Please see Table 3 for both zero-order and partial correlations on the overall index and the three individual pace of life indicators).  

**DISCUSSION**

The present results cross-validate, at the intranational level, findings reported at the international level (Levine, 1997), providing confirmatory evidence that collectivism is negatively related to pace of life. Impressively, this negative relationship occurred at both the state and nation level despite the fact that the operations of collectivism used at the two levels were markedly different. In addition, the present results in the United States are particularly interesting in that they were performed entirely within one of the most individualistic countries in the world. Such a finding suggests that the collectivism construct may have some similar meanings both within and across international borders.

Although the zero-order relationships were virtually identical at the international and intranational levels, additional analyses with demographic variables suggested that the two levels contained somewhat different patterns of mediation. Although an indicator of the per capita level of economic production did not mediate the collectivism-pace of life relationship at all within the United States, a similar indicator almost entirely mediated that relationship across nations. What might account for this difference? First, a methodological point should be noted. As Table 3 shows, most of the mediating effect for GDP at the international level occurred for postal times and clock accuracy; neither of these indicators was used in constructing the pace of life index within the United States. Indeed, the only indicator that was used across both the international and intranational levels of analyses showed a somewhat similar pattern: Both within the United States and across nations, the negative relationship between collectivism and “walking speed” was not much influenced by GDP or gross state product (GSP) per capita. Thus, it may be that the differences can be accounted for by the different ways of operationalizing pace of life in the two studies. By implication, this suggests that if other ways of operationalizing pace of life are used within the United States, then GSP per capita may play a more prominent role in mediation.

Second, although GSP per capita did not mediate the pace of life-collectivism relationship within the United States, this relationship was at least somewhat mediated by another economic indicator—poverty. Thus, it may be argued that economic indicators mediate the
relationship between pace of life and collectivism both within the United States and across nations, but the difference lies in which particular economic indicators are more important in mediation.

To the degree that it occurs, the mediation of the collectivism-pace of life relationship by economic factors suggests the importance of an “ecological” or “ecocultural” framework in understanding how particular cultural attributes and relationships emerge (e.g., Berry, 1994; Insko et al., 1980). It may be that certain core environmental and economic factors play a role in creating both collectivism (see Berry, 1994) and a slow pace of life (see Levine, 1997). Given this, one would expect that such economic factors would account for much of the relationship between collectivism and pace of life. Thus, the present analyses are consistent with the idea that culture can be understood, in part, as related conceptual structures (collectivism, pace of life) that emerge as a response to particular environmental conditions (but see also Schaller & Conway, in press).

**GENERAL DISCUSSION**

The present study set out to investigate the relations between collectivism and the helping of strangers, and collectivism and the pace of life. For the former association, in which the a priori hypothesis was difficult to discern from the extant literature, our results indicate that collectivism is indeed negatively associated with helping strangers, but that this relation is importantly modified by the helping context. For the latter association, in which expectations were more clear, our results serve to cross-validate research previously performed across nations, albeit with some minor differences in the influence of mediating variables.

Importantly, these findings indicate that researchers need not be limited by the low number of countries in which research may be conducted, nor is replication in a new sample necessarily impossible, or even difficult. The fact that, to our knowledge, no previous cross-cultural study on helping behavior had exceeded four cultural units serves to underscore the point that constraining research to national boundaries can be unnecessarily limiting. The American states and, by analogy, regions in China, India, Britain, and other nations with a similar organization, can serve as sources of localized culture.

Moreover, this capability is even more important when one recalls that group-level differences are not synonymous with individual-level differences. For example, although we now have both international and intranational evidence that collectivism at the regional level is negatively associated with pace of life, it does not necessarily follow that collectivistic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Zero-Order</th>
<th>Controlling for GDP</th>
<th>Controlling for Minority</th>
<th>Controlling for Both</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pace of life index</td>
<td>-.55**</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>-.46*</td>
<td>-.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walking speed</td>
<td>-.69**</td>
<td>-.52**</td>
<td>-.64**</td>
<td>-.51*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postal speed</td>
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<td>.24</td>
<td>-.14</td>
<td>.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clock accuracy</td>
<td>-.31</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>-.19</td>
<td>.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 3**

Collectivism–Pace of Life Correlations: Cross-National Analyses

*Note: N = 22 for all zero-order correlations; N = 21 for all GDP partials and Minority partials; N = 20 for partials including both mediators. GDP = gross domestic product.

*p < .05. **p < .01.
individuals within these regions have the slowest pace of life. Indeed, the possibility remains that within every cultural unit studied, collectivism could be positively associated with pace of life at the individual level. The ways in which variables relate within groups must be examined separately from how they relate across groups. Because cultural levels of analysis are providing us with answers that cannot be investigated in other ways, access to additional natural datasets is invaluable.

Turning now to difficulties with the present study, a potential criticism of the analytic strategy used here is that we have correlated a state-level variable with city-level variables. There are at least two related problems. First, are the city- and state-level units of analyses really compatible? Although there exists a certain inelegance in correlating state- and city-level variables, it is important to note that it works in the direction of inhibiting, not boosting, correlations. The problem is one of the precision of the instrument; the best collectivism instrument for this study would be a measure that looks at each city individually. This lack of precision ought to make it harder to find correlations that in reality exist; it is unlikely to produce spurious correlations. Thus, any correlations that emerge between the variables of interest—such as those that emerged in the present investigation—are likely to represent real relationships.

A related problem is that differences in state-level variables are more likely to reflect rural (vs. urban) differences than are city-level variables; unlike city-level variables, state-level variables include rural as well as urban populations. This is certainly a difficulty; however, reasons exist for trusting the present results to be theoretically meaningful in the face of this difficulty. First, it is true that because our results focused only on cities, in reality our interpretation, to be true to the data, should also focus only on the importance of state-level collectivism to helping/pace of life in urban environments. Although this is an important caveat to remember, it does not pose a substantial threat to the validity of the collectivism-helping or the collectivism-pace of life relationships. This would only be true if the units of analyses were confounded with rural/urban environments—that is, if we used rural environments in some states and urban environments in others, while failing to control for this confound. However, because in all states the areas surveyed were urban in nature, and because we were able to control for both state urbanization and city population density, the present results do not seem to run this risk.

The present test can be seen as analogous to any cross-cultural test that uses similar populations of people in different cultures. Although it would of course be ideal to use, for example, the entire population of China and the entire population of the United States in Chinese-American comparisons, this is not practically possible. Thus, instead researchers use persons within each country from a similar demographic background, such as students or teachers, to ensure as much as possible that the differences obtained are due to cultural, as opposed to demographic, differences (see Smith & Schwartz, 1997). Similarly, in the present study, because the collectivism measure is at the state level, it would be ideal to use the entire populations of all states in the analyses pertaining to helping and pace of life; but, given that we do not currently have access to data for those populations in entirety, a reasonable strategy is to look at similar populations of people within each state—such as city dwellers.

In addition, it is worth noting that a large majority of persons in the United States (77%) live in urban environments. Thus, state-level variables (such as collectivism) are constructed largely from urban populations. This has implications for interpretation: Even if we limited the interpretation of the present results to urban populations in the United States, the large urban population still means that the reported relationships would be applicable to the majority of persons in the United States.
Finally, statistical analyses suggest that the urban/rural distinction may be relatively unimportant in the relationships discussed here. Controlling for the percent of the population living in urban areas within a state (or nation) made practically no difference in the reported correlations between collectivism and helping at the intranational level, and between collectivism and pace of life at both the intranational and international levels (see Note 4). In addition, although no truly rural environments were used in the present study, the level of city “urbanness” was partially accounted for by controlling for the population density of the city—an analysis suggesting that population density did not matter too much in the collectivism—helping and collectivism—pace of life relationships at the state level. Of course, to more fully account for the rural/urban dimension, one would need to have the same helping and pace of life measures obtained for both urban and more genuinely rural areas within each state/country under consideration. However, though not conclusive, the above analyses do suggest that the relationships reported here may go beyond mere considerations of “urbanness.”

Takentogether, theresultsofthepresentstudydemonstratetheusefulnessofstudyingrelationsbetweencross-culturalvariablesattheintranationallevel. Thestudyofcultureneednotbeconstrainedbyinternationalboundaries. Focusing solely on such large cultural units can limit both our understanding of cultural processes in general and our understanding of individual cultures in particular. At the broader conceptual level, understanding intranational regional variability provides an excellent way to test the generality of theories about how culture emerges and how it influences people. At the more specific level, just as it would be wrong to presume that every person in every nation were exactly the same on some dimension (e.g., Tweed et al., 1999), it would likewise be wrong to presume that every region within a larger national unit were the same. Thus, we have much to learn about how particular nations can form relatively cohesive cultural units and yet still contain identifiable and theoretically meaningful regional differences.

NOTES

1. Following the lead of Vandello and Cohen (1999), in the present article we speak of individualism and collectivism as a single dimension. However, there are reasons to suspect that, in some contexts at least, individualism/collectivism and related constructs are composed of relatively independent dimensions (e.g., Kagitcibasi, 1997; Singelis, 1994). As pointed out by Vandello and Cohen (1999), Triandis (1989) has argued that whether individualism/collectivism is unidimensional or bidimensional depends on both what level of analysis is used and whether a broad range of values is assessed. According to Vandello and Cohen (1999), Triandis (1989) suggests that when using the nation level of analysis and obtaining a broad range of values, individualism/collectivism becomes more unidimensional. On the basis of this, Vandello and Cohen (1999) argue that because their individualism/collectivism measure is at the state level and taps into a broad range of behavioral measures, it is appropriate to speak of it as a unidimensional measure. We recognize, however, that both individualism/collectivism (Tweed et al., 1999) and other cultural identity constructs (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, in press) can contain more than one subdimension, and the present article is not an attempt to enter into that debate. We refer to collectivism in a unidimensional manner largely for convenience.

2. Partly because we were primarily interested in the demographic variables as mediators (and not in their predictive relationships with helping and pace of life), and partly for ease of presentation, we opted to present partial correlations instead of simultaneous regression analyses (which could have included the predictive relationships of all the demographic variables with collectivism and pace of life, while accounting for the other variables). Note, however, that simultaneous regression analyses parallel to the partial correlations presented would yield identical $p$ values for the predictive validity of collectivism with the measures of helping and pace of life (while similarly accounting for the demographic measures).

3. Because the only economic indicator of any mediational impact within the United States was poverty, we had hoped to obtain comparable poverty scores across nations. However, we were unable to obtain poverty scores from a
broad enough range of nations that were comparable across international boundaries. Therefore, we did not perform analyses for poverty.

4. Because all analyses presented here are subject to the potential criticism that they do not account for rural/urban differences within states and nations, for both the intranational and international levels, we also included a measure of urbanization in the mediational analyses on the helping and pace of life composite indexes. For the states, this measure was the percentage of the population living in metropolitan areas in 1996 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000); for the nations, it was the percentage of the population living in urban areas in 1997 (World Bank, 2000). These partial correlations revealed that the level of urban population within either states or countries had virtually no effect on the correlations reported here between collectivism and helping, or between collectivism and pace of life. When controlling only for urban percentage, the collectivism-overall helping index correlation within the United States (computed at the city level) remains at \(-.27\), two-tailed \(p = .123\). When adding urban percentage to the other five mediators, the same correlation is nearly identical as when using the five mediators alone, \(r = -.43, p = .018\). Similar results emerged for the collectivism-pace of life correlations within the United States (\(r = -.53\), one-tailed \(p < .001\); \(r\) controlling for all six \(r = -.28, p = .065\)). (The above analyses were also computed using the state level of analysis, and, again, the correlations changed little from those already reported.) Likewise, at the international level, the collectivism-pace of life correlation remained similar to previous analyses when controlling only for urban percentage (\(r = -.52\), two-tailed \(p = .018\)), and when controlling for both urban percentage and per capita Gross Domestic Product (\(r = -.04,\) two-tailed \(p = .860\)). Thus, the rural/urban distinction does not seem to easily account for the present findings.

REFERENCES


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The Interactive Acculturation Model was recently proposed to better account for relations between immigrant and dominant host majority members depending on their respective acculturation orientations. The Host Community Acculturation Scale (HCAS) was used to measure the following five acculturation orientations toward “valued” and “devalued” immigrants: integrationism, assimilationism, segregationism, exclusionism, and individualism. Results obtained with Quebecois francophone host majority members (N = 637) showed that integrationism and individualism were the preferred orientations, whereas assimilationism, segregationism, and exclusionism were least endorsed. However, integrationism and individualism were more strongly endorsed for “valued” than “devalued” immigrants, whereas assimilationism, segregationism, and exclusionism were more strongly endorsed for “devalued” than “valued” immigrants. Degree of contact with immigrants was not related with the acculturation orientations of host majority francophones. The five acculturation orientations were clearly distinguished by the psychological profiles of respondents, thus confirming the construct validity of the HCAS scale.

MAJORITY ACCULTURATION ORIENTATIONS TOWARD “VALUED” AND “DEVALUED” IMMIGRANTS

ANNIE MONTREUIL
RICHARD Y. BOURHIS
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Recently, Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, and Senecal (1997a, 1997b) proposed the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM), which seeks to integrate within a common theoretical framework the following components of immigrant and dominant host majority relations in cross-cultural settings: (a) acculturation orientations adopted by immigrant groups within the host society, (b) acculturation orientations adopted by the host majority toward specific groups of immigrants, and (c) interpersonal and intergroup relational outcomes that are the product of combinations of immigrant and host majority acculturation orientations. Acculturation is a term used to describe the process of bidirectional change that takes place when two ethnocultural groups come in sustained contact with each other. This definition of acculturation implies that dominant as well as nondominant cultural groups are influenced by their intercultural contacts and are expected to modify some aspects of their respective culture as a means of adaptation.

From a social psychological perspective, a heuristic model of immigrant acculturation is the one proposed by Berry (1980, 1997). According to Berry’s psychological acculturation model, immigrants can adopt the following orientations as they adapt to the culture of their country of settlement: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalisation. Based on
an elaboration of the Berry model, the following definitions of these four immigrant acculturation orientations were proposed by Bourhis et al. (1997a, 1997b). The integration orientation reflects a desire to maintain key features of the culture of origin while also valuing the adoption of key elements of the host majority culture. Immigrants who adopt the assimilation orientation relinquish most aspects of their own culture for the sake of adopting the cultural practices of the host majority. The separation orientation is characterised by the desire to maintain all features of the immigrant culture while rejecting the culture and relations with members of the majority host culture. Marginalisation characterises individuals who feel ambivalent and somewhat alienated from both their own and the host majority culture, thereby feeling excluded from both their heritage culture and that of the host majority.

Berry, Kim, Power, Young, and Bujaki (1989), using their Immigrant Acculturation scale (IAS), monitored the acculturation orientations of the following immigrant groups in Canada: Portuguese, Korean, and Hungarian Canadians. Results showed that the integrationist orientation was the most strongly endorsed by each group followed by the assimilationist and separatist orientations. Marginalisation was the orientation least likely to be endorsed by the respondents (Berry et al., 1989). There were some differences in the degree to which these different immigrant groups endorsed the four acculturation orientations, but in general their orientations were consistent with what is expected in a plural society such as Canada (Fleras & Elliott, 1992).

A common shortcoming of classic acculturation models is the lack of importance given to how the dominant host majority can shape and be shaped by the acculturation orientations of immigrant groups (Berry, 1990; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Ward, 1996). A number of recent analyses have stressed the need to better articulate the interplay between host majority and immigrant group acculturation orientations (Berry, 1997; Bourhis et al., 1993; Bourhis et al., 1997a, 1997b; Kim, 1999; Liebkind, 2001; Woldemikael, 1987). For instance, Moghadam and Taylor (1987) suggested that the endorsement of acculturation orientations that imply maintenance of the immigrant culture can be influenced by the extent to which immigrants feel accepted or discriminated against by members of the dominant host majority. Empirical studies in Canada (Lalonde & Cameron, 1993), Quebec (Bourhis & Bougie, 1998), the United States (Oetting & Beauvais, 1991) and Europe (Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdrzalek, 2000) have begun to address such issues. In their review of acculturation models, Sayegh and Lasry (1993) concluded “obstacles to the social integration of immigrants, within the host society, need to be examined in the interaction between members of both the ethnic communities and the host society.”

**ACCULTURATION ORIENTATIONS OF THE HOST MAJORITY**

Bourhis et al. (1997a) proposed that five acculturation orientations can be endorsed by dominant host majority members toward specific immigrant minorities. These are integrationism, assimilationism, segregationism, exclusionism, and individualism. Host majority members who accept and value the maintenance of the heritage culture of immigrants and also accept that immigrants adopt important features of the majority host culture endorse the integrationist orientation. Ultimately, this orientation implies that host community members value a stable biculturalism among immigrant groups that, in the long term, may contribute to cultural pluralism as an enduring feature of the host society. The assimilationist orientation corresponds to the traditional concept of absorption whereby host community members expect immigrants to relinquish their cultural identity for the sake of adopting the culture of the majority host society. The assimilationist orientation implies that
dominant host community members will eventually consider those immigrants who have assimilated as full-fledged members of the majority host society. Members of the host community who prefer a segregationist orientation accept that immigrants maintain their heritage culture as long as they keep their distance from host majority members, as they do not wish immigrants to adopt, ‘contaminate,’ or transform the host culture. Host community members who adopt this orientation disfavor cross-cultural contact with immigrants, prefer them to remain together in separate community enclaves, and are ambivalent regarding the status of immigrants as rightful members of the majority host society. The exclusionist orientation can be adopted by members of the host community who are both intolerant of immigrants who maintain their culture of origin and also refuse to allow immigrants to adopt features of the majority host culture. Exclusionists deny immigrants the choice to maintain their heritage culture and believe that immigrants can never be incorporated culturally or socially as rightful members of the host society. As regards attitudes concerning immigration, exclusionists would like immigration to stop, and in some cases would prefer some categories of immigrants to be deported to their country of origin. Individualism is an orientation in which host community members define themselves and others as individuals rather than as members of group categories such as immigrants or host majority members. For individualists, it is the personal characteristics of individuals that count most, rather than belonging to one group or another. Such individualists will therefore tend to downgrade the importance of maintaining the immigrant culture or adopting the dominant host culture as criteria of successful acculturation. Given that it is personal qualities that count most, individualists will tend to interact with immigrants in the same way they would with other individuals who happen to be members of the host community.

The IAM proposes that acculturation orientations held by dominant host majority members can influence the orientations adopted by immigrant group members. Combinations of acculturation orientations held by host majority and immigrant group members are expected to yield relational outcomes that may be harmonious, problematic, or conflictual. Relational outcomes include patterns of intercultural communications between immigrants and host majority members, interethnic attitudes and stereotypes, acculturative stress, and discrimination between immigrant and host majority members in domains such as housing, employment, schooling, the police, and the judiciary.

HOST COMMUNITY ACCULTURATION SCALE

The acculturation orientations of host majority members is monitored using a new Host Community Acculturation Scale (HCAS) proposed by Bourhis et al. (1997a). The HCAS measures how individuals endorse each of the host community orientations, namely integrationism, assimilationism, segregationism, exclusionism, and individualism. A version of the HCAS scale was recently piloted with college students who are members of the francophone majority in the province of Quebec (Bourhis & Bougie, 1998). Quebec francophones have a double status; although they are members of the dominant majority within the province of Quebec (82% of the population), their status is that of a linguistic minority of 23% across Canada and only 2% across North America (Bourhis, 1994). Quebec anglophones also have a double status; although anglophones constitute the minority host community in Quebec (9% of the population), their status is that of a linguistic host majority in both Canada and North America as a whole (Bourhis & Marshall, 1999). During the past decades, successive Quebec governments adopted language laws designed to raise the status of French relative to English in the province (e.g., Bill 101) (Bourhis, 1984). Though these
language laws have been successful in enshrining the status and use of French as the majority language in Quebec, many francophones still feel that French is threatened by English, especially in the multilingual and multiethnic city of Montreal (Bourhis, 2001). The Quebec case is interesting because immigrants to the province have the option of adopting acculturation orientations vis-à-vis two rival host communities representing two major languages and cultures of the Western world, the French and the English (Bourhis, 1994).

Bourhis and Bougie (1998) found that Quebecois francophone college students distinguish among the acculturation orientations and that individuals who endorse each of these orientations have distinctive psychological profiles. For instance, integrationists were found to have a positive ingroup identity, did not endorse authoritarian nor ethnocentric ideologies, did not feel threatened by the presence of immigrants, and sought close relations with immigrants. Assimilationists, segregationists, and exclusionists shared common social psychological features including ethnocentric and authoritarian beliefs, negative stereotypes toward immigrants, coupled with the desire to avoid close relations with immigrants. Respondents endorsing each of these latter orientations could also be distinguished on a number of social psychological features. Although assimilationists had ambivalent identification as Quebecois francophones, segregationists were those who felt most threatened by the presence of immigrants. Exclusionists were those whose personal self-esteem was least positive, whose identity as Quebecois francophone was most ambivalent, and who felt threatened by the presence of immigrants.

The main goals of the study were to test two fundamental premises related to the IAM, namely the valued/devalued target group effect on endorsement of acculturation orientations and the effect of contact with immigrants on the acculturation orientations adopted by host majority members. Although the construct validity results obtained in the Bourhis and Bougie (1998) study were encouraging, the present research also sought to verify the validity of the HCAS scale with a broader range of social psychological correlates using Quebecois francophone respondents from ethnically more diverse colleges across the province.

VALUED/DEVALUED TARGET GROUPS

The IAM proposes that host majority acculturation orientations may differ depending on the national origin of the immigrant group being considered by dominant host society members (Bourhis et al., 1997a, 1997b). For instance, integrationism may be the predominant acculturation orientation of Quebecois francophones toward “valued” immigrants whose language and culture is similar to their own. In contrast, these same francophones may be more likely to adopt acculturation orientations such as assimilationism and segregationism toward “devalued” immigrant outgroups against whom they already have negative stereotypes or whose culture and religion may be felt to differ considerably from their own.

The HCAS was completed for two specific target groups: a “valued” and a “devalued” immigrant outgroup. These two target groups were chosen on the basis of a stereotype study conducted by Tchoryk-Pelletier (1989) with Quebec francophone college students. College students rated five immigrant background groups (Asians, French Europeans, Jews, Latin Americans, Haitians) on traits such as hard working, punctual, academic, intelligent, trustworthy, friendly, and aggressive. Results showed that French European immigrants were rated more favourably on traits that were positive such as reliable, friendly, and sincere. Visible minority immigrants from Haiti were downgraded on traits such as hard working, punctual, intelligent, and trustworthy, while being rated more aggressive and violent than the average of the four other immigrant groups. Given the favourable stereotypes expressed
toward francophone immigrants from France, this group was chosen as the “valued” target
group in the present study. Note that Quebecois francophones are in fact descendants of “set-
tlers” from France who arrived in “la Nouvelle-France” in the 17th and 18th centuries when
Quebec was a French colony.

Francophone immigrants from Haiti were chosen as the “devalued” outgroup given the
negative stereotypes Quebecois francophones had toward them. Based on these attitudes, we
could expect unfavourable acculturation orientations such as segregationism and
exclusionism to be endorsed more strongly toward “devalued” immigrant outgroups than
toward “valued” immigrants.

However, it is possible that host majority individuals may not endorse distinctive accul-
turation orientations toward different immigrant target groups but instead construct ‘generic’
 acculturation orientations, viewing all immigrants as members of one homogeneous
outgroup of ‘newcomers.’ Studies documenting the outgroup homogeneity effect have
shown that majority individuals have a tendency to perceive less variability in the traits
describing minority outgroup members than those describing ingroup members (Mullen &
Hu, 1989). This tendency leads perceivers to believe that individuals forming the outgroup
are more similar to each other than members of their own group, who are perceived as more
individuated and different from each other. This cognitive bias is subtle but has been
observed in many studies using both artificial groups (Simon & Brown, 1987) and existing
ethnocultural minorities (Ostrom & Sedikides, 1992). The outgroup homogeneity effect
could lead members of the host majority to regard immigrants as ‘all the same’ without
acknowledging actual differences based on the national origin of immigrants. Therefore,
Quebecois francophone majority members may endorse a similar profile of acculturation
orientations toward immigrants from both France and Haiti. This may be especially likely
given that immigrants from both France and Haiti share French rather than English as their
preferred language of communication with the francophone majority in Quebec (Bourhis,

Further evidence for the outgroup homogeneity effect can also be tested by including
“immigrants in general” as a target group for assessing acculturation orientations. A strong
case for the outgroup homogeneity effect could be made if Quebecois francophone majority
members endorsed similar acculturation orientations toward not only immigrants from
France and Haiti but also toward “immigrants in general” as a generic outgroup category.
This would indicate that, contrary to the premise of the IAM concerning valued/devalued
immigrant target group, francophone majority members have undifferentiated ‘generic’
acculturation orientations toward all immigrants as ‘newcomers’ or ‘outsiders.’

CONTACT HYPOTHESIS

The Intergroup Contact hypothesis proposes that favourable conditions of contact
between groups tend to reduce prejudice and discriminatory behaviour (Hewstone & Brown,
1986). Favourable contact conditions leading to positive intergroup relations include the fol-
lowing: (a) equal status between groups in the contact situation, (b) common goals shared by
both groups, (c) absence of competition for scarce resources between groups, and (d) author-
ity sanction in favour of interethnic contact (Pettigrew, 1997). In a recent study involving
four European countries, Hamberger and Hewstone (1997) showed that having friends from
other ethnic backgrounds was a better predictor of nonprejudicial attitudes toward outgroups
than other variables such as value orientation, national pride, and network of interethnic con-
tacts with neighbours and coworkers. Using a more powerful analysis of the same data,
Pettigrew (1998) showed that interethnic friendship was the causal factor most likely to reduce intergroup prejudice. Drawing from such results, we propose that positive intergroup contact is likely to play an important role in promoting the adoption of orientations such as integrationism and individualism.

According to the contact hypothesis, host majority students attending a college in which the proportion of immigrants is high should have more opportunities to develop positive interethnic contacts than students who attend a less ethnically diverse college made up of mostly ingroup majority members. We therefore expect students from a college in which the proportion of immigrants is high to be more likely to endorse acculturation orientations such as integrationism and individualism than students attending a college in which immigrants are almost absent. Given their lack of opportunity for positive contacts with immigrants, Quebecois francophones from more homogeneous colleges are expected to be more likely to endorse acculturation orientations such as assimilationism, segregationism, and exclusionism.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL PROFILES

The construct validity of the HCAS was tested by examining the psychological profile of each acculturation orientation. Based on the IAM model and results of the Bourhis and Bougie (1998) study, the following tentative hypotheses can be made about the social psychological profile of francophone majority members depending on their acculturation orientation. Host community members whose acculturation orientation is predominantly integrationist are more likely to enjoy a positive social identity as Quebec majority group members, score low on authoritarianism and ethnocentrism, and feel that immigrants do not threaten their own group linguistic and cultural identity. Integrationists are likely to have favourable attitudes toward immigrants and to seek close relations with immigrants irrespective of their national origin.

Individualists are likely to have a social psychological profile that is somewhat similar to that of integrationists, except that their social identity as members of the majority French culture may be less coherent given that such individuals tend to reject ingroup/outgroup ethnolinguistic ascription as a valued basis for constructing their social identity or dealing with others. Also, individualists are less likely than integrationists to expect immigrants to adopt features of the majority culture given that individual freedom of choice is paramount in the value orientation of individualists. Overall, integrationists and individualists share a ‘live and let live’ orientation toward ingroup and outgroup members.

Majority individuals who have a predominantly assimilationist orientation are likely to exhibit average authoritarianism and ethnocentrism scores and feel that their ingroup cultural identity is somewhat threatened by the presence of specific immigrant outgroups (especially devalued ones). Host majority members who prefer immigrants to assimilate believe that their own culture has little to benefit from the contribution of other cultural systems. Immigrants’ absorption is expected to strengthen the majority culture by making it even more dominant relative to existing immigrant groups and members of the rival anglophone host community.

Segregationists and exclusionists are likely to have similar social psychological profiles, though exclusionists are expected to be even less favourably disposed toward immigrants than segregationists. Segregationists and exclusionists are those most likely to feel threatened culturally by the presence of immigrant outgroups and to have least secure social identity as majority group members. They are likely to have less positive personal self-esteem
and to be more authoritarian and ethnocentric. Segregationists and exclusionists are likely to have highly polarized ingroup/outgroup attitudes in favour of their own group and to seek close relations with members of their own group while avoiding relations with immigrant outgroups, especially those who are devalued. Segregationists and especially exclusionists are likely to perceive that immigrants do not wish to have good relations with members of the host majority.

**METHOD**

**PARTICIPANTS**

Six-hundred and thirty-seven (637) Quebec francophone college students participated in this study. Mean age for the students was 18 years; there were 283 men and 354 women. All respondents who participated in the study were born in Quebec or Canada and had both parents also born in Canada. All students, and at least one of their parents, had French as a first language. The respondents were from three colleges: two located in the urban area of Montreal and one located in a remote area of Northwest Quebec. These three institutions were chosen based on the proportion of allophone students attending the colleges as determined by official 1998 statistics provided by the Quebec Government Ministry of Education. Allophones are defined as Quebec residents whose first language is neither French nor English, Canada’s two official languages. This linguistic category underestimates the number of college students who are in fact first- or second-generation immigrants as a number of immigrants have French or English as their first language.

In this study, the francophone college having the highest proportion of allophone students (656 of 3,181 students; 20.6%) will be designated as College A. This institution is located in the city of Montreal and is the French college that has the highest proportion of immigrants in the Province of Quebec. College B is situated in the south shore suburb of Montreal and has a low proportion of both allophone students (200 of 6,020; 3.3%) and first- or second-generation immigrants (less than 5%). College C is located in Rouyn-Noranda, a city of 50,000 inhabitants 600 kilometers northwest of Montreal. This college has the lowest proportion of allophone and immigrant students in the province of Quebec (7 of 2,009; 0.3%). Of the 637 respondents, 205 were from College A, 217 from College B, and 215 from College C. In each of these institutions, the proportion of students having English as a first language was less than 1%. The majority of Quebeccois students attending these colleges had French as a first language (75% in College A, 96% in College B, 99% in College C).

**PROCEDURE**

Respondents completed a questionnaire in French assessing their acculturation orientations toward immigrants in general and toward valued and devalued immigrant groups using the HCAS. A battery of scales measuring social-psychological correlates of the acculturation orientations was also completed. Scores on the HCAS and on the correlate scales were all rated on 7-point Likert-type scales. The questionnaire was answered individually but administered in groups during class time, and took 40 to 45 minutes to complete for most of the respondents. Respondents were debriefed in class after they completed the questionnaire.
The first part of the questionnaire dealt with the HCAS. Quebec francophone students completed the HCAS three times, giving their responses once for each target group in the following order: (a) immigrants in general, (b) immigrants from France, and (c) immigrants from Haiti. “Immigrants in general” was rated first to allow respondents to complete the first HCAS with no experimenter imposed “valued” or “devalued” target group. For each target group, the five acculturation orientations were assessed using three statements. These statements were formulated in the contexts of the following three domains: employment, cultural maintenance, and endogamy-exogamy. Examples of the actual items used to measure these five acculturation orientations in the domain of cultural maintenance are presented herein:

- **Integrationist:** “Immigrants should maintain their own heritage culture while also adopting the Quebecois culture.”
- **Assimilationist:** “Immigrants should give up their culture of origin for the sake of adopting the Quebecois culture.”
- **Segregationist:** “Immigrants can maintain their culture of origin as long as they do not mix it with the Quebecois culture.”
- **Exclusionist:** “Immigrants should not maintain their culture of origin, nor adopt the Quebecois culture because, in any case, there should be less immigration to this province.”
- **Individualist:** “Whether immigrants maintain their cultural heritage or adopt the Quebecois culture makes no difference because each person is free to adopt the culture of his/her choice.”

The complete HCAS scale is available from the authors on request.

The second part of the questionnaire dealt with social psychological correlates of the acculturation orientations proposed for host community members. The following scales were used:

2. Degree of social identification with different groups (e.g., to what extent do you identify as Canadian, Quebecois, Quebecois nationalist, etc.?).
3. Quality of ingroup identity scale (five items; e.g., to what extent do you feel proud/happy/comfortable to be Quebecois? How much do you like being Quebecois? How much do you enjoy being Quebecois?).
4. Authoritarianism scale (eight items, Fascism-scale).
5. Ethnocentrism scale (six items) (Berry, Kalin, & Taylor, 1977).
6. Feeling of Security as a French Quebecois (three items; e.g., to what degree do you feel secure culturally/linguistically/politically as a French Quebecois in this province?) (Bourhis & Bougie, 1998).
7. Individual Network of Ethnic Contact (INEC) (five items for each target group, e.g., INEC-number: Among your relatives/friends/neighbors/coworkers/colleagues at school, how many are...? INEC-frequency: how often are you in contact with your relatives/friends/neighbors/coworkers/colleagues at school who are...?) (Landry & Bourhis, 1997).
8. Comfort feeling with own group and immigrant groups (e.g., to what extent do you feel comfortable with members of the following groups?) (Berry & Kalin, 1995).
9. Desire for Social Relations scale (four items for each target group; e.g., to what extent would you like to have a member of the following group as your corner store clerk/coworker/neighbour/best friend?) (Bogardus, 1925).
10. Perception of Good Relations scale (four items for each target group; e.g., in your neighbourhood/college, to what extent do you feel that the following groups want contact/have good relations with French Quebecois?) (Bourhis & Bougie, 1998).
11. Wish for Social Integration scale (three items for each target group; e.g., to what extent would you like the following groups to integrate linguistically/culturally/politically with Quebec francophones?).

In the above relevant cases, the immigrant target groups were presented in different orders.

Given the reactive nature of some of the scales, a social desirability scale was included at the end of the questionnaire to control for participants who may respond in a face-saving way to sensitive items in the questionnaire (14 items answered true/false) (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). Finally, two scales were used as manipulation checks for the study: (1) Perceived proportion of five ethnic groups in college and neighbourhood (two items for each target group; e.g., estimate the number of individuals who are members of the following groups in your neighbourhood/in your college), and (2) Intergroup Attitude scale (four items for each target group; e.g., in general, to what extent do you feel that immigrants are hardworking/aggressive/friendly/competent?).

RESULTS

MANIPULATION CHECK

Self-rating results from our survey study showed that French was the language mastered by most students (\(M = 6.8\)), and that English was a second language well understood (\(M_s\): College A = 5.9; College B = 5.5; College C = 4.8) and spoken by most francophones (\(M_s\): College A = 5.1; College B = 4.8; College C = 4.1). Students from the three colleges identified equally strongly as francophone (\(M = 6.6\); \(F(2, 634) = 1.70, p = .18\)) and as Quebecois (\(M = 6.5\); \(F(2, 634) = 2.49, p = .08\)), thus confirming the shared ethnolinguistic identity of the Quebecois francophones sampled across the three colleges chosen for this study.

Scores obtained on the four items of the Intergroup Attitude scale were calculated as a single composite score for the target immigrant groups from France (\(\alpha = .71\)) and from Haiti (\(\alpha = .79\)), respectively. As expected, respondents expressed more positive attitudes toward immigrants from France (valued group; \(M = 5.3\)) than toward immigrants from Haiti (devalued group; \(M = 4.9\); paired-sample \(t\) test, \(t(628) = 10.43, p < .001\)). Overall, respondents had more favourable perceptions of members of their own group (\(M = 5.4\)) than of immigrants in general (\(M = 5.0\)) and immigrants from Haiti (\(M = 4.9\)). Note that Quebec francophones had as favourable perceptions of immigrants from France as they did of members of their own group. These results held across the three colleges thus validating the choice of immigrants from France as the "valued" immigrant group and Haitians as the "devalued" immigrant target group.

Respondents’ estimation of the proportion of immigrants attending their respective college revealed significant differences among the three colleges for immigrants in general, \(F(2, 630) = 195.82, p < .001\), and for immigrants from Haiti, \(F(2, 621) = 56.89, p < .001\). Students from College A perceived a greater proportion of immigrants in their college (immigrants in general \(M = 3.8\); Haitian immigrants \(M = 2.7\)) than did students from College B (immigrants in general \(M = 2.6\); Haitian immigrants \(M = 2.2\)), who themselves estimated the proportion of immigrants attending their college to be higher than students from College C (immigrants in general \(M = 2.2\); Haitian immigrants \(M = 1.9\), Tukey’s HSD, \(p < .05\)). These results validate the choice of the three institutions in terms of the proportion of immigrants present in each college (A > B > C).
In line with the Intergroup Contact hypothesis, friendship with outgroup others has been shown to be a consistent predictor of reduced prejudice (Hamberger & Hewstone, 1997; Pettigrew, 1997). To verify that the proportion of immigrants in each college was related to interethnic friendship in our sample of college students, respondents were asked to indicate how many of their friends were of immigrant background, how many were from France, and how many were from Haiti (friendship item of the INEC-N scale; 7-point Likert-type scale in which 1 meant none and 7 all. Although students of the three colleges did not differ in the number of immigrants from France that were among their friends ($M = 1.4; F(2, 614) = 1.38, p = 0.25$), there were differences among the three colleges on the proportion of friends from immigrant background in general and from Haitian origin. When asked to indicate the proportion of their friends from immigrant background, students from College C reported fewer friends than students from College B, who themselves reported fewer friends from immigrant background than students from College A ($Ms$: College C = 1.4 < College B = 2.0 < College A = 2.4; $F(2, 618) = 74.22, p < .001$; Tukey’s HSD $p < .05$). Likewise, reported number of friends from Haitian origin follows a similar pattern across the three colleges ($Ms$: College C = 1.3 < College B = 1.5 < College A = 1.7; $F(2, 614) = 13.94, p < .001$, Tukey’s HSD $p < .05$). These results further validate the choice of the three colleges regarding the proportion of immigrants and the outgroup friendship network.

SOCIAL IDENTIFICATION AND PERSONAL BELIEF MEASURES

The strength of social identification to different group categories provides the multiple identity profile of the college students taking part in the study. Respondents from the three colleges identified more strongly as Quebecois nationalist ($M = 4.8$) than as Canadian federalist ($M = 2.4$). Likewise, respondents from the three colleges identified much more strongly as francophone ($M = 6.6$) than as anglophone ($M = 2.2$). Taken together, these results confirm that francophone college students identify more strongly as Quebecois than as Canadians and have political allegiances that are closer to the Quebec sovereignist cause than to the Canadian unity status quo. Respondents from the three colleges reported a positive personal self-esteem ($M = 5.7$), a very positive quality of ingroup identity as Quebecois francophones ($M = 6.0$), but felt moderately secure as French Quebecois ($M = 4.3$). In line with previous national studies with Canadian francophones, respondents weakly endorsed ethnocentric ($M = 2.7$) and authoritarian ideologies ($M = 3.8$) (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Berry et al., 1977).

PERCEPTION OF INTERETHNIC RELATIONS

Overall, francophone students from the three colleges reported having more contacts with members of their own group ($Ms$: INEC-number = 6.0; INEC-frequency = 5.9) than with immigrants in general ($Ms$: INEC-number = 1.8; INEC-frequency = 2.3). However, students reported a higher proportion of “immigrants in general” in their network than with immigrants specifically from France ($Ms$: INEC-number = 1.3; INEC-frequency = 1.5) or from Haiti ($Ms$: INEC-number = 1.4; INEC-frequency = 1.6). Students from the three colleges were more willing to have social relations with members of their own group (Quebec francophones, $M = 5.9$) than with immigrants from France ($M = 4.8$) and Haiti ($M = 4.3$), or with immigrants in general ($M = 4.4$, Desire for Social Relations scale). However, respondents did wish to see immigrants from France ($M = 5.2$) and Haiti ($M = 5.2$) integrate within the Quebec francophone majority community (Wish for Social Integration scale). Finally, respondents perceived that immigrants in general ($M = 4.6$) and immigrants from France
(M = 5.0) and from Haiti (M = 4.4) had relatively good relations with members of the francophone host majority. All of the above noted differences were statistically significant (p < .05).

ACCULTURATION ORIENTATIONS

The internal consistency of the five acculturation orientations was found to be satisfactory overall for integrationism (α = .81), assimilationism (α = .84), segregationism (α = .85), exclusionism (α = .88), and individualism (α = .86).

The intercorrelations among the five acculturation orientations as illustrated by Pearson correlation coefficients are presented in Table 1. This analysis showed a strong positive relation between integrationism and individualism combined with strong negative relations between these two orientations and the assimilationist, segregationist, and exclusionist orientations. Furthermore, assimilationism, segregationism, and exclusionism were all strongly correlated with each other. These results suggest that acculturation orientations may be two-dimensional: (a) acceptance of the culture of immigrants, demonstrated by a link between integrationism and individualism, and (b) rejection of the culture of immigrants as shown by positive correlations between assimilationism, segregationism, and exclusionism.

The social desirability scale used in this study was made up of 14 true-or-false items (7 positive, 7 negative), with an acceptable internal consistency score (α = .70). A score of 1.0 corresponds to the absence of social desirability whereas a score of 2.0 represents answers totally influenced by social desirability. In general, respondents displayed moderate levels of social desirability (composite score M = 1.4). Given the possibly reactive nature of acculturation orientations, the degree of association between the social desirability scale and the five acculturation orientations was evaluated using Pearson’s correlation coefficient. As seen in Table 1, results showed no significant correlation between any of the five acculturation orientations and the social desirability scale.

Quebecois francophone respondents overwhelmingly endorsed the individualism (M = 5.6) and integrationism (M = 5.3) acculturation orientations. Assimilationism was weakly endorsed (M = 2.6), followed by segregationism (M = 2.3) and exclusionism (M = 1.8), which were virtually rejected. Paired-samples t tests indicate that individualism was endorsed more strongly than integrationism, t(636) = 7.77, p < .001, assimilationism more than segregationism, t(636) = 6.46, p < .001, and exclusionism less than segregationism, t(636) = −19.56, p < .001.

Table 2 displays the degree to which each acculturation orientation was endorsed by all respondents from the three colleges toward each immigrant group. College by Immigrant group (3 × 3) multivariate analysis of variance with repeated measures on the immigrant target group was performed for each of the five acculturation orientations. The dependent variable was the mean score of endorsement for each acculturation orientation.

Individualism and integrationism. With regard to the two most strongly endorsed acculturation orientations, analyses revealed a significant immigrant target group main effect for individualism and integrationism but no significant difference between the three colleges and no interaction effect. This suggests that the proportion of immigrants present in the three college environments did not have an effect on the degree to which the students endorsed the integrationist and individualist orientations. However, the national origin of the immigrant group did have an impact on the degree of endorsement of these acculturation orientations. Post hoc mean comparisons indicated that individualism was endorsed more strongly toward
immigrants from France than toward “immigrants in general” and immigrants from Haiti (Bonferroni adjustment for multiple comparisons, \( p < .05 \)). Likewise, Quebec francophone respondents were more likely to endorse the integrationist orientation toward immigrants from France than toward “immigrants in general” and Haitian immigrants. Thus, as proposed in Bourhis et al. (1997a, 1997b), respondents were more likely to endorse the integrationist and individualist orientations toward valued immigrants from France than toward the devalued Haitian outgroup.

Assimilationism. Results presented in Table 2 show no college main effect for assimilationism, a significant main effect of immigrant target group, and a negligible interaction effect. The small interaction effect is attributable to College C students who endorsed assimilationism to the same extent toward immigrants from France and from Haiti, whereas respondents from the other two colleges tended to be more assimilationist toward immigrants from Haiti than from France. Otherwise, respondents were more assimilationist toward “immigrants in general” than toward Haitian immigrants, and were the least assimilationist toward immigrants from France.

Segregationism. Analyses revealed significant main effects of college and immigrant group for the segregationist orientation. Quebec francophone respondents were less likely to endorse the segregationist orientation toward immigrants from France than toward those from Haiti or toward “immigrants in general.” The college main effect was attributable to students from College B being less segregationist than students from College C.

Exclusionism. Analyses shown in Table 2 indicate significant main effects for college and immigrant group. Post hoc mean comparisons revealed that francophone respondents were least exclusionist toward immigrants from France, followed by immigrants in general and immigrants from Haiti. The college main effect showed that students from the two Montreal colleges were less exclusionist than students from the ethnically homogeneous College C.

In general, results suggest that the proportion of immigrants in the college environment did not systematically influence the degree to which respondents endorsed the integrationist, individualist, and assimilationist orientations. However, students from the college in which immigrants are virtually absent (College C) were those least repulsed by the segregationist and exclusionist orientations relative to students from the two Montreal colleges (A and B).
As hypothesized, francophone respondents were more likely to endorse the integrationist and individualist orientations toward the valued immigrant outgroup (from France) than toward the devalued immigrant outgroup (Haitians). Conversely, francophone students were more likely to endorse the assimilationism, segregationism, and exclusionism orientations toward the devalued immigrant outgroup than toward the valued outgroup. As proposed in the IAM framework, host majority acculturation orientations are not uniform and may vary depending on the “valued” or “devalued” status of the immigrant groups being considered.

### SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL PROFILES

The third goal of the study consisted of establishing a social psychological profile for each acculturation orientation, thus contributing to a test of the construct validity of each acculturation orientation. Because only minor differences emerged between colleges in degree of endorsement for each acculturation orientation, respondents from the three colleges were combined for factor analysis and multiple regression analyses.

### TABLE 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Immigrant Group</th>
<th>Immigrants in General</th>
<th>Immigrants from France</th>
<th>Immigrants from Haiti</th>
<th>College Effect df (2, 633)</th>
<th>Immigrant Target Group Effect df (2, 632)</th>
<th>College and Immigrant Group Interaction df (4, 1262)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Individualism</td>
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<td>5.80a</td>
<td>5.46b</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>54.54***</td>
<td>0.86</td>
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<td>5.52a</td>
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<td>1.81</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: Scores on each scale range from 1 (not at all) to 7 (very much). Means in the same row that do not share a common alphabetical subscript differ at p < .05 by the Bonferroni comparison. For segregationism and exclusionism, means in the same column (comparisons across colleges) that do not share a subscript differ at p < .05 by the Tukey’s HSD comparison.

*p < .05. ***p < .001.
The proposed social psychological correlates of acculturation orientations included in the questionnaire were submitted to principal components analysis with Varimax rotation. Thirty-five variables drawn from the various scales included in the questionnaire were entered in the factor analysis, and results yielded nine components explaining 68% of the total variance (eigenvalue > 1.16; available from authors on request). The nine components listed in decreasing order of percentage of variance accounted for were the following:

1. Feeling comfortable in the presence of immigrants in general and with immigrants from France and Haiti (labeled “Comfortable with immigrants,” and accounting for 18.9% of the variance).
2. Feeling that Quebec cultural identity is threatened by the presence of immigrants from Haiti and France and by immigrants in general; endorsement of the authoritarian (Cronbach alpha: \( \alpha = .72 \)) and ethnocentric (\( \alpha = .73 \)) ideologies (labeled “Feel threatened by immigrants,” and accounting for 11.6% of the variance).
3. Individual Network of Ethnic Contacts (number and frequency) with immigrants in general (INEC-number \( \alpha = .70 \); INEC-frequency \( \alpha = .76 \)), with immigrants from Haiti (INEC-number \( \alpha = .63 \); INEC-frequency \( \alpha = .71 \)), but not with Quebecois francophones (INEC-number \( \alpha = .73 \); INEC-frequency \( \alpha = .71 \)) (labeled “INEC with immigrants,” and accounting for 8.6% of the variance).
4. Identification as Canadian, anglophone, and federalist but not as Quebecois nationalist (labeled “Canadian federalist identity,” and accounting for 7% of the variance).
5. Wish to see immigrants in general (\( \alpha = .64 \)) and immigrants from France (\( \alpha = .69 \)) and Haiti (\( \alpha = .52 \)) integrate to French Quebecois host society (labeled “Wish for immigrant integration,” and accounting for 5.7% of the variance).
6. Perception that immigrants in general (\( \alpha = .86 \)) and immigrants from France (\( \alpha = .87 \)) and Haiti (\( \alpha = .88 \)) want good relations with Quebecois francophones (labeled “Immigrants seek good relations with Quebecois,” and accounting for 4.6% of the variance).
7. Positive quality of ingroup identity as Quebecois francophone (\( \alpha = .94 \)), identification as Quebecois and francophone, feeling of security as French Quebecois (\( \alpha = .86 \)), positive personal self-esteem (\( \alpha = .86 \)) (labeled “Positive Quebecois identity,” accounting for 4.2% of the variance).
8. Desire for social relations with immigrants in general (\( \alpha = .93 \)), French (\( \alpha = .94 \)) and Haitian immigrants (\( \alpha = .94 \)) and Quebecois francophones (\( \alpha = .94 \)) (labeled “Desire for social relations with immigrants,” accounting for 4% of the variance).
9. Individual Network of Ethnic Contacts (number and frequency) with immigrants from France (INEC-number \( \alpha = .90 \); INEC-frequency \( \alpha = .78 \)) (labeled “INEC with immigrants from France,” accounting for 3.3% of the variance).

These nine orthogonal factors were then used to establish the psychological profiles of the five acculturation orientations for Quebecois francophone students. They were entered as possible predictors of each of the five acculturation orientations proposed in the IAM. Five separate regression analyses were computed with the forward method (Stevens, 1996; Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). Results of the multiple regression analyses are presented in Table 3 for each orientation separately.

Integrationist orientation. The integrationist orientation is characterised by a combination of six factors that explain 34% of the total variance. Results presented in Table 3 show that the more respondents endorse the integrationist orientation, the more they wish to have close relations with immigrant group members, the more they feel comfortable with immigrants, the less they feel threatened by the presence of immigrants, and the least likely they are to endorse authoritarian and ethnocentric beliefs. Integrationists believe that immigrants seek good relations with Quebecois francophones and wish immigrants to integrate linguistically, politically, and culturally within the Quebecois French host majority. The favourable
dispositions that characterise integrationists are sustained by self-reports of frequent contacts with Haitian immigrants and immigrants in general who are part of the respondents’ individual network of ethnic contacts.

**Individualist orientation.** Four factors accounting for 34% of the variance emerged as significant predictors of the individualist orientation. Generally, individualism is endorsed by respondents who do not feel threatened by the presence of immigrants and do not endorse ethnocentric and authoritarian beliefs. Individualism is linked with feeling comfortable in the presence of immigrants and wishing to have close relations with them while believing that immigrants also wish to have good relations with Quebecois francophone host society members. Unlike integrationists, individualists are not particularly concerned with the cultural, linguistic, and political integration of immigrants within Quebecois society and are not particularly concerned about the maintenance of immigrants within their social network.

**Assimilationist orientation.** Assimilationism can be described by five components that together explain 34% of the variance. Unlike integrationism and individualism, assimilationism is characterised by a psychological profile that includes endorsement of authoritarian and ethnocentric beliefs and the feeling that the presence of immigrants poses a threat to respondents’ Quebecois French identity. Assimilationists feel uncomfortable with immigrants and have a tendency to avoid close relations with them. Assimilationists perceive that immigrants are not particularly interested in establishing good relations with Quebecois francophones, though they wish immigrants to assimilate by adopting the Quebecois language, culture, and political aspirations.

**Segregationist orientation.** As seen in Table 3, eight factors contribute to explain 53% of the total variance associated with the segregationist orientation. Although many variables contributed significantly to predict segregationism, the first two factors were by far the most important in accounting together for 42% of the variance. Feeling uncomfortable with immigrants, endorsing authoritarian and ethnocentric beliefs, and feeling that the Quebecois identity is threatened by the presence of immigrants were the most important predictors of segregationism. Segregationists seek contacts mainly with members of their own group.
while avoiding relations with immigrants, and do not perceive that immigrants are interested in maintaining good relations with Quebecois majority members. Unlike assimilationists, segregationists do not want immigrants to adopt aspects of Quebecois French host culture. Finally, segregationists are likely to identify strongly as host majority group members, both as Canadian federalists and as Quebecois francophones.

**Exclusionist orientation.** Five factors are related to the exclusionist profile and account for 52% of the variance. Respondents who strongly endorse exclusionism tend to feel that their ingroup identity is threatened by the presence of immigrants and endorse authoritarian and ethnocentric beliefs. Exclusionists feel uncomfortable with immigrants and avoid social relations with them. Exclusionists believe that immigrants are not interested in having good relations with Quebecois francophones and are not interested in having immigrants integrate within the Quebecois French majority.

As can be seen in Table 3, the following four factors are strongly related to all five orientations: (a) feeling that Quebecois identity is threatened by the presence of immigrants and endorsement of authoritarian and ethnocentric ideologies, (b) feeling comfortable in the presence of immigrants, (c) wishing close relations with immigrants, and (d) perceiving that immigrants want good relations with Quebecois francophones. Their value, as illustrated by their beta weights and valence, is different for each orientation. Other variables such as degree of ingroup identification, wish to see immigrants integrate within the host majority, and individual network of ethnic contacts allow finer distinctions among the five acculturation orientations.

One factor did not predict any acculturation orientation, namely Individual Network of Ethnic Contacts with immigrants from France. In the principal components analysis, this factor was also the one that accounted for the least proportion of variance among all variables. The number and frequency of contacts with immigrants from France, who represent a valued immigrant group for Quebec francophones, did not emerge as a reliable predictor of acculturation orientations.

**DISCUSSION**

This study showed that individualism and integrationism were clearly the preferred orientations expressed by Quebecois francophone college students. Both these orientations share the notion that immigrants should have the freedom to either maintain their heritage culture or adopt features of the host society culture. These results suggest that French Quebecois students are accepting immigrants mostly as individuals but also in terms of members of different ethnocultural groups that enrich the Quebecois host culture. Preferences for the integrationist and individualist orientations are consistent with results of a study using an earlier version of the HCAS questionnaire with a similar sample of Quebec francophone college students (Bourhis & Bougie, 1998). Likewise, a recent study measuring the acculturation attitudes of German and Swiss host majority members also found strong preference for the integrationist orientation relative to the assimilationist orientation, though individualism, segregationism, and exclusionism were not directly assessed in this study (Piontkowski et al., 2000). Note that these authors used the orientation items of the original Berry et al. (1989) Immigrant Acculturation scale without adapting the items to measure the acculturation orientations of host majority respondents. Results from our study showed that francophones were not very inclined to adopt the assimilationist, segregationist, and
exclusionist orientations. As shown in our results, these three acculturation orientations share the more or less vigorous rejection of the immigrant heritage culture by members of the host majority.

The IAM proposed that host community orientations may differ depending on the national origin of the immigrant groups being considered, especially in terms of being valued or devalued as immigrant groups (Bourhis et al., 1997a, 1997b). This hypothesis was not totally confirmed because the order of preference of the five acculturation orientations remained the same regardless of the target immigrant group being considered. These results offer some support for the notion that the outgroup homogeneity effect may account in part for host majority acculturation orientations. Host majority francophones may have seen “visible” (Haitians) and “nonvisible” immigrants (from France) as similar to the degree that immigrants from both countries share French as their first language of integration within the Quebec French host majority. Note that Quebecois francophones are concerned about the survival of French in Quebec and depend on francophone immigrants from France and Haiti to maintain the French character of Quebec society within anglophone North America. Bourhis and Bougie (1998) also obtained a stable order of preference for the five acculturation orientations regardless of the national origin of the target groups: immigrants from Haiti and those from Asia (Chinese and Vietnamese). In this case, White majority francophones may have perceived such immigrants as similar to the degree that both immigrant groups could be characterised as “visible minorities.” A stronger test of the outgroup homogeneity effect will be conducted by contrasting Quebec francophone acculturation orientations toward immigrants from France with immigrants from the West Indies. The visible minority status of immigrants from the West Indies is doubled by their English mother tongue and their preference for integrating with the Quebec anglophone host minority rather than with the French majority (Bourhis, 1994; Vanbeselaere, 1991).

However, the valued/devalued target group hypothesis proposed by the IAM was partly confirmed for two reasons. First, in line with the ethnic attitudes of respondents, subtle but consistent differences emerged in the extent to which the orientations were endorsed toward immigrants from France versus Haiti. Respondents had a tendency to be more integrationist and individualist toward immigrants from France than toward immigrants from Haiti, and less assimilationist, segregationist, and exclusionist toward immigrants from France than toward visible minority immigrants from Haiti. The fact that significant differences were found in the orientations toward French and Haitian immigrants, always favouring immigrants from France as “valued” immigrants, clearly indicates that respondents endorse differentiated acculturation orientations depending on the national origin of the immigrant group being considered. Second, acculturation orientations were not endorsed to the same extent toward the generic target group “immigrants in general” and toward the two specific immigrant target groups. These results further support the IAM proposal that acculturation orientations are sensitive to the type of immigrant group being considered. However, future studies should systematically vary the order of presentation of the “valued” and “devalued” immigrant groups being rated using the HCAS scale.

In line with the Intergroup Contact hypothesis, we expected students from colleges that differed in terms of ethnic diversity to display different levels of endorsement for each acculturation orientation. We expected students from the high diversity college (A), to be more integrationist and less assimilationist, less segregationist and less exclusionist than students from the no diversity college (C). Results indicated that the proportion of immigrants attending the respective colleges did not influence the choice of acculturation orientations adopted by the Quebec francophone college students. Overall, the contact hypothesis was
disconfirmed except in the case of the exclusionist orientation: students from the most homogeneous college (C) were less likely to reject the exclusionist orientation than students from colleges A and B. However, this result offers only weak support for the contact hypothesis considering the very low level of endorsement of exclusionism in all three colleges. Conversely, one immigrant student out of five in the high diversity college (A) might not be a large enough proportion to influence host society members in their choice of acculturation orientations (Kalin, 1996). A similar study is being conducted in anglophone colleges in the Montreal area in which the proportions of allophone and immigrant students ranges from 50% to 60% and in which no single ethnic group can claim majority status within these institutions.

Results obtained on the social psychological profiles of each acculturation orientation support the construct validity of the five acculturation orientations measured with the HCAS (Bourhis et al., 1997a, 1997b; Bourhis & Bougie, 1998). The most important predictor of assimilationism, segregationism, and exclusionism was the factor combining feeling of being threatened by the presence of immigrants and a tendency to endorse authoritarian and ethnocentric belief systems. Respondents who felt that their social identity as Quebecois francophones was threatened by the presence of the target immigrant groups were the ones most likely to endorse the assimilationist, segregationist, and exclusionist orientations. In contrast, individualists and integrationists did not feel threatened by the presence of immigrants and rejected authoritarian and ethnocentric ideologies. Previous studies have shown that Quebecois francophones tend to be less comfortable with nonfrancophone immigrants, who are seen as a threat to the survival of French in Quebec (Berry et al., 1977; Berry & Kalin, 1995). However, results of the present study suggest that Quebec francophones who endorse the assimilationist, segregationist, and exclusionist orientations can feel threatened even by the presence of French-speaking immigrants from both Haiti and France. What is the nature of this social identity threat?

Previous studies and analyses have tended to account for Quebec francophone ambivalence toward immigrants by invoking group-defensive notions related to the threat to the survival of French in Quebec and the minority status of the French language in Canada and North America as a whole (Berry et al., 1977; Berry & Kalin, 1995; Bourhis, 1994). Our study shows that assimilationism, segregationism, and exclusionist profiles are defined by a type of insecurity that goes beyond linguistic threat, considering that the immigrant target groups involved in this study were French speakers from France and Haiti. By some perverse association process, Quebec francophones who endorse these three acculturation orientations might have come to generalize their sense of linguistic threat originating from the presence of nonfrancophone immigrants to immigrants in general, thus amplifying the original nature of this demounguistic threat.

Assimilationists, segregationists, and exclusionists may also be understood from a Realistic Conflict Theory perspective (RCT) (Sherif, 1966). It may be that francophone immigrants more than immigrants from non-French backgrounds are seen as competing more directly for employment in the public and private sectors, now that most desirable jobs require knowledge of French following the adoption of the pro-French Bill 101 in 1977 (Bourhis, 1984, 2001). Furthermore, assimilationists, segregationists, and exclusionists may view first- and second-generation immigrants (regardless of language background) as a potential threat to the Quebec nationalist cause to the degree that in general, immigrants tend to vote for political parties and referendum options that favour the federalist Canadian unity cause rather than the Quebecois French separatist cause.
Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, and Doosje (1999) examined the different types of threat that can be experienced at the social identity level and proposed a taxonomy of the following four types of threats: categorization threat, distinctiveness threat, threats to the value of social identity, and acceptance threat. We believe that the presence of immigrants who speak French might induce a type of “distinctiveness threat” for Quebec francophones because their group distinctiveness based on language could be undermined by the presence of immigrants who are also francophone. In line with Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), when the meaning or content of a group identity is not sufficiently distinct, differentiation can be used to enhance group distinctness. Although need for differentiation was not measured directly in the present study, segregationism and exclusionism are orientations that, by definition, imply a clear refusal to include immigrants as rightful members of the ingroup majority. For segregationists, need for differentiation can be expressed as a desire to see immigrant communities kept apart from host community members. In the case of exclusionism, the differentiation process is more extreme and is expressed through rejection of the immigrant culture and the wish to see immigrants leave the country of settlement. Recall that threat to Quebecois identity was also a strong predictor of assimilationism. Assimilationism can also be a response to distinctiveness threat, but instead of emphasizing differences between ingroup and outgroup characteristics as is the case for segregationism and exclusionism, assimilationists might choose to eliminate the differences between ingroup and outgroup members by absorbing immigrants within the host majority.

Perception that immigrants are interested in having contacts and good relations with Quebecois ingroup members predicted individualism and integrationism. Francophones favouring assimilationism, segregationism, and exclusionism tended to believe that immigrants are not interested in having good relations with Quebecois French majority members. Such perceptions can be compared to Michael Bond’s “reflected stereotype” or to the more general notion of meta-stereotype. Bond (1986) studied the structure of mutual stereotypes held by two interacting groups. Reflected stereotype is a measure of how members of Group A believe members of an outgroup perceive a typical member or their own group. Dominant majority groups may justify their rejecting attitude toward immigrant outgroup by believing that such immigrants reject encounters with their own group. If host majority members believe that immigrants are not interested in having good relations with them and feel uncomfortable in the presence of immigrants, it is unlikely that these individuals will seek close relations with immigrants. This avoidance of interethnic contacts may contribute to the maintenance of biased perceptions of the true intentions of immigrants (Vorauer, Main, & O’Connell, 1998). This is consistent with results obtained by Horenczyk and Bekerman (1997), who found that before their intercultural experience, Jewish American undergraduates tended to attribute to Israeli youngsters markedly less favourable views of Jewish Americans than actual views held by Israeli students. These reflected group perceptions became more favourable only following actual intergroup interaction. In the present study, francophone segregationists and exclusionists who believe that immigrants do not want good relations with host majority members were those who avoided contacts with immigrants. When such beliefs are combined with feeling that Quebecois identity is threatened by the presence of immigrants, close relations with immigrants are likely to be avoided and the immigrants’ true intentions are unlikely to be ever verified by host majority members.

Our results were obtained with young college students whose life experience in the competitive market for jobs, housing, and social status was limited. College students tend to be more liberal and tolerant toward immigrants and outgroups than less well-educated host majority adults of lower socioeconomic background directly competing with immigrants for
scarce jobs and housing (Berry et al., 1977; Guimond & Palmer, 1996). The HCAS scale should be tested with adults in the workforce from different socioeconomic background, occupational status, educational background, and political affiliation.

As proposed in the IAM framework, a valid and reliable measure of acculturation orientations with variants of the HCAS and IAS scales could be used as a predictor of relational outcomes between majority host members and first- and second-generation immigrants. A better understanding of the psychology of acculturation orientations could be useful in constructing the intervention programs necessary to shift relational outcomes from being conflictual and problematic to being more consensual and harmonious. The IAM model proposes that acculturation orientations of dominant host society members are influenced by the integration policies adopted by the state governments of the receiving country. The mainly integrationist and individualist orientations endorsed by Quebecois francophones reflect the mainly pluralist integration policies adopted by the Canadian government (Fleras & Elliott, 1992) and the mixture of pluralism and civic policies adopted by the Quebec provincial government (Bourhis & Bougie, 1998).

As proposed in the IAM model, state integration policies can be situated on a continuum ranging from pluralism at one pole, followed by civic policies, assimilationist policies, and at the opposite pole of the continuum, ethnist policies (Bourhis et al., 1997a, 1997b). It is proposed that these state integration policies adopted at the national, provincial, regional, and municipal levels combine to create an “official integration climate” that can influence the acculturation orientations of dominant host majority members, which in turn impact on the acculturation orientations of immigrant and ethnocultural minorities. Acculturation orientation studies are presently being conducted with dominant host majority members in states in which public policies are mainly assimilationist, such as France and the United States, mainly civic, such as Great Britain, and in somewhat ethnist states, such as Germany and Israel (e.g., blood citizenship, law of return). These cross-cultural comparisons will allow an exploration of the impact of state integration policies on the acculturation orientations endorsed by members of dominant host majorities in these respective countries. Such studies will also allow a cross-cultural analysis of the degree to which host majority members endorsing each of the five acculturation orientations share similar psychological profiles across these culturally diverse states of the Western world.

REFERENCES


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This study examined cross-cultural differences in Chinese and Canadian adults’ concepts and moral evaluations of lying and truth-telling about prosocial and antisocial behaviors. Although Canadian adults categorized lies concealing one’s prosocial deeds as lies, their Chinese counterparts did not. Also, Chinese adults rated deception in such situations positively while rating truth-telling in the same situations negatively. These cross-cultural differences appear to reflect differential emphases on the virtue of modesty in the two cultures.

CHINESE AND CANADIAN ADULTS’ CATEGORIZATION AND EVALUATION OF LIE- AND TRUTH-TELLING ABOUT PROSOCIAL AND ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIORS

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Over the past two decades, there has been extensive research on adults’ and children’s concepts and moral evaluations of lying (see Lee, 2000, for a review). The existing literature, however, has two major limitations. First, current knowledge regarding the concept of lying has been exclusively derived from studies involving Western participants. Second, although there has been a considerable amount of research on Western children’s moral evaluations of lying, none but one (Lee, Cameron, Xu, Fu, & Board, 1997) has examined non-Western individuals’ moral evaluations of lying. This lack of cross-cultural data makes it unclear whether our concepts and moral judgments of lying are universal or culturally specific.

The present study was conducted to bridge this gap in the literature. Specifically, it was conducted to extend the findings of Lee et al. (1997). In their study, Canadian and Chinese children were shown stories involving child-story characters who intentionally carried out prosocial or antisocial deeds. When story characters were questioned by a teacher as to who had committed the deed, they either lied or told the truth. Children were asked to evaluate the story characters’ verbal statements. Overall, there were no cross-cultural differences in children’s evaluations of lie- or truth-telling in antisocial situations. The major cross-cultural difference lay in prosocial situations, in which Chinese children rated truth-telling less, and lying more positively than Canadian children: These differences increased with age. Lee et al. (1997) suggested that this cross-cultural effect reflects the impact of a Chinese cultural
emphasis on self-effacement and modesty on Chinese children’s moral evaluations. Furthermore, with increased acculturation, the emphasis on modesty leads Chinese children to believe that lying for reason of modesty has positive moral value whereas truth-telling about good deeds is morally undesirable.

Because Lee et al. (1997) focused exclusively on children, it is not clear whether there are similar cross-cultural differences in moral judgment between Asian and Western adults in modesty situations. With regard to the concept of lying, Lee (2000) reported that Chinese children, like their Canadian counterparts, categorize a false statement about one’s good deed as a lie. It is not clear whether Chinese adults make the same classifications in the same situations. Thus, the present study specifically examined cross-cultural differences in adults’ concepts as well as their evaluations of lying in contexts in which modesty might pertain.

Chinese and Canadian university undergraduate students, teachers, and parents participated in the present study. The samples were chosen to be consistent with Lee et al. (1997), in which Chinese and Canadian children were studied. In addition, the choice was based on previous cross-cultural research establishing that Canadians, though living in a multicultural society, hold relatively individualistic cultural values, whereas Chinese hold more collectivist values. The three adult groups (university students, teachers, and parents) were targeted to examine whether individuals with different roles, and degrees of experience in socializing children, would differentially categorize and evaluate children’s lying and truth-telling.

METHOD

PARTICIPANTS

Canadian participants were as follows: 33 university students (28 women), 23 elementary school teachers (19 women), and 23 parents (17 women) who had at least one child under 12 years of age. They were largely Caucasian and born and raised in Canada (none were Chinese Canadians). Chinese participants were as follows: 30 university students (13 women), 35 elementary school teachers (29 women), and 32 parents (19 women), who had at least one child under 12 years of age. They were all Chinese, born and raised in the People’s Republic of China.

MATERIALS AND PROCEDURES

Eight stories used in Lee et al. (1997) were included in a questionnaire completed by participants. The stories were developed together by the multicultural/lingual research team. Back translation methods were also used for cross-cultural comparability. Stories fall into the following four categories: (a) a child-story character does something good and tells the truth when asked by a teacher (truth-telling/prosocial deed situation), (b) the story character does something good and denies it (lie-telling/prosocial), (c) the character does something bad and confesses (truth-telling/antisocial), and (d) the story character does something bad and denies it (lie-telling/antisocial). There are two set of stories: (a) physical stories that depict the story character committing a deed that affects the physical environment, and (b) social stories in which the character commits a deed that affects another child. The use of the physical and social stories was to ascertain intrasubject reliability. For each story, the following questions were asked:
1. Is what X (the child story character) said a lie or not a lie? If the participant replied “not a lie,” then a follow-up question was asked: “Is what she/he said the truth or not truth?”

2. Is what X (the child story character) said good or bad? To answer this question, participants were asked to indicate their rating on a 7-point Likert-type scale: 3 (very, very good), 2 (very good), 1 (good), 0 (not good nor bad), –1 (bad), –2 (very bad), and –3 (very, very bad).

3. Why did you give such a rating?

RESULTS

Preliminary inspection of the data from the physical and social conditions revealed no significant differences. The data for both conditions were therefore combined for subsequent analyses.

CATEGORIZATIONS OF LIE- AND TRUTH-TELLING BEHAVIORS IN PROSOCIAL AND ANTISOCIAL DEED SITUATIONS

Table 1 shows the percentage of Canadian and Chinese undergraduate students, teachers, and parents who consistently categorized untruthful statements told in the prosocial and antisocial deed/lie-telling stories as “a lie.” The table also shows the percentage of adults who consistently categorized truthful statements told in prosocial and antisocial/truth-telling stories as “the truth.” Overall, with a few exceptions, most Canadian adults labeled truthful statements “the truth,” and untruthful statements “lies,” regardless of the situations in which the statements were made. Most Chinese adults, like Canadian participants, labeled truthful statements the “truth” in both the prosocial or antisocial situations. Nearly all adults also categorized untruthful statements in antisocial situations “lies.” By contrast, for prosocial/lie-telling stories, although about half of the Chinese adults categorized untruthful statements as lies, the other half considered them not to be lies.

To examine whether there were cross-cultural differences between Chinese and Canadian adults’ categorizations of the statements made in the four different situations, four separate hierarchical logistic regression analyses were conducted. In the regression model for the prosocial/lie-telling story, the adults’ categorization of statements as lies or not was the predicted variable. The group variable (student, teacher, and parent) was entered first as a predictor and the country variable (Canada vs. China), second. The group effect was not significant, $\chi^2 (N = 186, df = 2) = .67, p > .05$. After partialing out the group effect, the country effect was significant, $\chi^2 (N = 186, df = 1) = 28.75, p < .001$, Nagelkerke $R^2$ change = .20. Chinese adults overall were less inclined to label a false statement made in the modesty situation as a lie than Canadian adults. For the prosocial/truth-telling stories, the predicted variable was adults’ categorization of truthful statements either as “the truth” or not. The group and country effects were not significant, $\chi^2 (N = 186, df = 2) = 5.68, p > .05$, and $\chi^2 (N = 186, df = 1) = 1.02, p > .05$. Both Canadian and Chinese adults overall tended to categorize the truthful statements made in the prosocial situations to be “the truth.”

For antisocial/lie-telling stories, the predicted variable was adults’ categorizations of untruthful statements as either “lies” or not. The group effect was not significant, $\chi^2 (N = 186, df = 2) = 2.06, p > .05$. After partialing out the group effect, the country effect was significant, $\chi^2 (N = 186, df = 1) = 4.53, p < .05$. Nagelkerke $R^2$ change = .06. This effect was likely due to the fact that two groups of Canadian participants reached ceiling, whereas none of the Chinese groups did so. Overall, both Canadian and Chinese adults tended to categorize
untruthful statements made in antisocial situations to be “lies.” For the antisocial deed/truth-telling story, the predicted variable was adults’ categorizations of truthful statements either as “the truth” or not. Neither group effect or country effect was significant, $\chi^2 (N = 186, df = 2) = .22, p > .05$, and $\chi^2 (N = 186, df = 1) = .37, p > .05$, respectively. Both Canadian and Chinese adults tended to categorize truthful statements in antisocial situations as “the truth.”

**EVALUATIONS OF LIE- AND TRUTH-TELLING BEHAVIORS IN PROSOCIAL AND ANTISOCIAL DEED SITUATIONS**

Table 2 shows the means and standard deviations of the evaluations of Canadian and Chinese undergraduate students, teachers, and parents for the four situations. Because Chinese participants were divided as to whether to classify untruthful statements in the prosocial/lie-telling situations as either a lie or not a lie, the means and standard deviations for these two groups of Chinese participants were calculated separately.

To compare whether the adults in the two countries gave different evaluations to lie- and truth-telling in prosocial and antisocial deed situations, five separate $3 \times 2$ (group) analyses of variance (ANOVA) were conducted on the rating data. For prosocial/lie-telling, the ratings of Chinese adults who categorized untruthful statements as lies were compared with those of Canadian adults who made the same categorizations. Only the country effect was significant, $F(1, 132) = 25.95, p < .001$. Chinese adults gave positive ratings to lying to
conceal one’s own good deed whereas Canadian adults, on average, gave negative ratings. However, these Chinese adults’ ratings were significantly less positive than those of the Chinese adults who did not categorize untruthful statements as lies (Table 2). This observation was confirmed by a 3 (group) × 2 (type of categorization by Chinese adults: lie vs. not lie) ANOVA. The type-of-categorization and group effects were significant, \( F(91, 101) = 10.16, p < .01 \), and \( F(92, 101) = 3.63, p < .05 \). Chinese university students and teachers overall gave more positive ratings to making untruthful statements to conceal one’s good deed than parents did.

By contrast, for prosocial/truth-telling, Canadian adults’ ratings were more positive than those of Chinese adults and the difference was the greatest between university students of the two countries. These observations were confirmed by a 3 (group) × 2 (country) ANOVA that revealed a significant country effect, \( F(1, 173) = 18.61, p < .001 \), and a significant country by group interaction, \( F(2, 173) = 3.31, p < .05 \). The significant interaction was mainly due to the fact that Chinese university students gave less positive ratings than did teachers and parents.

For antisocial/lie-telling, a 3 (group) × 2 (country) ANOVA revealed a significant country by group interaction, \( F(2, 174) = 3.49, p < .05 \). Chinese parents and teachers gave more negative ratings to lie-telling in this situation than did their Canadian counterparts, whereas Chinese university students gave less negative ratings than Canadian students. For antisocial/truth-telling, a 3 (group) × 2 (country) ANOVA revealed a significant country effect, \( F(1, 171) = 724 JOURNAL OF CROSS-CULTURAL PSYCHOLOGY

### TABLE 2

Means and Standard Deviations of Chinese and Canadian Adults’ Ratings of Lie- and Truth-Telling in Prosocial and Antisocial Deed Situations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Student</th>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Parent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Prosocial deed/lie-telling story</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lie (Canada)</td>
<td>−.73</td>
<td>−.50</td>
<td>−.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1.03)</td>
<td>(.61)</td>
<td>(1.20)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lie (China)</td>
<td>.66</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1.37)</td>
<td>(1.44)</td>
<td>(1.01)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not lie (China)</td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>1.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1.92)</td>
<td>(.95)</td>
<td>(1.47)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Antisocial deed/lie-telling</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lie (Canada)</td>
<td>−2.35</td>
<td>−1.91</td>
<td>−1.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(.55)</td>
<td>(.60)</td>
<td>(1.41)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lie (China)</td>
<td>−2.03</td>
<td>−2.15</td>
<td>−2.09</td>
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<tr>
<td>(.69)</td>
<td>(.73)</td>
<td>(1.67)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Prosocial deed/truth-telling story</strong></td>
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<td>Truth (Canada)</td>
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<td>2.14</td>
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<td>(.86)</td>
<td>(1.02)</td>
<td>(.95)</td>
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<td>Truth (China)</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>1.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1.06)</td>
<td>(.96)</td>
<td>(1.15)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Antisocial deed/truth-telling</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truth (Canada)</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>1.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1.17)</td>
<td>(.45)</td>
<td>(1.27)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Truth (China)</td>
<td>1.01</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1.17)</td>
<td>(1.01)</td>
<td>(1.13)</td>
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**NOTE:** Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations.
Canadian adults overall gave significantly more positive ratings to story-characters who confessed their own misdeeds than did Chinese adults.

**DISCUSSION**

The aim of the present study was to ascertain whether cross-cultural differences exist in adults’ categorization and evaluation of lie- and truth-telling about prosocial and antisocial behaviors. We also investigated whether different levels of experience with children and roles in socializing children have an impact on adults’ responses within each culture. Overall, within each culture, although differing in experiences and roles as socializers of young children, the three adult groups were relatively consistent within their cultural groups in both their classifications and their value ratings of the four scenario-types presented in this study.

Between cultures, adults tended to be consistent in categorizing truthful statements as “the truth” and untruthful statements as “lies” in antisocial deed situations. By contrast, a substantial proportion of Chinese adults categorized untruthful statements made to conceal one’s own good deeds not to be lies, whereas nearly all Canadian adults labeled such statements lies. This finding is a first in the literature to provide direct evidence that concepts of lying may not be universal. It supports the general proposal of Sweetser’s (1987) folkloristic theory that the concept of lying is determined by sociocultural conventions. According to her theory, in some cultures, certain untruthful statements, even though meeting a classic definition of lying (Chisholm & Feehan, 1977), may not be considered lies because such untruthful statements serve one of the culture’s highly valued interpersonal functions. In the present case, modesty is considered by the Chinese collectivist culture to be an important virtue because of its function for maintaining group cohesiveness in a collectivity (Lee et al., 1997). Thus, some Chinese adults allow untruthful statements made for modesty purposes to fall outside of the realm of lying. This finding is different from Chinese children’s categorizations of the same statements in the same situations (Lee, 2000). Chinese 7-, 9-, and 11-year-olds, like their Canadian counterparts, tended to view modesty-motivated untruthful statements as lies, even though the older children tended to give them positive evaluations. This discrepancy between children and adults suggests that the development of the notions of modesty and conceptualization of “lying” about good deeds may continue well into adulthood.

Adults’ ratings of untruthful statements about prosocial behaviors revealed that about half of the Chinese adults, even though categorizing them as lies, gave them positive ratings, whereas their Canadian counterparts gave negative ratings. Furthermore, the other half of Chinese adults who did not categorize them as lies gave even more positive ratings. Inspection of Chinese adults’ justifications confirmed that their positive ratings of lying were based on a modesty evaluation. Most of them responded that the child-story character’s attempt to conceal his or her good deed is consistent with Chinese cultural principles regarding modesty and therefore should be rated positively. This finding is consistent with Lee et al.’s (1997) finding that older Chinese children also gave positive ratings to modesty-motivated lie-telling. By contrast, only about 15% of the Canadian adults gave positive ratings to story characters who lied about good deeds and their justifications were either that the story characters were commendable for not wanting the recognition for their good deeds or that they told harmless lies. The majority of the Canadian adults held different views. They believed that it was unnecessary for the story characters to lie, or not to take credit, or avoid recognition for their good deeds. They stated that the story characters deserved the credit and should
tell the truth because they did the right thing. Clearly, the Chinese and Canadian adults have sharply different views about whether individuals should publicize their good behaviors. Taken together, the results from Chinese and Canadian children and adults fail to support the notion that lying has a universal, constant moral disvalue (Kupfer, 1982).

With regard to truth-telling in prosocial situations, Chinese adults’ ratings were significantly lower than the ratings of Canadian adults, for whom this sort of self-promotion was rated quite highly. Inspection of Chinese respondents’ justifications revealed that their relatively low ratings of truth-telling in this situation were also derived from Chinese modesty values. The majority of the participants suggested that truth-telling about one’s good deeds is immodest and may diminish the value of the good deed. Many pointed out that one should not leave names after doing a good deed. By contrast, only one Canadian participant gave negative ratings to truth-telling about one’s own good deed and gave the same justification as those of many Chinese adults. Most of the Canadian participants justified their positive ratings of the child-story characters’ truth-telling about their own good deeds by saying that they were honest, they took the credit that they deserved, and they should take credit, or responsibility, for their good behaviors. Again, these findings are consistent with the child results (Lee et al., 1997).

Another noteworthy finding was that Canadian adults gave significantly more positive ratings to confessing one’s misdeeds than did Chinese adults. Inspection of Canadian and Chinese adults’ justifications of their ratings revealed that Canadian adults tended to make clear distinctions between misdeeds and telling the truth about them. Although they condemned misdeeds, they highly valued telling the truth about them. Most of the adults (about 80%) believed that it was admirable for child-story characters to be honest, to admit their own misdeeds, or take responsibility for them. Perhaps confession of misdeeds is a core cultural precept in Judeo-Christian cultures. Therefore, truth-telling about a misdeed is rated as positively as good deed ratings. Certainly, Western courts of law view a guilty plea as a mitigating factor in sentencing. By contrast, Chinese adults believed that although confessing one’s bad deed was commendable, it did not redeem the negativity of the bad behavior, thus, giving less positive ratings.

Overall, the present findings suggest that the concept of lying is not a universal one; different cultures may categorize untruthful statements differently depending on specific social contexts. Also, lie- and truth-telling have inconstant moral values: Certain forms of lie- and truth-telling, though valued negatively in one culture, may be evaluated positively in another culture.

REFERENCES

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Fen Xu is an associate professor in the Institute of Child Mental Health, Beijing Normal University, People’s Republic of China. She received her M.A. from Hangzhou University. Her research is in the area of cognitive-social development with a focus on sociocultural factors affecting the development of lying.
The authors examine six cultures from the three economic centers of the world: Europe (Germany and the Netherlands), Asia (Hong Kong and India), and the Americas (Mexico and the United States). The findings from this exploratory study begin to identify patterns of influence strategies across cultures that are in part consistent with the existing cross-cultural values literature, while concurrently indicating the need for a more encompassing explanation of the cultural similarities, as well as differences, that were found in this study.

STRATEGIES OF UPWARD INFLUENCE
A Study of Six Cultures From Europe, Asia, and America

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Global business is growing faster today than at any point in time in the past. Thus, the ability to understand and to work effectively with others from different cultures is also becoming increasingly important (Ralston, Holt, Terpstra, & Yu, 1997; Tung & Miller, 1990). Specifically, one aspect of an international company’s effectiveness is the quality of the work relationships between superiors and subordinates who come from different cultures. An important part of a superior’s effectiveness is his or her ability to influence others within the organization (Schreisheim & Hinkin, 1990). Often managers may need or wish to influence people who are higher—not lower—in the organizational hierarchy (Kipnis & Schmidt, 1988). Therefore, they need to develop and use upward influence strategies that may be crucial not only to their personal success, but also may contribute to the effectiveness of the company, because the ability of superiors and subordinates to function together effectively clearly affects organizational performance (Egri, Ralston, Murray, & Nicholson, 2000).

In this study, we examine cultures from the economic triad: Europe, Asia, and the Americas. We selected these regions because although business is growing and expanding around the world, the major players in business today come from this economic triad. Specifically, we focus on the tactics that managers from these cultures emphasize as their means to influence their superiors. Our cross-cultural investigation of upward influence strategies includes as the European representatives, Germany and the Netherlands; as the Asian representatives, Hong Kong (S.A.R.) and India; and as the American representatives, Mexico and the United States. Using the Ronen and Shenkar (1985) country clusters as a guide, we see that Germany is in the Germanic cluster, the United States is in the Anglo cluster, Mexico is in the
Latin American cluster, Hong Kong is in the Far East cluster, and India is an Independent, with the Netherlands not being included in the Ronen and Shenkar country clustering. Although these countries do not represent all cultures from the regions, we believe that these cultures do represent a good starting point for this investigation because of the diverse nature of our cultural representatives both across and within the respective regions. Thus, the primary goal of this study is to identify culturally inherent differences in subordinates’ choices of influence tactics, which in turn may contribute to our understanding of the relationships between superiors and subordinates from different cultures (Schermerhorn & Bond, 1991). Because there are few previous cross-cultural studies that used the Strategies of Upward Influence measure (SUI) (Egri et al., 2000; Ralston, Terpstra, Cunniff, & Gustafson, 1995), and although there is a body of values literature that covers the countries of this study (e.g., Hofstede & Bond, 1988; Ronen & Shenkar, 1985), there may not be sufficient or sufficiently relevant literature to develop a sound theoretical foundation for directional hypotheses. Therefore, we will simply hypothesize differences across these cultures and discuss the results in the context of this previous research. These results should help us to begin to identify the degree of compatibility in influence style across the cultures studied.

**METHOD**

**PARTICIPANTS**

The 611 participants in this study were managers/professionals from Germany ($n = 101$), Hong Kong ($n = 117$), India ($n = 66$), Mexico ($n = 115$), the Netherlands ($n = 101$), and the United States ($n = 111$). The mean ages of the participants from these six cultures ranged from 37.5 to 41.0 years of age, and the years worked ranged from 12.0 to 16.1 years. Although there was not great variance in these or the other demographics, marital status, position level, and organizational size, all five were entered into the analysis as covariates to determine if any have a significant impact on the model.

**INSTRUMENT**

To test our hypothesis of differences, we used the 38-item SUI measure (see Ralston, Giacalone, & Terpstra, 1994). The SUI is a cross-culturally developed measure of attitudes toward upward influence tactics. The instrument development procedure for the SUI employed a nominal group technique (NGT) process that asked practicing managers in the United States, Hong Kong, Germany, and France to identify upward influence situations that they had observed. These responses were categorized and refined to create the 38 scenario items. Subsequently, these items were combined to create the six Job Tactics dimensions identified here.

- Good Soldier consists of five items, including “work overtime, if necessary, to get the job done.”
- Rational Persuasion consists of four items, including “use their technical expertise to make the superior dependent on them.”
- Image Management consists of eight items, including “support the views of important people in the organization, even when they do not agree with these views.”
- Personal Networking consists of five items, including “seek to build a relationship with a senior person who could serve as a mentor.”
• Information Control consists of six items, including “withhold information to make someone else look bad.”
• Strong-Arm Coercion consists of eight items, including “use detrimental information to blackmail a person who is in a position to help them get ahead in the organization.”

The higher the score, the greater is the perceived acceptability of that type of behavior. The instructions asked the participants to indicate how acceptable it would be to engage in the behavior described in the 38 items. The instructions also told participants that there were no right or wrong answers, that it was their perceptions that were important.

DESIGN AND PROCEDURES

The design addressed the three following issues relevant to cross-cultural research: (a) questionnaire translation, (b) standardization of response patterns, and (c) construct reliability across cultures. First, the SUI was translated and back-translated from English into each of the native languages of the cultures represented in this study, with the exception of India. For India, it was decided that because English is the language of business within India, it made most sense to use it as the language for these participants. Second, to minimize the potential of culturally different response patterns, we converted participants’ scores for each dimension to culturally standardized scores. Third, to determine the consistency of the SUI dimensions across the six cultures, we used the well-accepted Cronbach’s alpha statistic to determine whether each dimension was sufficiently consistent (reliable) within each culture to be included in the analysis. The decision rule was to use $\alpha = .60$ as the cut-point. There is no definitive rule for an alpha cut-point in cross-cultural studies. However, this alpha value seems to be generally accepted as reasonable. If a dimension was found not to meet this cut-point for a specific culture, the dimension was removed from the study.

ANALYSIS

The first step of the analysis was to perform a one-way multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA). The six cultures were our predictor variable. The relevant Job Tactics dimensions, as determined by the reliability estimates (alpha scores), were the dependent variables. The five demographic variables were entered as covariates. Next, if the MANCOVA was significant, univariate analyses for the dependent measure dimensions were conducted. The univariate analyses were ANCOVAs, using as covariates only the demographics identified in the MANCOVA as making a significant contribution to the model. If no covariate was significant, the analyses were run as ANOVAs. Finally, for the univariate analyses found to be significant, Duncan multiple comparison tests were conducted to identify group differences among the managers from the various cultures.

RESULTS

DIMENSION RELIABILITY ANALYSIS

Thirty-six Cronbach’s alpha estimates for the six SUI dimensions in each of the six cultures were calculated. All alphas exceeded the cut-point with the exceptions of Rational Persuasion (India: $\alpha = .48$) and Personal Networking (Netherlands: $\alpha = .51$). Thus, Rational
Persuasion and Personal Networking were removed, and further analyses would include only the four relevant dimensions that do meet the reliability criteria (Good Soldier, Image Management, Information Control, and Strong-Arm Coercion).

**HYPOTHESIS TESTING ANALYSIS**

The MANCOVA (Wilks’s lambda) for the four relevant dimensions was significant ($\lambda = .185, df = 5, 3606, p < .001$) and explained approximately 80% of the variance. None of the covariates made a significant contribution to the model. Therefore, ANOVAs were calculated for each of the four SUI dimensions. The ANOVA results showed that all univariate analyses were significant. Thus, Duncan multiple comparison tests were run for each of the four SUI dimensions. The ANOVA and Duncan multiple comparison test findings are reported in Table 1 and discussed as cultural profiles in the subsequent section.

**DISCUSSION**

As the mean scores on Table 1 show, these cross-cultural comparisons of upward influence strategy preferences indicate each group’s degree of emphasis. In almost all cases, there is agreement across the cultures on whether a tactic is viewed as a positive or negative type of behavior. Thus, although we find significant differences among the managers of the various cultures, this does not necessarily mean that one group embraces a strategy whereas another totally rejects it. Nonetheless, the significance of the degree to which we do see differences suggests that there clearly is divergence in the degree to which the various tactics are preferred across the cultures in this study.

Therefore, to lay a foundation to build cultural profiles that compare and contrast the six cultures in this study, we begin by proposing that the upward influence tactics might be viewed in terms of high, medium, and low levels of acceptance, and that the Job Tactics can be grouped into “soft” strategies and “hard” strategies. The soft strategies (Good Soldier and Image Management) are those in which there is no intent to hurt others, while trying to promote oneself and one’s personal wants. Conversely, the hard strategies (Information Control and Strong-Arm Coercion) are those that either allow someone else to be hurt or intentionally try to hurt another. In this discussion, we will cluster the cultures that share a similar profile.

*The United States and the Netherlands.* The American and Dutch managers viewed the use of the soft strategies (Good Soldier and Image Management) as a positive way to exert influence and consistently had the highest scores on these dimensions. Conversely, they viewed the hard strategies (Information Control and Strong-Arm Coercion) negatively and consistently scored the lowest on using these as a means to gain influence. Thus, we find a consistent support for soft strategies and a consistent rejection of hard strategies in both of these cultures.

*Germany and India.* Consistent with the American and Dutch managers, the German and Indian managers viewed both soft strategies as a positive way to exert influence. However, the German and Indian managers considered these tactics significantly less important strategies than did the Americans and the Dutch. Again, consistent with the American and Dutch managers, the German and Indian managers perceived the hard strategies to be negative...
types of influence, but also found them to be significantly more acceptable than did the American and Dutch managers. Thus, the German and Indian managers were more balanced in their moderate use of all tactics than were any of the other four cultures.

**Hong Kong and Mexico.** The Hong Kong and Mexican managers, like all the other groups, view the Good Soldier tactic as a positive way to exert influence. However, the Hong Kong managers were the only group to hold a negative view, albeit slight, of Image Management. Also, like all other groups, the Hong Kong and Mexican managers held a negative view of the Information Control and Strong-Arm Coercion strategies. Nonetheless, in terms of the other groups in this study, the Hong Kong and Mexican managers are the antithesis of the American and Dutch managers in terms of their degree of support for the various tactics. Relatively speaking, these managers found the hard strategies to be reasonably acceptable and the soft strategies to be much less viable options. In essence, the Hong Kong and Mexican managers are more open to using the negatively perceived hard strategies and do not perceive the use the soft strategies as being as productive as do the other four groups.
CONCLUSIONS

The findings indicated some definitive, contrasting patterns across the six cultures in our study. The cultures that were high on the soft tactics, the United States and the Netherlands, were low on the hard tactics, and vice versa for Hong Kong and Mexico. In addition, those that were moderate on the soft tactics, Germany and India, were also moderate on the hard tactics. Given the Likert-style nature of the instrument, a culture could theoretically have responded high (or low) on all items and tactics. The design of the instrument does not dictate that an order or hierarchy be selected, nor does it require the cultural consistency that was found for tactic-acceptance levels within both the soft strategy dimensions and the hard strategy dimensions. Therefore, one question that these findings raise is: Do these interrelated high, medium, and low level-of-acceptance relationships imply a global model or are they just an anomaly of our study? Our findings do suggest that further investigation into the degree of global consistency of these relationships may be a worthwhile endeavor.

Focusing now on the cross-cultural similarities within this set of relationships, we have noted that the Dutch and American managers are extremely similar to one another in terms of both the soft influence strategy that they see as more acceptable and the hard influence strategy that they see as less acceptable to use. This case of culture similarities may be the least curious of our findings in that previous research, both empirical and anecdotal, has suggested that United States and Dutch ways of engaging in business are reasonably similar. For example, when the Hofstede and Bond (1988) dimensions are broken into quartiles, the United States and the Netherlands are in the same quartiles for Power Distance, Individualism-Collectivism, and Confucian Dynamism.

On the other hand, we have noted a similar, although converse, trend occurring for the Hong Kong and Mexican managers. However, the reasons underlying the similarity between a Far East and a Latin American cluster culture appear less obvious, but not contradictory to the cross-cultural values research. Hong Kong and Mexico are in adjacent Ronen and Shenkar (1985) country clusters, and both are relatively high on Power Distance and low on Individualism, with no measure of Confucian Dynamism being available for Mexico (Hofstede & Bond, 1988). One factor that might contribute to the explanation for these similarities focuses on the cultural importance of ingroup relationships in Eastern and Latin cultures, and the relative unimportance, in these cultures, of people who are in one’s outgroup, in which the superior likely may be (Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988). Another factor to consider might be the issue of economically developing versus economically developed countries, in which the former may feel the need to catch up at almost any cost, and thus be more willing to embrace the harder tactics. In addition, one could postulate that because both of these cultures have functioned under nondemocratic rule for many years, it may be a political issue that helps to explain the similarities. Furthermore, looking at all six cultures in this study, a relationship between length of democracy and influence-strategy preference seems to exist, with longer democratic rule and softer strategy having the apparently positive correlation. Thus, it seems worthwhile to explore the possibility that economic and/or political factors contribution to provide a more encompassing explanation for the cultural similarities and differences that were found.

Along the same line, the German and Indian managers’ similar and relatively moderate response patterns across all influence tactic categories is interesting. India, like Brazil, Japan, and Israel, is designated by Ronen and Shenkar (1985) to be an Independent that does not fit into any of the country clusters. Culturally, India is Eastern, and it would seem logical that it should fit somewhat more closely with the Far East cluster (e.g., Hong Kong) than with
the Germanic cluster of the Western cultures. However, we see that Germany and India are in the same Individualism-Collectivism quartile (Hofstede & Bond, 1988). In addition, India, like Hong Kong, had a long relationship with the British. Perhaps, the Hindu-based culture of India, in conjunction with their exposure to Western ideology and adoption of English as the language of business, has resulted in a crossvergent hybrid influence style (Ralston et al., 1997) that has evolved to be fairly similar to the German style, even if the cultures may not be that similar.

The latter two culture pairings are worthy of note in that they open the door for the question: Are there factors other than culture that are having a significant impact on managerial perspectives of the appropriate styles of influence behavior? In addition, do we need to explicitly include these other factors in the equation when trying to study influence—or more generally, behavioral—differences across cultures? Furthermore, one might ask: Does influence style behavior correspond with the general model of cross-cultural differences that has evolved from the values literature, or is influence style a unique- unto-itself aspect of culture that does not follow the norms derived from the values literature? These appear to be other issues that may provide a fruitful undertaking for future research.

Finally, in terms of differences that were found, a finding that may have serious implications in North America is the pronounced difference between the United States and Mexican managers on all four dimensions. This finding suggests that there is a great deal of divergence between these two NAFTA partners, and that a successful alliance is going to require substantial cultural sensitivity on the part of the business participants from both countries. Thus, this also appears to be a topic that deserves further scrutiny (Egri et al., 2000).

Unmistakably, this research has only begun to scratch the surface of the impact of culture—and perhaps the economic/political ideology—on upward influence preferences around the world. However, we believe that this study does highlight the importance of this issue for cross-cultural relationships, as well as for diversity issues within a single country. In addition, the questions that this study has raised also appear to provide relevant starting points for future research endeavors. In summation, there is still much to learn about the different influence styles of managers around the world. However, an understanding of these differences appears to be crucial if we are going to be able to work together successfully.

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The study investigated body image in young adults from two countries with different histories of media exposure. Questionnaires assessing body dissatisfaction, dieting, disordered eating, leisure pursuits, and media exposure were administered to 394 Australian university students and 415 Estonian university students. Although there were large gender differences between men and women, in contrast to prediction, there were relatively few differences on body concern between Australian and Estonian students.

A CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON
OF BODY DISSATISFACTION IN ESTONIAN
AND AUSTRALIAN YOUNG ADULTS AND
ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH MEDIA EXPOSURE

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A great deal of research has investigated the body image concerns of women in Western English-speaking countries. In the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, and Australia, many studies have shown that women experience much more body dissatisfaction and perceive themselves as more overweight than do men, beliefs that are manifested in a much greater incidence of dieting (see Grogan, 1999, for a review). The eating disorders of anorexia nervosa and bulimia nervosa also occur much more frequently among women.

In contrast, very little research attention has as yet been directed at the body concerns of women other than those of Anglo-Celtic origin in Western countries. Even where other ethnic or racial groups have been studied, this has mostly been in the context of English-speaking countries, for example, Blacks or Hispanics in the United States (Altabe, 1998), Asian girls in Britain (Hill & Bhatti, 1995), or Greek Australians in Australia (Mildred, Paxton, & Wertheim, 1995). These studies do illustrate, however, the need to take cultural group into account.

The aim of the proposed study is to compare body concern and dissatisfaction in a sample of young adults in Australia, with a similar sample in a very different country, Estonia. Australia is an English-speaking Western country. Estonia is a country that gained independence from the Soviet Union in 1992. Its national language is Estonian, but everyday business was largely conducted in Russian until independence. The media were largely centrally controlled. As such, Estonia has not had as long a history of exposure to commercialised Western, largely American-based, media depicting thin idealised bodies as is the case in Australia. Accordingly, it is predicted that Estonian women will suffer less body dissatisfaction and disordered eating symptomatology than their Australian counterparts.

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PARTICIPANTS

Participants were students at the Flinders University of South Australia and at the Tallinn Pedagogical University and Tallinn Technical University, recruited through undergraduate classes in psychology, economics, and chemistry. The cities in which the universities are situated, that is, Adelaide and Tallinn, are the capital cities of South Australia and Estonia, respectively. Both cities have relatively high tertiary participation rates, making it unlikely that there would be substantial socioeconomic status differences.

A total of 394 Australian students (119 men and 275 women) who were less than or equal to 35 years old participated at the Flinders University of South Australia. Their mean age was 20.2 years (range 17 to 35). There were 415 Estonian students (157 men and 258 women) from the Tallinn Universities, with a mean age of 20.6 years (range 18 to 35).

MEASURES

There were two versions of the questionnaire: the original in English, and a translation into Estonian carried out by the second author, who is bilingual. To validate the translation, all items were independently back-translated into English by a professional translator.

Physical characteristics. Participants were asked their age, gender, height, and weight. From these latter two, Body Mass Index (BMI) can be calculated as the ratio of weight (kilograms) to height squared ($m^2$).

Figure preference ratings. Students were presented with Fallon and Rozin’s (1985) series of nine silhouette figure drawings ranging from very thin to very fat, and asked to indicate by choosing a number (including intermediate numbers): (a) the figure that approximates their current figure (current), (b) the one they would like to look like (ideal), (c) the one they consider most attractive to the opposite sex (attractive), and finally (d) the figure of the opposite sex they find most attractive.

Body dissatisfaction measures. From the figure ratings described above, body dissatisfaction was calculated as the discrepancy between current and ideal figures.

Participants also rated themselves on a 7-point Likert-type scale from 1 (extremely underweight) through 4 (normal weight) to 7 (extremely overweight), as well as their satisfaction with their current weight, from 1 (extremely dissatisfied) to 7 (extremely satisfied). Finally, participants nominated their ideal weight, which was then subtracted from their current weight and expressed as a percentage of actual weight. This produces a parametric measure of degree of subjective overweight.

Dieting. Participants were asked if they had ever been on a diet for at least 2 weeks to lose weight (no/yes), whether they were currently dieting (no/yes), and how often they weighed themselves, on a 6-point Likert-type scale from 1 (never) to 6 (more than once a day). They also completed the 10-item Revised Restraint Scale of Herman and Polivy (1980), which can be divided into two subscales: Concern for Dieting, which reflects the attention paid to eating and dieting, and Weight Fluctuation, reflecting the extent of previously experienced weight
gain and loss. In the present sample, internal reliability was moderate for the total Restraint Scale (Cronbach’s alpha = .77) and for its two subscales (αs = .76, .66). It should be noted, however, that there were many missing values on the Weight Fluctuations subscale (20% missing for both Australian and Estonian respondents).

Leisure and media pursuits. Participants were asked whether they participated in organised sport (no/yes) or regular exercise (no/yes). They were then asked how many hours per week on average they spent: (a) watching television, (b) reading, and (c) socialising. Finally, they rated how often they read fashion magazines from 1 (never) to 5 (more than once a week).

Disordered eating. Disordered eating was assessed by the three behavioural subscales (Drive for Thinness, Bulimia, Body Dissatisfaction) of the Eating Disorder Inventory (EDI) of Garner, Olmsted, and Polivy (1983). Drive for Thinness refers to intense preoccupation with weight and fear of weight gain, and is the EDI’s primary indicator of anorexia nervosa tendencies. The Bulimia scale assesses tendencies to think about and engage in bouts of uncontrollable eating, whereas the Body Dissatisfaction scale assesses dissatisfaction with overall weight and specific areas of the body (e.g., stomach, thighs). Items are rated on 6-point Likert-type scales, 1 (always) to 6 (never). Untransformed scores were utilised here, as recommended for nonclinical populations. In the present sample, internal reliabilities for the subscales were moderately high (α ranging from .80 to .93), as was the case for the total EDI score (α = .94).

RESULTS

SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

As can be seen from the means displayed in Table 1, the two samples did not differ in weight. There was, however, a significant main effect of country on height, \( F(1, 744) = 21.27, p < .001 \), whereby the Estonian students were on average approximately 2 centimeters taller than their Australian counterparts. As a consequence, the Estonian students (\( M = 21.64 \)) had a significantly lower BMI than the Australian students (\( M = 22.36 \)), \( F(1, 744) = 13.35, p < .001 \). It should be noted that both sample means fall toward the lower end of the range (20 to 25) considered normal.

BODY FIGURE PREFERENCE RATINGS

A MANOVA with the current, ideal, and attractive figure ratings as the repeated measures variable, and with country and gender as between-subjects variables, indicated a significant overall gender, \( F(2, 784) = 50.09, p < .001 \), and gender × question effect, \( F(2, 784) = 75.60, p < .001 \), but no main effect of country or country × question interaction. Analyses of the men and women separately showed that for neither Australian nor Estonian men was there any difference in figure preference ratings (both \( F_s < 1 \)). On the other hand, both Australian and Estonian women rated their current figure as significantly larger than their ideal figure and the one they though most attractive to men: Australian \( F(2, 268) = 115.65, p < .001 \), Estonian \( F(2, 252) = 131.75, p < .001 \).
Each individual question was analysed by a $2 \times 2$ ANOVA, the results of which are displayed in Table 1. The significant interactions indicate that, consistent with their lower BMI, the Estonian women’s ratings were lower than the Australian women’s for all of current, ideal, and attractive figure ratings, whereas the Estonian men’s ratings were larger than their Australian counterparts. It is interesting that both Australian and Estonian women’s ratings of the figure they thought most attractive to men was lower (respective $Ms = 31.5, 31.3$) than that which men from their country actually said they found most attractive ($Ms = 36.4, 36.9$).

### TABLE 1

Means for Body Dissatisfaction, Eating Patterns and Leisure Pursuits for Australian and Estonian Men and Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Main Effects/Interaction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Australian</td>
<td>Estonian</td>
<td>Australian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical characteristics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>20.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Height (centimeters)</td>
<td>180.4</td>
<td>182.4</td>
<td>166.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weight (kilograms)</td>
<td>77.1</td>
<td>76.4</td>
<td>60.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body Mass Index</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body figure ratings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>40.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideal</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attractive</td>
<td>41.4</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opposite sex</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>40.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body dissatisfaction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrepancy</td>
<td>$-0.7$</td>
<td>$-0.8$</td>
<td>$8.2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived weight</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjective overweight</td>
<td>$-1.5$</td>
<td>$-2.1$</td>
<td>$7.2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dieting behaviour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weighing (frequency)</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restraint</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern dieting</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weight fluctuation</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disordered eating</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drive for thinness</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulimia</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body dissatisfaction</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>36.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exercise</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television (hours)</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read (hours)</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialise (hours)</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fashion magazines</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: $c =$ main effect ($p < .05$) of country; $g =$ main effect($p < .05$) of gender; $c \times g =$ interaction ($p < .05$) between country and gender.

Each individual question was analysed by a $2 \times 2$ ANOVA, the results of which are displayed in Table 1. The significant interactions indicate that, consistent with their lower BMI, the Estonian women’s ratings were lower than the Australian women’s for all of current, ideal, and attractive figure ratings, whereas the Estonian men’s ratings were larger than their Australian counterparts. It is interesting that both Australian and Estonian women’s ratings of the figure they thought most attractive to men was lower (respective $Ms = 31.5, 31.3$) than that which men from their country actually said they found most attractive ($Ms = 36.4, 36.9$).

**BODY DISSATISFACTION**

As can be seen in Table 1, analyses of the four measures of body dissatisfaction indicated significant and substantial gender differences. Women perceived themselves to be heavier,
were less satisfied, and wished themselves to be thinner and to weigh less than men. There was only one country difference, whereby the Estonians rated themselves as more satisfied, $F(1, 680) = 21.89, p < .001$, but this was particularly the case for the men, as indicated by the significant interaction, $F(1, 680) = 6.24, p < .05$.

**DIETING BEHAVIOUR**

Although similar proportions of men had ever dieted (11.8%, 7.6%), significantly more Australian women (44.5%) had ever dieted than Estonian women (29.8%), $\chi^2(1) = 12.23, p < .001$. There were no country differences for current dieting (men: Australian 3.4%, Estonian 1.9%; women: Australian 15.3%, Estonian, 13.6%). Table 1 shows that Estonians (men and women equally) did, however, score higher on the Weight Fluctuations subscale of the Restraint Scale, $F(1, 630) = 7.77, p < .01$, but not the Concern with Dieting subscale, $F(1, 630) = 1.80, p > .05$. Interestingly, they also weighed themselves more often, $F(1, 800) = 60.54, p < .001$.

**DISORDERED EATING**

Table 1 also shows that, as is usually found, women scored much more highly than men on all the EDI subscales. There were, however, no significant between-country differences on the Drive for Thinness and Bulimia scale scores. Consistent with the other measures, Body Dissatisfaction was significantly lower for the Estonian sample, $F(1, 783) = 30.55, p < .001$.

It is interesting to note that for the EDI subscales, as for all the other data, the gender differences far outweigh any country differences for either men or women.

**LEISURE PURSUITS AND MEDIA EXPOSURE**

The means for leisure in Table 1 indicate relatively fewer differences in gender in leisure pursuits, although not surprisingly, women read fashion magazines more often, $F(1, 570) = 167.31, p < .001$, and participated less in organised sport than did men, $F(1, 570) = 8.68, p < .01$. Estonians reported spending more hours watching television, $F(1, 570) = 6.99, p < .01$, and socialising, $F(1, 570) = 15.37, p < .001$, and more often reading fashion magazines, $F(1, 570) = 16.50, p < .001$, and the women spent more time reading in general, interaction $F(1, 570) = 7.47, p < .01$.

**RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BODY CONCERNS AND MEDIA EXPOSURE**

Correlational analyses were conducted between dietary restraint and disordered eating symptomatology, and the two measures of exposure to the media (hours spent watching TV, and frequency of fashion magazine reading) for the four groups separately. It was found that the reading of fashion magazines correlated with dietary restraint ($r_s = .23, .19, ps < .01$) and all the subscales of disordered eating symptomatology, for both Estonian and Australian women ($r_s = .23, .15, .14, ps < .05$; Australian $r_s = .25, .19, .13, ps < .05$), but not for men (all $r_s < .11$).
DISCUSSION

This study aimed to compare body image across two countries with very different histories. In particular, as a country from the former Soviet bloc, Estonia does not have a long history of exposure to commercial Western media that depict very thin beauty ideals for women, although exposure to such material is rapidly increasing. However, the consequent prediction that the Estonian women would suffer less body dissatisfaction and disordered eating than their Australian counterparts was largely unsupported. On figure ratings they, like Australian women, choose an ideal figure that is significantly smaller than their current figure. On most other measures of body dissatisfaction, they score similarly, and where there are differences, these are largely accountable for by their lower BMI. In particular, Estonian women score as highly as Australian women on Drive for Thinness and Bulimia tendencies. Recently, Stephens, Schumaker, and Sibiya (1999) have likewise shown no difference in eating disorder symptoms between Australian and Swazi university students. The results are consistent with what Lee and Lee (2000) describe as “the transnational diffusion of fat concern.”

In the light of their relatively low BMI, the dieting behaviour of the Estonians is somewhat surprising. Estonians weighed themselves more often, and scored as highly as Australians on the Concern for Dieting scale and scored higher on Weight Fluctuation. It needs to be remembered, however, that this latter subscale had relatively low reliability and also a large number of missing values, consistent with the finding of Wardle (1986) with British participants. The data suggest that weight fluctuations here are definitely not a function of past dieting, which was actually lower in the Estonian sample. Instead, the extent of weight fluctuation may reflect differential access to different quantities and types of food in the past, particularly the food restrictions in the 1980s. This suggests that the subscale of Weight Fluctuation may not be a useful measure of (voluntary) dietary restraint in non-Western countries and adds to the conceptual and methodological criticism of this subscale (e.g., Ruderman, 1985). Nevertheless, the country differences were by far outweighed by the gender differences.

In terms of media consumption, the Estonians both watched more television and read more fashion magazines than their Australian counterparts. This perhaps reflects a society hungry for Western media and progress. Nevertheless, the pattern of associations with the body concern variables was the same regardless of country, and again reflected gender rather than country differences.

One potential limitation of the present study is that the results from university students may not generalize to other groups who differ in age or educational level. It is possible that the lack of differences between Estonian and Australian subjects on body satisfaction measures is a function of the fact that college students are relatively similar, even if from very different geographical locations. Future research might usefully address national differences in other more broadly based samples.

In conclusion, the study has demonstrated consistent gender differences in body concerns, but a lack of differences due to country. These gender differences suggest cross-cultural consistency, despite the major historical and cultural differences between the two countries.
REFERENCES


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Eha Rüütel received her M.Sc. in psychology from the Tallinn Pedagogical University, Estonia. She is an associate professor, the head of the Laboratory of Health Studies, and a doctoral student in psychology at Tallinn Pedagogical University. Her research areas are health psychology and personality psychology, including an interest in the impact of body dissatisfaction on psychological well-being.
A replication of Shaw, Borough, and Fink’s and Gore, Tobiasen, and Kayson’s nonreactive measure of homophobia is presented. In the original study (Shaw et al.), residents of Los Angeles received an apparently wrong-number telephone call from a male caller portraying himself as either homosexual or heterosexual. His car had broken down and he was out of change at a payphone. Therefore, he asked the subject to call his boyfriend/girlfriend. Heterosexual callers received more help than homosexual callers. Gore et al. replicated this study in Westchester County, New York, and extended it to female callers revealing comparable results. The repetition presented here took place in autumn 1999 in Bern, Switzerland. The results show that the Swiss subjects are significantly more helpful than the American subjects. The perceived sexual orientation of the caller does not appear to influence the probability that help will be provided.

PERCEIVED SEXUAL ORIENTATION
AND HELPING BEHAVIOUR
The Wrong Number Technique, a Swiss Replication

UTE GABRIEL
GERHARD BEYELER
NORA DÄNIKER
WERNER FEY
KARIN GUTWENIGER
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Over the past two decades, an attitude of tolerance toward homosexuality seems to have arisen in parts of the United States (Yang, 1997) and western Europe (Rauchfleisch, 1995). When talking about homosexuality, people like to present themselves as liberal and open-minded. People in public life have coming-outs, and every self-respecting soap opera now features a gay or lesbian protagonist. However, the era of negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbians is still not behind us; it seems that—despite the undeniable liberalization—homosexuals still have to face prejudice, discrimination, and offence (cf. Berill, 1992; Gerber & Herz, 1997; Rauchfleisch, 1996). It is therefore not surprising that a number of psychological studies (e.g., Herek, 1994; Kite & Deaux, 1986) report on negative attitudes toward homosexuality on the part of heterosexuals.

The literature on attitudes toward homosexuality is extensive. However, because attitudes do not necessarily predict behaviour (e.g., Eagly & Chaiken, 1993), overt behaviour toward homosexuals should also be the subject of empirical research. Accordingly, the research key taken here uses helping behaviour as an attitude measure, assuming that an unwillingness to help perceived homosexuals reflects a negative attitude toward homosexuality. As an example, Gray, Russell, and Blockley (1991) found that change was less likely to be given to a shopper when he or she wore a T-shirt with a pro-gay slogan than when the shirt was neutral. Subsequently, Shaw, Borough, and Fink (1994) conducted a study to confirm whether

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negative behaviour toward homosexuals could also be shown within the paradigm of the “wrong number” technique. This nonreactive field research technique was introduced by Gaertner and Bickman (1971) to indicate the extent to which helping behaviour is affected by racial attitudes. The procedure involves a confederate calling and informing a respondent. The confederate pretends to have dialed the wrong number, then he or she claims not to have any change left to make another call and asks the respondent to make the call. The number given the respondent is actually that of a confederate who records whether the respondent complies with the request and calls back within a given period of time.

In the study by Shaw et al. (1994), the male caller pretends that his car broke down and that he is trying to reach either his girlfriend (heterosexual condition) or his boyfriend (homosexual condition). It is their first anniversary and therefore he does not want his girlfriend/boyfriend to worry about him. Because he has no more change, he asks the respondent to do him a favour and call the girlfriend/boyfriend.

Forty men and 40 women, aged 18 and over, residing in a suburb of Los Angeles, were telephoned in this way. (A description of the detailed procedure can be found in Shaw et al., 1994, p. 76.) Overall, 45 of 80 respondents helped by returning the telephone call (56.3%). As expected, perceived male homosexuals were helped significantly less often than perceived male heterosexuals (32.4% vs. 80%). Surprisingly, the study found no differences between female and male respondents.

Gore, Tobiasen, and Kayson (1997) repeated this study in a somewhat modified way in lower Westchester County, New York. Female callers were included in their study, presenting themselves as heterosexual or homosexual and asking for help. However, the study did not investigate the sex of the person who answered the phone. Their results for male callers are similar to the ones reported above (36.7% vs. 73.3%), but, interestingly, the difference in proportions of help given to perceived homosexual and heterosexual callers was less pronounced if the caller was female (60% vs. 86.7%).

We were interested to discover whether similar results would also be obtained in Switzerland, or, more precisely, in its capital, Bern.1

To form a hypothesis on this, one has to ask whether the two cultures involved differ with respect to general attitudes toward male homosexuality.

Because we are not aware of a study determining the attitudes of Swiss and Americans toward homosexuality, comparing the results from different studies might serve as an approximation.

In 1994, 16% of the respondents in an American poll felt “very” unsympathetic toward the homosexual community; 20% answered with “somewhat” unsympathetic (cf. Yang, 1997, p. 493). A survey of 1,400 Swiss citizens revealed comparable results: 19% of the male respondents and 11% of the female respondents said having homosexuals as neighbours was undesirable. Out of 12 groups presented as possible neighbours, male respondents judged only 3 groups to be less desirable (drug users, right-wing radicals, alcoholics), whereas female respondents judged 5 groups (the above, plus left-wing radicals, members of religious minorities or sects) to be less desirable as neighbours than homosexuals (Melich, 1991, p. 359). Furthermore, in line with American results (Herek, 1988; Kite & Whitley, 1998), it seems that Swiss men also generally hold more negative attitudes toward male homosexuality than women. Therefore, retaining the United States studies hypotheses appears to be justified. Accordingly, we expected (a) that participants would give more help to perceived male heterosexuals than to perceived male homosexuals, and (b) that this difference would be more pronounced among male participants than among female participants. Furthermore, we expected (c) the effect of the perceived sexual orientation of female callers on helping
behaviour to be less pronounced than the effect of the perceived sexual orientation of male callers.

**METHOD**

**SAMPLING**

In autumn 1999, 80 men and 80 women, all living in the Bern, Switzerland, area were telephoned. To compile a list of possible respondents, seven-digit telephone numbers were generated that fulfilled the following conditions: the first digit and at least three other digits had to match the callback number given. All generated numbers were electronically compared with the index of existing telephone numbers and put into random order.

Each number was randomly assigned to one of the four experimental conditions (caller is male and homosexual, male and heterosexual, female and homosexual, female and heterosexual). Which of the two male and two female callers actually called was decided by drawing lots.

Sex and age of the participants were determined by two independent experimenters listening to the conversations.

The experimenters made 532 telephone calls in total, of which 372 could not be used for reasons such as answering machine, engaged tone, nobody answering the telephone, wrong sex of respondent, respondent hanging up before the caller could ask for help, and respondent sounding younger than 18.

Participants were telephoned on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays between 6:30 p.m. and 9 p.m. over a 4-week period.

**DESIGN AND PROCEDURE**

There are the following two manipulated variables: (a) sex of caller: male versus female, (b) perceived sexual orientation of caller: homosexual versus heterosexual; and one classification variable (c) sex of respondent: male versus female.

Sex of caller was established by identifying the caller either as “Anita” (the female condition) or “Patrick” (the male condition). Perceived sexual orientation was established by either asking to speak to one’s “Schatz Sonja” (female name) or to “Schatz Lukas” (male name). Schatz (meaning “darling,” “sweetheart,” “love”) in Swiss dialect indicates a romantic relationship. All conversations were held in Bernese dialect.

According to the scripted conversation, the female caller started, for example, by saying,

Hello, this is Anita speaking. May I talk to Sonja [Lukas]?

Typically, the respondent answered that there was no such person and that the caller had probably dialed a wrong number. The caller continued,

Oh, I’m very sorry—but listen: now I’m in trouble because I’m in a telephone box and my phone card is nearly empty. My car has broken down, and I’m stuck here waiting for the breakdown service. I wanted to tell my Schatz Sonja [Lukas] that I will be late so she [he] won’t worry. But now I can’t make another call. I wonder if you would be so kind as to call my Schatz Sonja [Lukas] and tell her [him]?
Helping behaviour was defined as “the respondent made the telephone call within the next 3 minutes,” in which the respondent passed on the helping message to a confederate who answered the phone pretending to be a sibling of the target person (cf. Shaw et al., 1994). The confederate said that she would pass on the message and expressed many thanks for his or her help. A response was scored as “no help” if the respondent refused to make the call, hung up after the caller had finished her or his script, or if calls did not arrive in time.

The procedure differs from that of the two United States studies in the following several points.

Selection of the telephone numbers. In the original studies, the first three digits of each number called were the same. We decided to change the procedure on one hand because we were afraid of not being able to generate a sufficient number of valid telephone numbers. On the other hand, the first three digits in Bern cover neighbourhoods that might be rather small, and respondents might as a consequence have spoiled the experiment by talking to each other in the neighbourhood.

Scenario. Instead of planning to change a flat tire (Shaw et al., 1994) or just mentioning that the car had broken down (Gore et al., 1997), our callers were waiting for the breakdown service; instead of running out of change (Shaw et al., 1994) or using up their last quarter (Gore et al., 1997), our callers’ telephone card was nearly used up; and instead of referring to a first anniversary together (Shaw et al., 1994) or just asking for the boyfriend or girlfriend (Gore et al., 1997) to indicate a romantic relationship, our callers introduced their friend as “Schatz” as mentioned above. We made those changes to adapt the scenario to the Swiss context and hence to heighten the story’s credibility.

RESULTS

Overall, in 124 (77.5%) of 160 calls, help was provided. This rate of helping is comparatively high. Shaw et al. (1994) reported a rate of 56.3%. Gore et al. (1997) reported a rate of 64%. Table 1 shows the frequency of respondents who returned the call, classified by the four experimental conditions for the Swiss study and for the two United States studies.

A comparison of the results for male callers reveals a significant divergence between the Swiss study on one hand and the U.S. Study 1 ($\chi^2 = 34.2, p \leq .001$) and U.S. Study 2 ($\chi^2 = 25.6, p \leq .001$) on the other. This is due to the fact that in the Bernese sample, neither the sexual orientation of the caller ($\chi^2 = 0.1 \text{ ns}$) nor the sex of the respondent ($\chi^2 = 0.1 \text{ ns}$) had any influence on the decision whether to forward the call. The interaction between sex of respondent and perceived sexual orientation of caller is not significant either ($\chi^2 = 0.8 \text{ ns}$).

The comparison of the results for female callers with the corresponding results of U.S. Study 2 reveals a less obvious difference ($\chi^2 = 4.4, p = .22$). Nevertheless, the effect of sexual orientation—if the caller was female—does not attain statistical significance ($\chi^2 = 0.7 \text{ ns}$). The same holds true for the influence of the sex of the respondent ($\chi^2 = 0.7 \text{ ns}$).

In sum, neither the results of Shaw et al. (1994) nor those of Gore et al. (1997) could be replicated in Bern. Female as well as male homosexual callers were helped to the same extent as heterosexual callers of either sex. Furthermore, women helped as often as men ($\chi^2 = 0.1$).
and male callers were helped as often as female callers ($\chi^2 = 0.1$, ns). Whether caller and respondent were of the same sex or not did not influence the helping behaviour ($\chi^2 = 0.6$, ns).

### TABLE 1
Frequency of Help by Male and Female Respondents for the Swiss Study and the two United States Studies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perceived Sexual Orientation</th>
<th>Male (%)</th>
<th>Female (%)</th>
<th>Total (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male caller</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homosexual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swiss study</td>
<td>13 (65)</td>
<td>17 (85)</td>
<td>30 (76.25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. study 1</td>
<td>6 (3)</td>
<td>7 (35)</td>
<td>13 (32.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. study 2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>11 (36.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heterosexual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swiss study</td>
<td>17 (85)</td>
<td>14 (70)</td>
<td>31 (78.75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. study 1</td>
<td>18 (90)</td>
<td>14 (70)</td>
<td>32 (80)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. study 2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>22 (73.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30 (76.25)</td>
<td>31 (78.25)</td>
<td>61 (77.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. study 1</td>
<td>24 (60)</td>
<td>21 (52.5)</td>
<td>45 (56.25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. study 2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>33 (55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female caller</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homosexual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swiss study</td>
<td>15 (75)</td>
<td>15 (75)</td>
<td>30 (75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. study 2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>18 (60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heterosexual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swiss study</td>
<td>18 (90)</td>
<td>15 (75)</td>
<td>33 (82.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. study 2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>26 (86.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>33 (82.5)</td>
<td>30 (75)</td>
<td>63 (78.75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. study 2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>44 (73.3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Compare Gore, Tobiasen, and Kayson (1997), p. 959, sex of respondent was not reported, total sample size of 120.

### DISCUSSION

The main purpose of the study presented was to replicate Shaw et al.’s (1994) and Gore et al.’s (1997) nonreactive measure of homophobia in Switzerland. In contrast to the original study, the results in Switzerland indicate that the perceived sexual orientation of a person seeking help does not appear to influence the probability that help will be provided. This holds for male as well as for female homosexuality.

The fact that the findings of Shaw et al. (1994) could not be replicated might be explained as time-effect; that is, attitudes toward homosexuals have changed over the intervening years. But in this case, these changes must have taken place in the past 3 years because Gore et al. (1997) were able to replicate the findings.

Another explanation could be that the respondents did not notice (or forgot) that the caller was homosexual (i.e., that the intended manipulation did not work). This is not very likely,
however, as respondents’ remarks and questions as to the homosexual condition were recorded and as the callers’ memos suggest that about 75% of the respondents in homosexual calls apprehended that the call was about a homosexual couple.

As a further explanation for nonreplication, one could cite demographic and socioeconomic differences between the regions involved. It should not be ignored, though, that the U.S. studies also took place in quite different regions (West Coast vs. East Coast, suburban environment vs. urban/rural transition environment), suggesting differences in the sociodemographic structure in the samples of the original studies as well.

Nevertheless, both studies yielded comparable results.

In our opinion, the results suggest cultural differences between the United States and Switzerland, although it remains unclear what these differences actually reflect. When using behaviour as an indicator of attitudes (as is done here), differences arising can either be put down to differences in attitudes, or they can signal that—depending on the cultural context—behaviour is (only) a relative measure of attitudes. In other words, social norms about what kind of behaviour is seen as appropriate might interfere with the attitude-behaviour relationship. Therefore, the results of the replication reported here could on one hand be interpreted as Bernese holding less negative attitudes toward homosexuality than Americans. On the other hand, one could argue that in Swiss society, helping behaviour does not necessarily reflect the attitude of the helper, but rather social norms about helping. This could be substantiated by arguing that Swiss people feel a strong obligation to help as well as to behave neutrally as exemplified by Switzerland being the home of the Red Cross Movement, by 90% of a representative Swiss sample perceiving Switzerland as a country with a long tradition of humanitarian help (Raymann, 2001), and by democracy and neutrality holding the key positions in Swiss political identity (Melich, 1991).

Certainly, the importance that social norms are accorded in translating attitude to behaviour varies between people (as shown, e.g., by the research on the motivation to control prejudice, cf. Dunton & Fazio, 1997). But, on the other hand, this question could also be discussed cross-culturally: If it is possible to describe whether and how the importance of specific social norms varies between nations, then it should be possible to make specific predictions concerning the relation between attitude and behaviour.

With regard to the present comparison between the United States and Switzerland, we see the following testable hypotheses:

- If behaving neutrally despite personal attitude is a cultural peculiarity of Switzerland, it should be possible to replicate the U.S. results in other European countries.
- If Swiss neutrality refers especially to helping behaviour, other behavioural indicators should be better reflectors of attitudes.

We are not aware of any studies that have investigated such assumptions.

NOTES

1. Bern is situated in the German-speaking part of Switzerland. It has about 142,000 inhabitants and is the political and diplomatic capital. Geographically, the city is located in the midland between the Jura Mountains and the Alps.
2. For example: “We are talking about your sister, aren’t we?” (female homosexual/male respondent); “What if she thinks we are having an affair and this is just giving you an alibi for being late?” (female homosexual/female respondent).
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