

Individualism in Cross-Cultural Psychology: Separating Self-Reliance and Success Orientation

*L'individualisme en psychologie interculturelle:
séparation de l'autosuffisance et de l'orientation vers le succès*

Eva G. T. Green *

Abstract

Research in cross-cultural psychology has frequently evidenced the fundamental opposition of individualist and collectivist cultural contexts. In these studies, individualism is measured with various psychological dimensions. Among these, success orientation and self-reliance have generally been considered equivalent indicators of individualism. However, in this article, we argue that self-reliance and success orientation are conceptually and empirically distinct dimensions. A cross-cultural study using the Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai and Lucca (1988) scale was carried out in 25 countries. Individual as well as country level factor analyses supported this distinction. Furthermore, at odds with the common view that Western (affluent) countries are more success-oriented, our results showed that participants from countries with low Gross National Products were more success-ori-

Résumé

De nombreux travaux en psychologie interculturelle ont mis en évidence une opposition fondamentale entre des contextes culturels individualistes et collectivistes. Ces recherches ont mesuré l'individualisme par des dimensions psychologiques variables. Parmi celles-ci, l'orientation vers le succès et l'autosuffisance ont généralement été considérées comme des indicateurs équivalents de l'individualisme. Dans cet article, nous arguons toutefois que l'autosuffisance et l'orientation vers le succès constituent des dimensions conceptuellement et empiriquement distinctes. Une étude interculturelle utilisant l'échelle de Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai et Lucca (1988) a été menée dans 25 pays. Des analyses factorielles au niveau individuel aussi bien que national soutiennent cette distinction. En plus, contrairement à la vision courante selon laquelle les pays occidentaux (riches) seraient plus orientés vers

Mots-clés

Individualisme,
Autosuffisance, Succès,
Attitudes

Key-words

Individualism Self-
Reliance, Success,
Attitudes.

* Eva G. T. Green, Faculté des Sciences Sociales et Politiques, Université de Lausanne (now at Utrecht University).

The study was directed by Dario Pérez and funded by the Basque Country University, San Sebastian (Grant UPV 109231-G56/98). I am grateful to Christian Staerké, Jean-Claude Deschamps, Peter B. Smith and an anonymous reviewer for the insightful comments on previous versions of this manuscript.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Eva G. T. Green, European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations, Utrecht University, Postbus 80.140, De Uithof, 3508 TC Utrecht, The Netherlands, e-mail: e.green@fss.uu.nl

ented than participants from rich countries. Nevertheless, wealth of countries did not determine levels of self-reliance. These results call for a redefinition of success orientation and self-reliance as individualist characteristics associated to affluent Western countries.

Le succès, nos résultats montrent que les participants des pays ayant les Produits Intérieurs Bruts bas étaient plus orientés vers le succès que les participants provenant des pays riches. En revanche, la richesse de nations ne déterminait pas les niveaux d'autosuffisance. Ces résultats réclament une redefinition de l'orientation vers le succès et de l'autosuffisance comme caractéristiques individualistes associés aux pays riches et occidentaux.

Introduction

In cross-cultural psychology, multiple meanings are attributed to the notion of individualism (Kagitcibasi, 1997; Morales, Gaviria, Molero, Arias & Pérez, 2000; Smith & Bond, 1998). Individualism is defined in terms of self-reliance, uniqueness, achievement orientation, personal control or autonomy (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985; Kagitcibasi, 1997; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Sampson, 1977; Singelis, 1994; Triandis, 1995). Following these definitions, individualists are described as independent actors having control over their own actions and taking responsibility of them. Individualists are self-reliant, because they do not count on the help or support of others. Furthermore, they are oriented towards individual success and pursue personal goals, with little concern for their fellow citizens. Individualists resist influence from other people and groups and regard relationships as competing with personal needs (e.g., Triandis, 1995). Thus, the separation of the self from the ingroup, individual autonomy and responsibility characterise individualism (Morales *et al.*, 2000).

Although the multidimensional character of individualism is commonly acknowledged (Kim, Triandis, Kagitcibasi, Choi, & Yoon, 1994; Triandis *et al.*, 1986; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988), research on individualism and collectivism in cross-cultural psychology is often aimed to globally differentiate national populations from each other on these dimensions (Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbet, 1998; Hofstede, 1980; Hui &

Triandis, 1986; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Oyserman & Markus, 1998; Triandis, 1995, 1996). These notions have been used to describe, explain and predict differences in a wide range of attitudes and behaviours such as communication (Gudykunst, 1998), attribution (Miller, 1984), socialisation and interaction between mothers and infants (Kagitcibasi, 1992), self-concept (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) and organisational behaviour, as well as attitudes towards work (Hofstede, 1980).

Typically, individualist traits are used to characterise Western cultural contexts (Western Europe, North America), whereas collectivist characteristics, defined with cooperation, closeness to ingroup, interdependence and conformity with group norms and goals, have mainly been associated to non-Western (Asia, South America, Africa) contexts (Triandis, 1995, 1996). In summary, members of individualist cultures are assumed to emphasise individual strivings, whereas members of collectivist cultures underline the well-being of their group.

Differentiating Success and Self-Reliance

In this article, we will concentrate on disentangling a common confusion in cross-cultural studies, namely the frequent tendency to consider achievement oriented attitudes and individual autonomy as equivalent indicators of individualism (e.g., Triandis *et al.*, 1988). While the former refers to success orientation, the latter refers to self-reliance. Motivational reasons support the differentiation of success orientation and self-reliance (Green, Deschamps, & Pérez, 2005).

The first reason refers to the distinction of individually and collectively oriented achievement motivations. Economic success of entire nations has frequently been explained with individualist traits, that is, with achievement motivation and self-reliance of the inhabitants of nations (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1984). Four decades ago, McClelland (1961) suggested that individual achievement motivation explains economic success of Western countries, and even nowadays this hypothesis seems attractive, sometimes implicitly, to many researchers (see Kagitcibasi, 1998). The growth of East Asian economies, for example, has been explained by the adherence to Western competitive values (McClelland, 1961, see however Yu & Yang, 1994). This perspec-

tive of achievement motivation emphasises personal success, resembling the Protestant Work ethic. Indeed, individual achievement is opposed to concern for others (e.g., Schwartz, 1992).

However, the individually oriented vision of achievement has been criticised for its neglect of collective and normative aspects of success motivation (Niles, 1998a; Yu & Yang, 1994). Kahn and Pepper (1979), for example, explain the economic growth of East Asian nations by an achievement motivation termed "Confucian ethic" (or Vulgar Confucianism, Berger, 1983, in Yu & Yang, 1994). This orientation stresses occupational, family and societal obligations underlining self-control, interdependent socialisation, hard work and sacrifice. Also, the Chinese Culture Connection (1987; see also Hofstede, 2001) developed the "Confucian work dynamism" dimension, composed by perseverance and thriftiness. This social-oriented achievement motivation is opposed to an individual-oriented motivation (Yu & Yang, 1994). Interdependence can therefore be compatible with maximising profits and achieving – but this is done for the group (e.g., Pyans, Salili, Maehr, & Desai, 1983; Niles, 1998a; Phalet & Claeyns, 1993). The group can be one's family, close-knit community or the corporation one works for.

Similarly, Sampson (1988) argues for the distinction between a self-contained and an ensembled form of individualism. In self-contained individualism the self-other boundaries are well defined and personal control is emphasised. Again in ensembled individualism, this boundary is fluid and external control is accepted. In the terminology of cross-cultural psychology ensembled individualism resembles collectivism. Sampson further insists that both forms of individualism can lead to achievement. Self-contained individualism includes an independently functioning actor producing individual-oriented achievement whereas ensembled individualism has a more cooperative view of achievement. Therefore, the opposition of individual- and social-oriented achievement motivation suggests that self-reliance and achievement orientation should be separated from each other, because achievement orientation is characteristic to both individualism and collectivism.

Moreover, self-reliance can be grounded in both individualist and collectivist motivations (Niles, 1998b). Self-reliance may be indi-

vidually oriented and linked to self-actualisation for example. But it can also be associated to collective loyalties. For example, self-reliance may be motivated by the desire of not being a burden to one's group, or because group norms prescribe self-reliance (e.g., Beauvois & Dubois, 1988).

The distinction of self- and other-referenced achievement motives (e.g., Van de Vliert & Janssen, 2002) is a second reason calling for the separation of success orientation and self-reliance. On the one hand, a self-referenced achievement motivation is seen as an end in itself where personal achievement is compared across time. This could be captured as reflecting attitudes concerning mastery and improvement. On the other hand, the other-referenced achievement motivation is linked to social comparison, suggesting that it is more a means to an end, for example with the aim to compete with others or to demonstrate superior achievement. In a cross-national study, Van de Vliert and Janssen show that self-referenced achievement motives vary independently of other-referenced achievement motives, implying that they can coexist. Their results reveal that participants from South American countries have strong self-referenced performance motives, whereas participants from Arab countries show a relatively high level of other-referenced performance motive. Western-European participants, finally, show a weak other-referenced performance motive. A loose parallel can be established between self-referenced achievement and self-reliance, because for both comparison with others is not necessary. Again, other-referenced achievement motivation and the search for success can be linked, because relative success compared to others is central for both.

A final reason for separating self-reliance and achievement orientation is structural. In order to account for the competitive attitudes of people from non-Western countries it can be suggested, in line with the scarcity hypothesis (e.g., Inglehart, 1977, 1997), that people compete for limited resources in an economically unfavourable context. Individuals' value priorities reflect the socio-economic environment where great value is necessarily granted to scarce resources, for example to food during famine, to jobs during severe unemployment or to economic resources in the context of generalised poverty. Therefore, individuals can

be expected to be achievement-oriented in these situations. Scarcity leads to materialist value orientations aimed at achieving economic success and material well-being. The diminution of scarcity leads to relative well-being and other values such as individual freedom, personal development and quality of life become relevant (see also Niles, 1998a). Self-centredness takes a non-competitive form. Hence, individualist characteristics can be associated to both materialist (success orientation and competition) and so-called post-materialist (self-expression, self-reliance and search for uniqueness) values. Thus, individuals from poor countries should adhere to materialist values undermining material success, but less to self-reliance, whereas individuals from affluent countries should promote self-reliance. This is yet another argument for the conceptual separation of self-reliance and success orientation. Admittedly, this distinction not only applies to between-country variation but also to within-country variation. Some individuals in affluent countries do not have access to this affluence and acquire success-oriented tendencies. Again, in poor countries some individuals may still be very affluent and therefore underline self-reliance.

The preceding arguments, despite their heterogeneity, all support the relevance of the distinction between different dimensions of individualism, that is, separating success-oriented attitudes from self-reliance. The first aim of the current paper is therefore to address the following question: To what extent does empirical evidence support the separation between success orientation and self-reliance in a cross-cultural context?

The second aim is to study to what extent national affluence can be linked to achievement orientation and self-reliance. If the scarcity hypothesis is correct, then success orientation, but not self-reliance, is prevalent in poor countries. Again, in affluent countries, self-reliance instead of success orientation should be primarily endorsed.

These questions are studied in a cross-national perspective using the Triandis *et al.* (1988) scale. In this paper we will mostly concentrate on the first subscale, combining self-reliance and success orientation, to advance our argument.

Method

Participants

The Triandis *et al.* (1988) questionnaire was administered to 3069 university students in 25 countries (Table 1). The subsample size of each country varied from 50 to 150 participants. Fifty-nine per cent of the participants were female, the mean age was 22 years and the majority of respondents were undergraduates in social sciences or psychology. China had the lowest Gross National Product *per capita* and Switzerland the highest one (www.worldbank.org, 2000). Twenty-nine countries were included in the original sample. In order to ensure valid comparisons, Ghana, Guatemala, Nigeria and Taiwan were removed from the present analyses as less than 50 respondents were available for each country.

Countries	N	Age	Language	GNP <i>per capita</i> in USD in 1997
Argentina	150	24	Spanish	8950
Belgium	80	21	French	26730
Bolivia	105	20	Spanish	970
Brazil	150	22	Portuguese	4790
Chile	128	23	Spanish	4820
China	119	21	Mandarin	860
Colombia	127	21	Spanish	2180
El Salvador	118	20	Spanish	1810
France	150	23	French	26300
Germany	102	23	German	28280
Greece	118	20	Greek	11640
Iran	87	22	Farsi	1780
Italy	120	22	Italian	20170
Lebanon	118	22	French	3350
Mexico	150	22	Spanish	3700
Panama	79	22	Spanish	3080
Peru	120	22	Spanish	2610
Portugal	150	21	Portuguese	11010
Russia	139	19	Russian	2680
Singapore	110	20	English	32810
Spain	150	22	Spanish	14490
Switzerland	150	21	French	43060
Turkey	104	21	Turkish	3130
United States	95	21	English	29080
Venezuela	150	26	Spanish	3480
Total/Mean	3069	22		11670

TABLE 1
Number of
participants, mean age,
language of question-
naire and Gross
National Product *per
capita*

Procedure

The participants were recruited from local universities where collaborators administered the questionnaire during lectures. Other scales were also included in the questionnaire, but will not be discussed in this paper. Filling out the questionnaire took approximately one hour.

Material

A shortened version of the Triandis *et al.* (1988) scale was used consisting of 25 items with a four-point Likert-type scale ranging from *totally disagree* (1) to *totally agree* (4). This scale consists of three subdimensions (Table 2). On the first subscale, Self-Reliance with Competition, self-reliance and success orientation are confounded. The second subscale measures Concern for the Ingroup and the third Distance from Ingroups. The scale was originally created in English but was translated with the back-translation method (Brislin, 1980) into the official language of the respective universities (Table 1).

Bias analyses concerning individual items and the scale construct (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997a, 1997b) suggest eliminating four items from the scale (Green, 2002). Therefore, 21 items were retained for the analyses.

Analyses

In order to study if success and self-reliance can be distinguished *within* individuals as well as *across* countries, individual and country levels of analysis were differentiated, as they are statistically independent of each other (Hofstede, 1980; Leung & Bond, 1989; Smith & Bond, 1998; Smith & Schwartz, 1997). The former concentrates on individual characteristics or attributes and the latter on cultural level variation across countries. On the individual level of analysis, the individual scores of the 3069 participants from the 25 countries were used. In other words, the individual was the unit of analysis. On the country-level, the country means were used (25 units of analysis).

Within-subject standardisation of scores was carried out to account for response bias (Leung & Bond, 1989; Smith, 2004; Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997a). Individual means were first calculated

Table 2.
Triandis *et al.* (1988)
three-factor scale of
individualism and
collectivism

Question order	Questionnaire items
1	<i>Self-Reliance with Competition</i> If the group is slowing me down, it is better to leave it and work alone. (Eliminated)
4	I feel <i>winning</i> is important in both work and games.
6	In the long run the only person you can <i>count on</i> is <i>yourself</i> .
9	To be superior a man must stand <i>alone</i> .
10	Only those who <i>depend on themselves</i> get ahead in life.
11	Doing your best isn't enough; it is <i>important to win</i> .
15	<i>Success</i> is the most important thing in life.
16	In most cases, to co-operate with someone whose ability is lower than oneself is not as desirable as doing the thing <i>on one's own</i> .
19	It annoys me when other people perform <i>better than I do</i> .
20	<i>Winning is everything</i> .
24	If you want something done right, you've got to <i>do it yourself</i> .
2	<i>Concern for Ingroup</i> It is foolish to try to preserve resources for future generations. (Reversed, eliminated)
7	I would <i>help</i> within my means if a relative told me that s(he) is in financial difficulty.
8	I like to <i>live close</i> to my friends.
12	People should not be expected to do anything for the <i>community</i> unless they are paid for it. (Reversed)
13	I would not <i>share</i> my ideas and newly acquired knowledge with others. (Reversed)
17	Children should not feel honored even if one of their parents were highly praised and given an award by a government official for his contributions and service to the community. (Reversed, eliminated)
23	Even if a child won the <i>Nobel Prize</i> the parents should not feel honored in any way. (Reversed)
25	When my friends tell me personal things about themselves, we are drawn <i>closer together</i> .
	<i>Distance from ingroups</i>
3	I am not to blame if one of my family members fails. (Eliminated)
5	When a close <i>friend</i> of mine is successful, it does <i>not</i> really make me look <i>better</i> .
14	My <i>happiness</i> is <i>unrelated</i> to the well-being of my friends.
18	My <i>parents'</i> opinions are not important in my choice of a <i>spouse</i> .
21	My <i>friends'</i> opinions are not important in my choice of a <i>spouse</i> .
22	I am not to blame if one of my close <i>friends fails</i> .

Note. The words in italic are used as the abbreviation of the item.

for a set of scales unrelated to each other. These scales included modified versions of the Triandis *et al.* (1988, 25 items), Bem (1974, 18 items) and Singelis (1994, 13 items) scales. Next, this mean was subtracted from each individual score of the Triandis *et al.* scale. However, eliminating response bias may remove valid cross-national differences, whereas leaving bias untreated may cause misattribution of artifactual variation (Smith & Schwartz, 1997). Therefore, results were obtained with both standardised and raw scores that subsequently were compared (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997a). Accordingly, analyses were carried out on the standardised and unstandardised individual level and the standardised and unstandardised country level.

Table 3:
Factor loadings on the
Triandis *et al.* scale
with forced extraction
of three factors after
VARIMAX rotation
(loadings of
standardised data in
brackets), individual-
level analysis

Questionnaire items	Success	Self-Reliance versus Concern for Ingroup	Distance from Ingroups
Winning everything	.77 (.73)	.16 (.25)	
Success	.75 (.73)	.15 (.22)	(.10)
Important to win	.73 (.72)		
Winning	.65 (.64)	-.14 (.19)	
Do it yourself	.45 (.23)	.22 (.35)	.12 (.12)
Live close		-.55 (-.53)	
Alone	.14	.53 (.54)	.10 (.21)
Share	-.23 (-.26)	-.51 (-.52)	
Help	.18	-.50 (-.49)	
Closer together		-.49 (-.44)	
Count on yourself	.31	.42 (.52)	.22 (.22)
Depend on themselves	.35 (.11)	.40 (.51)	.17 (.20)
Happiness unrelated	.19 (.15)	.40 (.27)	.24 (.44)
Friend not better	.13	.39 (.30)	
Nobel Prize		-.38 (-.38)	
On one's own	.31 (.19)	.37 (.35)	.19 (.33)
Community	-.21 (-.25)	-.37 (-.39)	-.10
Better than I do	.21	.29 (.31)	.17 (.24)
Spouse parents'			.76 (.69)
Spouse friends'			.74 (.68)
Friend fails	.11 (.15)		.55 (.54)
Explained variance	14% (13%)	12% (11%)	8% (9%)

Note: Only loadings > .10 are indicated

Results

Separating Self-Reliance and Success Orientation on the Individual Level

We first report results of a three-factor principle component analysis of the Triandis *et al.* scale (KMO = .81/.79, raw/standardised scores). A structure extracting three factors was forced (seven factors emerge with the *eigenvalue* > 1 criterion), as we wanted to reproduce the original scale structure (Table 3). The model explained 34 % of the total variance (33% in the standardised solution). Five items from the Self-Reliance with Competition scale showed highest loadings on the first dimension. Four of these items describe a desire to succeed and to win, but do not refer to self-reliance. The second factor opposed the rest of the items referring to self-reliance from the Self-Reliance with Competition scale and two Distance from Ingroups items from Concern for Ingroup. The rest of the Distance from Ingroups items showed highest loadings on the third factor. The unstandardised and standardised analyses yielded a similar factorial structure. However, the first factor of the unstandardised solution matches the second factor in the standardised solution and second factor corresponds to the first one.

A four-factor principle component analysis was forced to further test the separation of success orientation and self-reliance items on distinct factors (Table 4). This structure explained 40% of the total variance (38% with the standardised solution). On the first factor, items evoking the importance of Success had the highest loadings. The second factor assembled items referring to Self-Reliance. Again, compared to the unstandardised solution, in the standardised solution the first and second factor came out in an opposite order. Items concerning Concern for Ingroup were opposed to items concerning Distance from Ingroups on the third factor. In the standardised solution, only Concern for Ingroup items had high loadings on the third factor. The last factor grouped the rest of the Distance from Ingroups items. This time both unstandardised and standardised analyses clearly separated items evoking Success from items describing Self-Reliance. The meaning of the separated items is clearly different. For example, "Winning is everything" obviously expresses an urge to

TABLE 4:
Loadings on the
Triandis *et al.* scale
with forced extraction
of four factors after
VARIMAX rotation
(loadings of
standardised data in
brackets); individual-
level analysis

Questionnaire items	Success	Self-Reliance	Concern versus Distance	Distance from Ingroups
Winning everything	.74 (.72)	.24 (.23)	-.15 (-.17)	
Important to win	.74 (.72)	.12		
Success	.74 (.75)	.22 (.20)	-.16 (-.18)	
Winning	.69 (.64)			
Depend on themselves	.12	.68 (.61)		
Alone				
Count on yourself	.13	.64 (.64)	-.23 (-.14)	.12
Do it yourself	.27 (.22)	.58 (.56)	-.17 (-.21)	
Better than I do		.47 (.47)		
On one's own	.19 (.17)	.44 (.50)	-.21	.13 (.17)
Closer together			.63 (.60)	
Live close			.58 (.60)	
Share	-.20 (-.23)	-.23 (-.13)	.49 (.60)	
Help	.20	-.12	.49 (.53)	
Happiness unrelated	.23 (.14)		-.48 (-.13)	.29 (.37)
Friend not better	.13			
Nobel Prize		-.15	.35 (.45)	
Community		-.20	.35 (.49)	-.11
Spouse friends'				.76 (.76)
Spouse parents'				.76 (.75)
Friend fails		.13 (.14)		.54 (.53)
Explained variance	12% (11%)	11% (10%)	10% (9%)	7% (8%)

Note: Only loadings > .10 are indicated

succeed, but does not refer to self-reliance as a condition for this. Again, the statement "Only those who depend on themselves get ahead in life" explicitly calls for self-reliance. Hence, it seems relevant to distinguish these two aspects from the original Triandis *et al.* (1988) scale. A two-factor principle component analysis was finally conducted only on the Self-Reliance component analysis items. Both unstandardised and standardised solutions differentiate four items indicating Success and six items indicating Self-Reliance.

The alpha coefficients in the original three-factor model including Self-Reliance with Competition, Concern for Ingroup and

Distance from Ingroups were .75, .49 and .45 respectively (.68, .57 and .48, respectively for the standardised items), indicating that only the first dimension had a satisfactory reliability. Alphas for subscales of Self-Reliance with Competition were .75 (.70) for Success and .64 (.60) for Self-Reliance. The Spearman-Brown formula was applied to estimate the size of the alpha coefficients adjusting the length of the two subscales, Success and Self-Reliance, to the original scale. The adjusted alphas for the two dimensions were .88 and .75 respectively (.85 and .71 for the standardised items). The adjusted reliabilities of the new subscales were thus higher than, or as good as, the reliability of the original scale.

Separating Self-Reliance and Success Orientation on the Country Level

Next the separation of self-reliance and success orientation on the country level was studied. Aggregated data for each of the 25 country samples was used. Principle component analyses were carried out on the unstandardised and standardised items of the Self-Reliance with Competition subscale including ten items (Table 5). An analysis on ten items was preferred to the total of 21 as with the aggregated data we are left with 25 units of analysis. A 1:3 or 1:5 ratio of items to units of analysis is frequently suggested for factor analysis (e.g., Doise, Cl  mence, & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1992; Gorsuch, 1983).

A two-factor model (KMO = .61/.57 raw/standardised scores) explained 71% of the total variance (70% for the standardised data). In the unstandardised solution, the first factor clearly grouped the items referring to Success, besides the item "Do it yourself". The second factor was made up of the items measuring Self-Reliance. The separation was slightly less clear for the standardised solution, as more items had fairly high loadings (> .40) on both factors. However, Self-Reliance items loaded mostly on the first factor. Again, Success items loaded on the second factor opposing some Self-Reliance items.

All the results presented above clearly suggest that distinguishing Success orientation from Self-Reliance is appropriate both on the individual- and the country-level.

TABLE 5:
Loadings on the Self-Reliance with Competition subscale with forced extraction of two factors after VARIMAX rotation (loadings of standardised data in brackets), country-level analysis

Questionnaire items	Success	Self-Reliance
Winning everything	.89 (.72)	.24 (.57)
Winning	.88 (.89)	-.18
Important to win	.84 (.83)	-.16 (.11)
Success	.76 (.52)	.35 (.63)
Do it yourself	.72 (.45)	.31 (.58)
Alone	.29 (-.50)	.83 (.69)
On one's own	.29 (-.16)	.81 (.82)
Better than I do	-.39 (-.73)	.73 (.45)
Depend on themselves	.47	.69 (.85)
Count on yourself	.56 (.18)	.59 (.78)
Explained variance	41% (37%)	30% (33%)

Note: Only loadings > .10 are indicated

Self-Reliance, Success and Wealth in a Cross-National Context

The relationship between Self-Reliance and Success is visually depicted in Figure 1. Factor scores for each country sample from the country-level principle components analysis were employed. As orthogonal rotation was used here, the two factors were not correlated. However, oblique rotation revealed a slight correlation ($r = .15$)¹. Figure 1 shows that the student samples from China, Lebanon and Russia were the most individualist when both dimensions are observed simultaneously. However, China came clearly out as an outlier. Again, student samples from Argentina, Chile and Spain were the least individualist. Most Western countries and Singapore were more Self-Reliant than Success oriented and almost all other non-Western countries showed high scores for Success, but intermediate or low ones for Self-Reliance. Factor scores extracted from unstandardised and standardised data yielded analogous results.

After observing Self-Reliance and Success in a descriptive manner, the relationship between these scores and level of national

1. The country-level composite scores of Success and Self-Reliance on unstandardised data were positively linked ($r = .47$, $p < .05$). The relationship between the composite scores on standardised data did not reach significance ($r = .28$, ns).

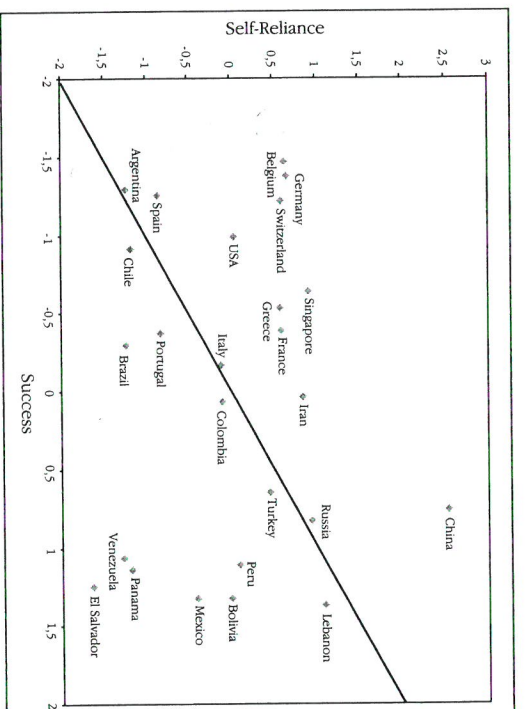


Figure 1:
Factor scores of the country-level Self-Reliance and Success factors by nation

wealth was studied. Self-Reliance and Success were correlated with Gross National Product *per capita*. Success was negatively connected to national wealth ($r = -.71/- .76$, $p < .001$ raw/standardised scores), implying that the higher the mean Success orientation of a nation, the poorer the country. Interestingly, Self-Reliance had no link with the wealth of countries ($r = .23/- .07$, ns). This indicates that national affluence is not related to Self-Reliance. These analyses were also conducted without China, as it was an outlier. Yet similar correlations were revealed.

Discussion

This article examined whether success and self-reliance are separate and independent dimensions of individualism. Moreover, the aim was to observe how the affluence of nations affects positioning towards success and self-reliance on the country-level. Three reasons were put forward for this separation. We argued that achievement motivation can be individually or socially oriented as well as self- or other-referenced. Therefore, it is necessary to differentiate the two concepts. Furthermore, we suggested that poverty could lead to focalisation on success orientation, whereas affluence could promote self-reliance.

The results of individual- as well as country-level exploratory factor analyses and reliability analyses on both unstandardised and standardised scores favour a four dimensional model over the original three dimensional model of Triandis *et al.* (1988) scale (see also Morales, Lopes & Vega, 1992), showing that Self-Reliance and Success orientation are separate components of individualism. Previous research has also shown the necessity to decompose other scale dimensions measuring individualism. For example, individuation has been described as willingness to engage in behaviours that publicly differentiate oneself from others (Maslach, Stapp & Santee, 1985). However, Kwan, Bond, Boucher, Maslach and Gan (2002) show that the concept of individuation constructed in a North-American context is more relevant in a Chinese context when separated into two separate types of behaviour, taking the lead and seeking attention. Accordingly, Self-Reliance with Competition, which was considered a North-American characteristic in the original study of Triandis *et al.*, seems to be more appropriate in a cross-national context when Success is separated from Self-Reliance. Only recently competition was found to be one of the less typical components of scales measuring individualism (Oyserman, Coon & Kimmelmeier, 2002). Although, already Hofstede (1980) located success orientation in the Masculinity dimension, and not in Individualism.

Our results demonstrate that the students from countries that are commonly considered more collectivist than individualist positioned themselves strongly as Success oriented and in some cases also as Self-Reliant. The participants from Western countries were more Self-Reliant than Success oriented. Moreover, our results showed that the poverty of nations in terms of Gross National Product *per capita* is positively linked to Success orientation. That means the poorer the country, the more Success oriented the participants of this study were. The wealth of the nations was not related to positions towards Self-Reliance.

Several explanations for these "inverted" results are possible. According to the scarcity hypothesis (e.g., Inglehart, 1977, 1997), people in poor contexts are more competitive because materialist values concerning economic and physical security are more relevant. Here competition is useful in order to satisfy basic needs and

to improve one's own situation. However, it is likely that students from poor countries are part of the elite in their countries. The scarcity hypothesis is thus not necessarily relevant, as for these relatively privileged persons "survival" and meeting basic needs are not a genuine problem. They presumably also have more possibilities to be in touch with the Western world and its individualist values. However, the struggle for social status is probably harsher in poor countries. Furthermore, the disparities of wealth are often more pronounced in poor countries. A non-Western student sample is more elitist than a Western student sample, and therefore not equivalent (see also, Smith & Bond, 1998). We did not have the necessary information at our disposal to study these possibilities. Accordingly, one must also keep in mind that student samples were used and that results cannot be generalised to the entire populations of the studied countries.

The recent meta-analysis by Oyserman *et al.* (2002) indeed provides evidence that empirical findings do not consistently confirm the dichotomy separating Western individualist countries from non-Western collectivist countries, and in some cases even bear opposite results. However, besides Singapore, we have no other samples from non-Western affluent countries. Therefore we are not fully able to distinguish if our result is a West – Non-West or Affluent – Poor difference. In any case, we show that neither Self-Reliance nor Success orientation can solely be associated to Western "individualist" countries.

When studying the links between Success orientation and Self-Reliance, China was found to be a clear outlier, even after elimination of response bias by means of within-subject standardisation. The Chinese sample was much more self-reliant than the other countries. A possible explanation to China's extreme position is that the sample consisted of natural sciences students, who may be socialised in a more individualist manner (e.g., Guimond, Bégin & Palmer, 1989), whereas the other samples were mainly social sciences students.

Ambiguity in the content of the Success subscale hampers our ability to decide if it is self- or other-referenced or individual- or social-oriented. This shortcoming is due to the fact that the item formulations are abstract, only advancing success as such without referring to group membership or other individuals (item exam-

ple: "Success is the most important thing in life"). It is therefore difficult to determine if the strong adherence to success reflects comparison including one's own present and past or comparison with others. Moreover, it is not possible to judge if participants referred to individual success or to their group as a whole. Nevertheless, our results clearly support separating Self-Reliance from Success orientation.

Besides the abstractness of the Success items, other weaknesses of the Triandis et al. scale should be noted. Reliabilities of the Concern for Ingroup and Distance from Ingroups subscales were very low. Some confusion in the comprehension of the Concern for Ingroup subscale could be due to the fact that half of the items were reverse scored. Similarly, confusion may have occurred in the Distance from Ingroups subscale as all item formulations included negations. The abstractness of scales may thus hinder some of our conclusions. Admittedly, these shortcomings could have been prevented by using a more appropriate scale, for example, the Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk and Gelfand (1995; see also Triandis & Gelfand, 1998) scale that separates vertical and horizontal individualism and collectivism (see also, Niles, 1998b). The horizontal aspect underlines equality between group members whereas the vertical aspect emphasises hierarchy. Consequently, individualism can be either horizontal or vertical. Vertical individualism is associated to achievement orientation whereas horizontal individualism emphasises the uniqueness of each individual. This distinction does not explicitly separate of self-reliance from success orientation. However, one could suggest that vertical individualism should be associated to self-reliance as well as to success orientation, whereas horizontal individualism should be linked to self-reliance, as comparison and competition with others is not necessary (see also Nelson & Shavitt, 2002).

Heine, Lehman, Peng and Greenholtz (2002) reveal evidence of a reference-group effect that may confound results of cross-national comparisons. In a study including Japanese and Canadian participants, they manipulated the referent in the questionnaire items (no referent, same-culture referent, cross-cultural referent). Results showed that when participants evaluated themselves on a typical measure of individualism and collectivism not including a referent (e.g., "I have respect with the authority figures with whom I inter-

act"), the results were inconsistent with the common view that Japanese are more collectivist and less individualist than Canadians. However, when comparing oneself with members of another culture (e.g., "Compared to most North Americans, I have respect with the authority figures with whom I interact"), the results were consistent with this common view. Such a reference-group effect cannot be ruled out from our results either.

Interpretation of our results is somewhat speculative. However, we provide clear evidence that success and self-reliance are separate concepts on both individual- and country-levels. The opposition and differentiation of the West, where the inhabitants are characterised as individualists, and the East, where the population is seen as collectivist, has a long history in Western thought (Said, 1978). Still nowadays, it is a popular heuristic to differentiate nations and cultures on psychological dimensions and the opposition may seem practical for research purposes (see Matsumoto, 1999). However, stereotypical images of national populations are perpetuated, and explanations of structural differences with psychological characteristics deform the complexity of social reality (e.g., Kagitcibasi, 1994, 1998). Furthermore, within-country variations, for example gender, social class or regional differences are also often ignored in this approach. The results presented in this paper question the relevance of the straightforward division of nations into individualist and collectivist cultures.

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Independent and Interdependent Self-construals and Socio-cultural Factors in 29 Nations

Le concept de soi indépendant et interdépendant et les facteurs socio-culturels dans 29 nations

*Itziar Fernández**

*Dario Páez***

*José Luis González****

Abstract

Résumé

5688 students from 29 nations answered a shortened version of the Singelis scales for Independent-Interdependent self-construal. A pan-cultural factor analysis found four factors: Group Loyalty, Relational Interdependence, Uniqueness, and low Contextual Self. Multisample Confirmatory Factor Analysis indicated a cross-culturally stable, and comparable, six item scale for Interdependence.

5 688 étudiants de 29 nations ont répondu à une version courte de l'échelle de Singelis sur le concept de soi indépendant - interdépendant. Une analyse factorielle trans-culturelle nous a permis de mettre en évidence quatre facteurs du concept de soi : loyauté groupale, interdépendance relationnelle, unicité et « bas contexte ». Une analyse factorielle confirmatoire multi-échantillons a confirmé la stabilité transculturelle de ces résultats ainsi qu'une structure comparable de six items de l'échelle pour l'interdépendance.

Mots-clés
Self-construals,
Individualism,
Collectivism,
Hierarchy, Cultural
Femininity

Key-words
Representations on
Concepts de Soi,
Individualisme,
Collectivisme,
Hiérarchie, Féminité
Culturel

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Interdependence was related to low English fluency and high national identification, low social status and higher social sharing of positive feelings. Independence was associated with high English fluency and high social status. A multivariate analysis controlling for national income, national identification, English fluency, students' relative social status, parent's educational level

L'interdépendance est en relation avec une moindre connaissance de la langue anglaise, une forte identification nationale, un bas statut social et un plus grand partage social des sentiments positifs. L'indépendance est associée à la

* Itziar Fernández Sedano, Departamento de Psicología Social y de las Organizaciones, Ciudad Universitaria, s/n, 28040 Madrid, Spain, e-mail:ifernandez@psi.uned.es

** Dario Páez, University of the Basque Country, San Sebastián, Spain

*** José Luis González, University of Burgos, Burgos, Spain

Correspondence concerning this article can be addressed to Dario Páez as well. Departamento de Psicología Social y Metodología, Universidad del País Vasco, Arda. de Tolosa 70, San Sebastián 20009, Spain. Request for reprints should be directed to Dario Páez (e-mail: pspaezrod@ss.ehu.es).

This study was supported by the following Basque Country University Research Grants (UPV 109/231-G56/98; 109/231-136-45-2001).