

271

cultural variation and their relevance for social behavior becomes available, the research will be summarized specifically for cross-cultural trainers. As research progresses on other dimensions (e.g., tightness vs. looseness of the culture; internal vs. external control of motivation), there should be reports on such dimensions and their implications for cross-cultural training.

DESCRIPTION OF INDIVIDUALISM-COLLECTIVISM

Individualism is a cultural pattern found in most northern and western regions of Europe and in North America. Collectivism is common in Asia, Africa, South America, and the Pacific. Recent research (Hui, in press; Triandis et al., 1988) suggests that there are many kinds of collectivism (differential emphasis on extended family, workgroup, tribe, caste, country, etc.) and individualisms (e.g., emphasis on nuclear family, narcissistic). In moving across cultural boundaries, people should know exactly which (if any) groups are important to the others with whom they must interact extensively.

There are also individual differences within cultures. That is, in both collectivist and individualist cultures one can find individuals who are *allocentric* (pay primary attention to the needs of a group) or *idiocentric* (pay more attention to their own needs than to the needs of others). Allocentric people want to help serve the needs of their group because it gives them personal satisfaction. Idiocentric people are more interested in serving their own needs and, if members of a collectivist culture, they give attention to the needs of others out of a sense of obligation. Trainers should emphasize in their programs that it is not enough to know the culture of the other person. It is also necessary to know something about demographic and biographic information, because individuals from urban, industrialized, mobile, migrating, affluent environments with much exposure to the mass media, are likely to be idiocentric even if they come from collectivist cultures. One reason is these modernizing influences have exposed them to more idiocentric than collective possibilities since the influences most often emanate from individualist cultures.

Collectivism is characterized by individuals subordinating their personal goals to the goals of some collectives. Individualism is characterized by individuals subordinating the goals of collectives to their personal goals. A key belief of people in collectivist cultures is that the smallest unit of survival is the collective. A key belief of people in individualistic cultures is that the smallest unit of survival is the individual. In many situations people in collectivist cultures have internalized the norms of their collectives so completely that there is no such thing as a distinction between ingroup goals and personal goals (Bontempo, Lobel, & Triandis, 1988).

Social behavior tends to follow ingroup goals in collectivist cultures, and this is particularly true for allocentrics in such cultures. Even idiocentrics appear to follow ingroup norms, though they may be aware that *their* feelings are incompatible with these norms. Idiocentrics in individualist cultures, however, act out their feelings. That is, unless the sanctions for not following ingroup norms are severe, they do what they find enjoyable rather than what is their duty. Allocentrics in individualistic cultures are more likely to internalize ingroup norms so that there is less conflict for them between ingroup norms and their personal goals.

Though there are many kinds of collectivist patterns and many kinds of individualists, there are some common elements across these patterns which will be discussed below. In presenting these comments we will not be able to support each point with empirical research. Much of the research is in progress. While we do have several studies (e.g., Hui & Villareal, 1987; Triandis et al., 1985, 1988) which establish the major points, we have to supplement them with observations and impressions. All of us have had considerable experience dealing with people from both individualist and collectivist cultures and in observing their interactions. For instance, Hui was raised in a collectivist culture but studied in an individualist culture for several years.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN COLLECTIVISM AND INDIVIDUALISM

The Self

The ideal in collectivist cultures is that the self be totally absorbed in the collective. Such an ideal is usually not attained, but there are many unstated assumptions and values that are consistent with it. The self is thus defined as part of a group (e.g., family, tribe, nation) in much the same way as the body-parts are part of a body. Just as it is difficult to discuss "Jim's hand" independently of Jim, so it is unwise to discuss "Yasumasa" independently of "Yasumasa's ingroups." Jim may have beliefs, attitudes and values that are not related or in agreement with the beliefs, attitudes, and values of his group; this is less likely to be the case with Yasumasa. While in the United States we emphasize that stereotypes do not have predictive validity (and the empirical research supports that), in collectivist cultures people assume very definitely that they do have predictive validity. If I know Yasumasa's family, work group, or country it is assumed that I already know a good deal about Yasumasa. Whether that is "valid" is not the point. A social fact has consequences regardless of the validity of the fact.

There is some research that suggests that the use of such stereotypes among collectivists may be more justified than is the use of stereotypes

among individualists. When asked to give 20 descriptions of themselves by completing 20 sentences that start with "I am . . ." people from collectivist cultures used 35-45% group-related attributes (e.g., I am the third son of my family) while people in individualist cultures used such attributes only 15% of the time. When a person uses a family-related attribute that person is more likely to be aware of family roles, and to act according to norms that characterize the family. To put it differently, in collectivist cultures people represent their groups and in many cases the person and the group are not distinguishable. Thus the person's behavior is much more likely to be under the influence of group-defined norms and roles than is the case in individualist cultures.

An interesting example of the importance of the group comes from the way people are named. In Bali a personal name is a nonsense syllable that is almost never used. The name that is used is related to the family (e.g., second born of family X; mother of Y; grandfather of Z). Note also that in individualistic cultures we put the person's name first (e.g., Harry Triandis); in many collectivist cultures the family name comes first (e.g., Hui Chi-chiu). It is only in the "modern" Hong Kong that it switches to C. Harry (Anglo name needed since English speakers have trouble with the Chinese names) Hui.

In individualist cultures the self is autonomous and separate from groups. While one can be a member of many groups, no one group defines one's identity in its entirety and determines one's behavior, except under very unusual circumstances, such as in war. In collectivist cultures people are attached to fewer groups, but the attachment is highly defining of one's identity. In collectivist cultures the attachment is very strong; in individualist cultures it is mild. For example, a father in an individualist culture can discuss the shortcomings of a son with equanimity. The individualist father can separate himself from his son. Such a discussion is surprising to people from collectivist cultures who would be totally crushed by the very same failures. Collectivists feel a far closer common identity in considering a father and his son.

To repeat, in the case of the collectivists, behavior is largely a function of norms and roles that are determined through tradition or interactions among ingroup members. A change in ingroups can produce major changes in attitudes and behavior, because the collectivist identity is so group-dependent. This is also true for changes in leadership. The leader (e.g., Mao) often defines the group norms. A change in leader results in an entirely new situation. Furthermore, when a large portion of a group, or body politic, changes attitude the rest of the group also changes attitude, so that decision by consensus is a prominent feature of group decision in collectivist cultures.

In the case of individualist cultures there are very many types of groups to which the person may be attached—neighborhood, work group,

friendship circle, religious, political, athletic, social, education, residential, artistic, and so on. The University of Illinois has 915 accredited clubs that students can join for extracurricular activities! In theory a student could be a member of most of these clubs. Naturally the attachment to any one of them and the commitment to the goals of each group has restrictions since people have limited resources, energy, and desire to participate. Ways to resolve inconsistencies among norms when so many different groups are involved are to either ignore the norms (use internal standards for behavior, principles, or a philosophy of life that tells one what to do in each instance); segment one's commitments (e.g., get drunk with one's buddies on Saturday and go to church the following morning); or drop membership in a given group. While the unique combination of the groups that a person belongs to may tell us something about the person, the essential attributes of the person are the person's own beliefs, attitudes, principles, or points of view, rather than the group memberships. The availability of many groups also means that one assesses costs and benefits in determining whether or not to join and to continue membership in the group. Over time, groups are dropped and new ones are joined and formed, in a constant flux of "joining" and "leaving" groups. This contrasts sharply with the stability of relationships in collectivist cultures.

In other words, if we want to know "who the other is" the best approach is to investigate the beliefs, attitudes, and values of individualists; and the attributes of the groups of collectivists. Among individualists one is what one does; among collectivists one is what one's group does.

Activities

In collectivist cultures people identify very strongly with their ingroups. They care a great deal about events that take place in them. As a minimum they feel obliged to care about these events. Minor celebrations involving these groups are attended even with great financial sacrifices.

Further, allocentric collectivists value highly their participation in the ceremonies and would feel gravely insulted if they were not invited. By contrast, in individualist cultures people are somewhat detached from their ingroups. Even major celebrations, for example, the wedding of one's brother, may not be attended especially if the event conflicts significantly with another activity highly relevant to personal goal attainment.

One can identify collectivist and individualist patients in hospitals, in part, by the number of visitors. Collectivists have a constant stream of visitors, while individualists have fewer. What is more important is that collectivists often actually enjoy visiting (Bontempo, Lobel, & Triandis, 1988) while individualists do it out of duty, but would rather not do it.

Attitudes

In collectivist cultures people tend to have positive attitudes toward their extended families. Similarly they feel very positively about their ingroups, and derive much of their identity from them. In individualist cultures these attitudes toward ingroups and extended families vary greatly and there are many instances when they are negative. For example, interaction with cousins and other more distant relatives is less common in individualist cultures, even when such interaction is convenient (e.g., they live in the same city). In collectivist cultures it occurs even when it is inconvenient.

In general, collectivists have the most positive attitudes toward vertical relationships (e.g., in China, father-son; in India, mother-son; in Africa, older brother to younger brother) while individualists have the most positive attitudes toward horizontal relationships (e.g., friend-friend; spouse-spouse).

People in collectivist cultures accept differences in power. A boss can get away with abuse of subordinates in a way that is rare in individualist cultures. People are comfortable in vertical relationships and have some trouble dealing with horizontal ones. Conversely, in individualist cultures people are more comfortable in horizontal relationships and are quite ambivalent about people in authority or vertical relationships. Many individualists like to have bosses whom they can call by first names. This is not as important in collectivist cultures.

Collectivists see competition as occurring among groups and dislike interpersonal competition within their group. While in some relatively collectivist cultures such as Japan there is interpersonal competition for entry into prestigious schools, once a Japanese has joined a corporation, as "salary man," cooperation is the most important attribute of his relationships with co-workers. While cooperation is the defining attribute of within-ingroup relationships in collectivist cultures, competition is the defining attribute of *intergroup* relationships. For instance, it is difficult to get groups of professionals belonging to different universities in collectivist cultures to cooperate, because they define intergroup relationships in confrontational terms. By contrast, individualists can cooperate or compete according to what maximizes benefits relative to costs. In individualist cultures competition is acceptable at all levels, though in many situations competition with co-workers is masked.

Cooperation is easy and strongly encouraged within the ingroup in collectivist cultures. However, when the situation requires cooperation with outsiders, other groups, outgroups and the like, the collectivists are unable to do what is required. In short, collectivists are poor "joiners" of new groups, and do very badly when they meet people for the first time. In such cases, they are most likely to act in a formal, stiff, and cold

manner. However, once they get to know the other person, and particularly if they define the other as an ingroup member (e.g., because the other is a "guest"), they become extremely effective in their interactions. Conversely, individualists are superb "joiners" and start conversations with strangers very easily. They carry on the early stages of a relationship with great ease and effectiveness. However, they do not get into intimate relationships. So, the enthusiasm of the early stages of the relationship is replaced with stiff formality as soon as intimate regions of the self are about to be invaded.

Characteristic of collectivists is a very positive attitude toward ingroup harmony. Confrontation is taboo, and face-saving is of great value. In individualist cultures, on the other hand, confrontation is acceptable in order to "clear the air." In fact, people are encouraged to communicate in order to improve their relationships, even when they have rather different attitudes. Collectivists, on the other hand, tend to avoid such confrontations so as to preserve harmony. Disagreements do exist, of course, but the tendency is to circumvent them. When the extent and intensity of disagreements increases to a limit that cannot be ignored or suppressed, mutual face-saving breaks down. A bitter fight may follow. The subsequent relationship between two collectivists will be worse than what it would have been after a disagreement between two individualists. One reason is that collectivists have not had as much experience in patching up ill feelings due to quarrels. Common friends and other ingroup members will often mediate among conflicting parties if the conflict is threatening the cohesion and integration of the ingroup.

Both types of cultures have positive attitudes toward self-reliance. However, the meaning of self-reliance is different. In collectivist cultures self-reliance aims at not burdening the ingroup, even though ingroup members are usually ready (though sometimes reluctantly) to help other ingroup members. In individualist cultures self-reliance is associated with independence and the opportunity to do one's own thing. Pleasure is associated with it, as is competition. In other words, people see themselves as successful in their competition because of their self-reliant traits, and this results in pleasure.

Collectivists have only mildly positive attitudes toward short-term relationships. They much prefer long-term relationships. By contrast, individualists value meeting many new people, in a short period of time (the cocktail party was invented by them), forming short-term relationships, and often feel that long-lasting relationships are too demanding. A frequent complaint of collectivists, after a short-term relationship with an individualist, is that they expected the relationship to go a long way, to become close, and to be long lasting. Instead, the relationship remained superficial and was short-lived.

Values

The top collectivist values are: Harmony, Face-saving, Filial piety (duty toward parents), Modesty, Moderation, Thrift, Equality in the distribution of rewards among peers, and Fulfillment of other's needs. The top individualist values are: Freedom, Honesty, Social recognition, Comfort, Hedonism, and Equity (to each according to his/her contributions to group performance). Note the equality vs. equity distinction between collectivist and individualist values. Assume that there are four people in a work group and that an objective outsider concludes that the people contributed to the group's success in the following ratio: person A, 20%; B, 30%; C, 15%; and D, 35%. Equality means that any rewards are distributed evenly across the four people: 25% to each. Such a distribution recognizes the value placed on group membership in contrast to individual rewards. Equity means that the rewards are distributed according to contributions: 20%, 30%, 15%, and 35% for A, B, C, and D, respectively. Such a distribution recognizes the value placed on individual contributions in contrast to the overall group effort. Professors in individualist cultures complain how hard it is to form work groups and to give one grade for the completed project. One student will inevitably complain, "But what if I end up doing more than half the work and the others just slack off?"

Overt cost/benefit analyses are popular among individualists and are frowned upon by collectivists. Contracts are more important than good social relationships for individualists, while collectivists depend for their transactions on trust established in long-term relationships. There are probably not as many practicing lawyers in collective societies.

In collectivist cultures status is defined by ascription — age, sex, family, name, etc., are crucial determinants. The person's place of birth and place of residence have unusual importance in determining status. In individualist cultures status is defined by achievement. In such cultures, ascribed attributes are given relatively little weight, and place of birth is given very little, if any, weight as a determinant of status.

Behaviors

Within the ingroup in collectivist cultures one finds much social behavior that is associative (giving help, support). But when outgroups are involved there is often considerable distrust and even hostility. Since most people in a society are strangers, and hence outgroup members, distrust is widespread in collectivist cultures. That is, collectivists are more associative within their ingroups, and more dissociative towards their outgroups than are individualists. For example, collectivists arriving at an interna-

tional airport are more likely to be met by a flock of ingroup members than are individualists. Help from friends, relatives, and even business partners is expected and frequent. On the other hand, outsiders (e.g., taxi drivers) are suspected as ready to take advantage of collectivists. Individualists, on the other hand, trust strangers and outsiders to a greater extent. So, they do not need to be met at the airport, since information booths and taxi drivers can be relied upon to act honestly. In other words, individualists do not need the "protection" of ingroup members to get their transactions carried out. Extreme cases of ingroup behavior of Japanese tourists include travelling as a group, and touring as a group. It is rare to see a Japanese wander around a strange town by himself (but such generalizations are not always valid: Triandis saw a Japanese *female*, alone, at a restaurant in Würzburg, Germany! — Exceptions prove the rule!).

Similar relationships between ingroup and outgroup can be found on other attributes of social behavior. In general, individualists show more subordination to ingroup than to outgroup authorities, but the difference is small; collectivists exaggerate that difference, showing much more subordination to ingroup than to outgroup authorities, which they often find ways to circumvent or ignore. Similarly, individualists are generally more relaxed and intimate with ingroup than with outgroup members; collectivists again exaggerate the relationship: they are much more intimate with ingroup members and much more formal with outgroup members than are individualists. Individualists, tired of competition in a capitalist system, who travel to a collective society expecting to meet cooperative and helpful people, are often rebuffed in their efforts to develop friendships. After all, these individualists are outgroup members in the collective society and so are held at a considerable psychological distance.

Family attachment tends to be high in traditional, collectivist cultures. Family obligations are felt deeply by collectivists (e.g., migrating to other lands under most unfavorable conditions to send money back home). Work-attachment and viewing the work group as the most important ingroup is more common among individualists (with the exception of the Japanese, whose collectivism is work-centered). The stunning economic success of modern Japan may well be due to the successful transition from family to work-collectivism.

Social distance from outgroups tends to be strong in collectivist cultures, while it is attenuated in individualist cultures. However, the latter may have one group (e.g., blacks among U.S. whites) towards which there is substantial social distance. Outgroups tend to be perceived as extremely different by collectivists and as just a little different by individualists. Group norms appear to be part of the "natural world order" by collectivists, while individualists are more likely to recognize the cultural relativism of norms.

In collectivist cultures social behavior tends to be long-term, involun-

tary (doing what the ingroup wants often requires one to perform behaviors that are not enjoyable), intensive, and occurs mostly within a very few ingroups. In individualist cultures there are many ingroups, and social behavior tends to be short-term, voluntary, less intensive, and involves little commitment to any particular ingroup.

In collectivist cultures there are many, frequent consultations with others about important matters, particularly in vertical relationships (e.g., parent-child, boss-subordinate). In individualist cultures there are fewer consultations, and those that do exist tend to be among equals in status. Individuals have stronger needs for autonomy while collectivists have stronger needs for affiliation, nurturance, abasement, and succorance (Hui & Villareal, 1987).



TRAINING COLLECTIVISTS TO INTERACT WITH INDIVIDUALISTS

When training individuals from collectivist cultures to interact with individuals from individualist cultures there are several points that should be kept in mind. They are presented here in the form of recommendations by the trainer to the trainee. "Other" refers to a person from a different cultural background. These points constitute suggested content for training. Later, recommendations for training methods will be made.

1. Pay less attention to the groups to which the Other belongs, when the Other comes from individualist cultures, than when the Other comes from your culture. You will not be able to predict the Other's behavior from your knowledge of the Other's group memberships, as you are used to in your own culture. Instead, pay attention to the Other's beliefs, attitudes, and principles. Try to discover the specific demands made by the Other's ingroups, but do not expect these groups to impose norms that control much behavior. Rather, they will control very specific, short-lived voluntary behaviors. Once a person is outside the group or without the supervision of a boss, internal factors (such as beliefs) are the best predictors of behavior in both your own culture and other cultures. In any case, do not expect compliance with norms to be as high in the individualistic culture as it is in your culture.

2. The Other will be proud of accomplishments, past, present, and planned. Compliment the Other for the effort more than you are used to in your culture. The Other is going to value being "distinguished" and will have high self-esteem, will talk about personal accomplishments, and generally say more negative things about people than will happen in your culture.

3. Expect the Other to be more emotionally detached from events that occur in her ingroup than is likely in your culture. Do not attribute this

behavior to some sort of personality defect. It is mandated by the culture.

4. Expect the Other to be more involved in horizontal and less involved in vertical relationships than happens in your culture. The Other's influential people will be peers and spouse; they are the ones likely to be consulted.

5. Do not feel threatened if the Other acts competitively. That is also mandated by the culture. The chances are that there will be more situations in which competition rather than cooperation will occur. Learn to expect them.

6. The Other will define status in terms of individual accomplishments, rather than on the basis of ascribed attributes (sex, age, family name, etc.), much more than is the case in your culture.

7. If you try to change the Other's opinions, do not expect that you will be as persuasive as you are in your own culture when you use arguments that stress cooperation, harmony, or avoidance of confrontation. Similarly, the Other may sound somewhat calculating to you when she uses arguments emphasizing personal costs and benefits.

8. Expect the Other to be less strongly attached to the extended family than is the case in your culture. Obligations to the extended family are less likely to be accepted by the Other as an excuse for failing to do your assignment. Remember the Other does not know much about your many obligations to your family and your other groups. Your duties are time consuming, but the Other does not know much about them. So, tell the Other that you have to do this or that, and explain why in your culture these activities are important.

9. Expect relationships with the Other to be superficial, short-termed, but good natured. Do not interpret initial friendliness as a cue that the relationship will be especially intimate.

10. You can do business with the Other very soon after you meet. You need not spend very much time on preliminaries. Time is money in the Other's culture and so the Other is likely to be impatient with preliminaries and ceremonies. "Getting to the point" and "Getting down to business" are important.

11. Expect relationships to last only so long as the Other gets more from them than it costs to maintain the relationship. This is likely to be a short time period, and you can expect the relationship to be resumed if circumstances (e.g., rewards over costs) favor that in the future.

12. Pay attention to contracts, to signatures, to the written word. All of these have much more significance in the Other's culture than in your culture. Informal agreements that are not covered by at least a letter mean much less in the Other's culture than in yours.

13. The Other will be more comfortable with equal social relationships than people in your culture. You will be uncomfortable with relationships

that disregard status differences, but individualists enjoy equal or close-status relationships. Learn to expect and cope with this difference.

14. When resources have to be distributed the Other will expect that this will be done according to the principle of equity (to each according to her contributions). In many situations where you will think that it is best to distribute rewards equally or according to the needs of the participants, the Other will emphasize equity.

15. Do not expect to receive respect simply because of your position, age, sex, or family name. You must demonstrate accomplishments or achievements to get status. Do not expect that your place of birth, if it is prestigious in your eyes (e.g., Paris, France), will lead to receiving more respect from the Other. The Other is quite unlikely to be impressed even by the most prestigious place of birth.

16. It is all right to talk about your accomplishments. You do not have to be modest. Don't boast, but make sure people know your achievements. You are the best person to present yourself to Others in a positive light. The Other may not interpret your modest behavior in a positive light, but may regard it as suggestive of your lack of forthrightness or lack of ability and motivation. It is not uncommon, in an individualist society, for a professor to advise a student, "If you don't blow your own horn, nobody else will."

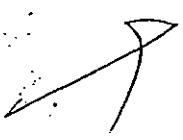
17. The chances are that you see your outgroups as very different from you. The Other views outgroups as less different than you view them. Try to match the Other's view.

18. Avoid behaviors that are extremely superordinate (bossy) or subordinate (submissive and servile). They make a bad impression on the Other.

19. Expect the Other to suspect authority figures of all kinds. In the United States, the founding fathers wrote the American constitution with an explicit distrust of powerful figures as a major guiding concept.

20. Expect to see more-horizontal than vertical good relationships in the Other's culture. For example, boss-subordinate relationships may become friend-friend relationships.

21. Expect the Other to be upset by illicit behavior. If you have to act that way you better give a full justification to the Other. "Illicit behavior" means actions which favor the ingroup but put an outgroup at a disadvantage. If a person does not pay taxes, this illicit behavior favors the ingroup because there is more money to share with other members. Given that one's ingroup is both physically and psychologically close, the "nation" is too distant a group to benefit through one's taxes and is disregarded. Certain individualist countries (e.g., the U.S.A., Canada) are the envy of the world with respect to percentage of taxes due which are collected in these nations. Individualists are much less tolerant of illicit behavior since it goes against their feelings of right and wrong concerning



282
 their entire society or nation. They are more likely to use negative words like "bribery" and "nepotism" when faced with requests to engage in illicit behavior.

22. Do not expect to be accompanied or assisted all the time. The Others have other commitments and may not have time for you. Besides that, by letting you do things on your own they show their confidence in you. They are not likely to believe you need as much help as you feel you have a "right" to expect.

23. The Other will find it more difficult than you to join work groups in which individual effort may go unrecognized. As with many behaviors, the Other will not know about your preferences and obligations to groups. So, tell the Other that you have to do this or that, and explain why in your culture these activities are important. Also, in general, try to see the causes of the Other's behavior the same way the Other sees the causes of his/her own behavior. This maximizes the chances that you will communicate well with the Other (Triandis, 1975).

TRAINING INDIVIDUALISTS TO INTERACT WITH COLLECTIVISTS

→
 →
 1. Learn to pay attention to group memberships. The Other's behavior depends on the norms of the ingroups that are important in the Other's life. In fact, you can predict the Other's behavior by knowing about the norms of the Other's groups, as well as by knowing how roles are defined, obligations and duties are specified, and the like, to a much greater extent than is possible in your culture.

2. Keep a close eye on the attitudes of the Other's ingroup authorities. It is likely that the Other's attitudes and behaviors will reflect them.

3. When the Other's group membership changes there is a high probability that the Other's opinions, attitudes, and even "personality" will change to reflect the different group.

4. Spend some time finding out about the Other's ingroups. What events occur in them? What duties are specified? The Other is more likely to do what these norms specify than you are used to seeing in your culture.

→
 5. Do not use yourself as a yardstick of involvement in activities that involve ingroups. The Other is likely to be much more involved with groups than you are used to seeing in your culture.

↓
 6. The Other is more comfortable in vertical than in horizontal relationships. In one case two collectivists had just met and sat next to each other at a dinner party. A major portion of their initial conversation was exchanges of "demographic" information. These two gentlemen were cautious in interacting until at some point one discovered that he knew the other's father. From then on the first gentleman acted like an "elder"

while the other behaved in a much more respectful manner towards his "uncle."

7. If you want the Other to do something, try to see if the Other's superiors can give a signal that they approve of such behavior.

8. If you want the Other to do something, show how such behavior will promote the Other's ingroups.

9. The Other will be uncomfortable in competitive situations.

10. Emphasize harmony and cooperation, help the Other save face, and avoid confrontation. If criticism is absolutely necessary, it is better done in private than in public. A collectivist prefers that you talk "in his back" and save his face, than to be criticized in public (Smith, 1987).

11. If you have to criticize, do so very carefully. Keep in mind that you cannot criticize the Other's ideas without criticizing the person. In the Other's culture people generally do not say "No" or criticize. They indicate disapproval in very subtle ways. (In one case, a boy wanted to marry a girl. The girl's mother signaled that the relationship did not have her approval by servicing tea and bananas to the boy's mother who came to visit her. Since the particular combination is considered "unsuitable" it told the boy's mother that the match was considered unsuitable. Nothing was said. Face was saved.) If you absolutely have to criticize, do so after making a large number of positive statements.



12. Cultivate long-term relationships. Be patient. Spend a great deal of time chatting with people. The Other values dealing with "old friends." The Other does not like doing business in the early phases of a relationship. Get to know the Other first. Be prepared for this to take much longer than you think it should.

13. If the Other comes from east Asia, expect extraordinary and unjustified modesty. A frequent beginning phrase of collectivists is "This presentation is inadequate, based on limited data. . . . Please forgive this unworthy effort. . . ." Individualist women who marry collectivist men are often unhappy when the men introduce their wives' cooking in this way. If you give presentations, consider beginning in a more modest manner than you would in your own country.

14. If resources are to be distributed among peers, expect the Other to use equity in the early phases of a relationship and equality or need in the later stages of the relationship. In fact, you can use as a clue to whether you are perceived as ingroup or outgroup whether the Other's distribution follows the equity (you are still an outgroup member) or the equality (you made it into the ingroup!) principles.

15. The Other is likely to be comfortable in unequal status relationships. Status in the Other's culture is likely to be based on age, sex, family name, place of birth and the like. In other words, it depends on who the Other is rather than what the Other has accomplished. While the Other will pay attention to accomplishments, the importance attached to ac-



284

complishments will not be as great in the Other's culture as it is in yours. Your social position in your own culture, insignia, and symbols of status count more in the Other's culture than in your own. Do not be shy about displaying them. Your position in your own society should be mentioned, so the Other knows how to relate to you. Furthermore, age is an important attribute of status in the Other's culture. It is likely that even small differences in age (e.g., one day older) will result in more respect for the older person. Collectivists will try to convert all horizontal relationships into vertical relationships. They are more comfortable with vertical relationships and have more skills in dealing with such relationships. You will have to learn appropriate superordinate and subordinate behaviors, and these will be difficult for you.

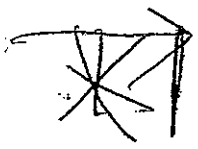
Furthermore, people in authority in the Other's culture have more power and are less accountable than people in your culture. For example, a visitor from Korea expected an American administrator to assign to him half the research budget of a research institute, simply with the stroke of the pen. The visitor did not have any idea about the checks and balances that operate in U.S. administrative structures, limiting the power of administrators.



16. When you meet the Other for the first time expect the social behavior to be more formal than you are used to in your country. The behavior will be polite, correct, but not especially friendly. You may have to be introduced to people by someone you know who is also respected by the Other. You have to establish yourself as an ingroup member, by showing proper concern for the ingroup, before the behavior becomes friendly. For example, visiting ingroup members in the hospital, spending free time with ingroup members, giving gifts, and making sacrifices for the group can help establish you as an ingroup member. Then behavior becomes more genuinely friendly.

17. Gift giving is important. One must be generous and not expect immediate repayment. Gifts put you into the ingroup, if you play your role correctly. If you are helpful the Other is likely to repay much more than you expect. Generally, Others do not accept money for services. For example, if you give a gallon of gas to help the Other who has run out of fuel, it is unlikely you will get paid in cash. But you are quite likely to be given a gift, at a later time, that will be worth much more than the price of the gas.

18. Let the Other guide you toward intimacy. Be willing to disclose personal information, when asked for, but avoid giving information that makes you too different from the Other. Expect the Other to ask about your age, income, and to even show admiration if you earn a lot. In general, there are topics that people in collectivist cultures ask that are embarrassing in individualist cultures (and vice-versa), but no one is necessarily trying to cause discomfort with their questions. However,



avoid discussions about sexuality, or any topic that might dishonor the ingroup. Collectivists tend to present themselves in the best possible light and give socially desirable answers much more than do individualists (Hui, in press).

19. Do not jump to conclusions when the Other makes what appears to be a strange suggestion. Try to "play along" until you get more information. In one case a Scottish visitor to Japan got along with his Japanese host extremely well. After a couple of weeks of close friendship, the host said: "I would like to sleep with you." The Scot, being sophisticated in intercultural matters, did not dismiss the suggestion. As it turned out the Japanese host had paid him the very highest compliment, since it indicated total trust, because one can kill a person in his sleep and he may not be able to defend himself.

20. Learn to understand illicit behavior. Remember that societies differ in the extent they force people to act or not act in illicit ways. The Other's culture is more likely to tolerate such behavior than is yours. For instance, you may consider that paying a government official to approve a visa extension is wrong. The official may consider such expected payment as part of his salary. The official may be supporting 15 people in his extended family.

21. Remember that the Other has many obligations and duties that you do not know about. So, it is not correct to expect the same devotion to work that you have. Also, if there is a conflict between work and social relationships, the other is more likely to value the social relationship over the work. That is culturally mandated, and is not an indication of the Other's weakness of character. Learn to tolerate the Other's participation in ingroup ceremonies, and related activities, since if you object you will create hard feelings. Individualists who marry collectivists are often annoyed with the time, energy, and resources which the collectivist puts into the extended ingroup.

22. Expect the relationship with the Other to shift abruptly as you move from outgroup to ingroup membership. There will also be costs. You will be asked to contribute to ingroup goals, to sacrifice for the ingroup, and possibly to engage in illicit behavior. Once you are an ingroup member you will feel much rejection if you switch to outgroup status again. This is a difficult balancing act. Ideally, you want to be a member of the ingroup, but have enough flexibility to avoid acting in ways that are incompatible with your principles. Learn to avoid such actions by invoking your own ingroup culture's norms and the requirements set by your ingroup's authorities.

23. The Other may feel that only by spending time with you (e.g., accompanying you to the doctor's office, talking with you all night while one is staying at the other's place, unwilling to end a conversation) that she can establish or maintain a long-term relationship with you. You may

286
feel that your privacy and right to be alone are infringed upon. But remember that a collectivist may find it unimaginable and painful to be without company.

CONCLUSION

Individualist cultures differ among themselves, and so do collectivist cultures. Moreover, there can be wide individual differences among people within a culture. It should, therefore, be remembered that the above suggestions are intended only as general guidelines but not as hard-and-fast rules for dealing with a specific person from a specific culture. Nevertheless, we still hold that the differences between individualist and collectivist cultures are important and can be bridged with proper training. The aforementioned points made in the case of each kind of training can be used as the basis of group discussions, behavior modification and other cross-cultural training techniques (Landis & Brislin, 1983). For instance, the points can be used in training based on the materials prepared by Brislin, Cushner, Cherrie, & Yong (1986). In that collection of 100 critical incidents, eleven deal with individualism and collectivism under the theme, "The importance of the group and the importance of the individual" (specifically, item numbers 1, 2, 6, 7, 11, 20, 36, 62, 78, 97, 100). After trainees become sensitized to individualism and collectivism through discussion of these critical incidents, they can move into coverage of the 23 points for each type of move, individualist to collectivist and vice-versa. Another way to use the points is to take advantage of the fact that in most training programs, some trainees have already had cross-cultural experiences or have interacted with members of different ethnic groups within their own country. The points can be read by the trainer one-by-one, and the question can be asked, "Does this point remind anyone of an incident in their own lives?" Another possibility is that the content of one or more points can form the basic script for role plays. For instance, one of the points (number 15) for the individualist to collectivist move indicates that people from the former type of culture value their personal accomplishments while people from the latter type want to know people's social position. Trainees could role play encounters in another culture during which individualists try to establish their credentials through a recitation of their accomplishments while the collectivist searches for indications of the person's position within the hierarchy of his or her company. As the role play continues, it becomes clear that the people involved are emphasizing very different aspects of their personal and collective identities. Such role plays can add a great deal of impact to coverage of the 23 points.

The points can form the basis for other activities of professionals in intercultural interaction. They can assist trainers during reorientation