

## **Individualism versus collectivism or versus authoritarianism?**

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### *Abstract*

*Although there has been progress in the definition, antecedents, and consequences of individualism and collectivism, there are some fundamental issues that need to be resolved. This study examined two such issues: the dimensionality of individualism and collectivism, and the relationship of these constructs to authoritarianism. Thirty-eight American undergraduates judged the similarity among 15 concepts that have previously been shown to be reflective of elements of individualism, collectivism, and authoritarianism. Multidimensional scaling revealed two dimensions: individualism versus authoritarianism and active collectivism versus withdrawal from group involvement. Unlike the conception by Hofstede (1980) that individualism and collectivism are opposites, these results strongly suggest they are orthogonal. Furthermore, authoritarianism was construed as the opposite of individualism. Implications of these findings for future research are discussed.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

The concepts of individualism, authoritarianism, and collectivism have been discussed in a variety of disciplines over the past two centuries, including political philosophy and economics, and more recently, social and cross-cultural psychology (Triandis, 1995).

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Political philosophers of the 18th and 19th centuries expressed ideas related to modern day conceptions of individualism, collectivism, and authoritarianism in their writings and discussions (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1953, Vol. 6, p. 15). Conceptions of individualism were almost synonymous with liberalism and included the ideas of maximum freedom of the individual, voluntary groups that individuals can join or leave as they please, and equal participation of individuals in group activities (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1953, Vol. 12, p. 256a). According to the *Encyclopedia Britannica* 'authoritarianism, as a political philosophy was the negation of democracy' (1953, Vol. 2, p. 782) and was associated with three attributes: (a) the political system was not based on the consent of the governed but on the rulers, (b) there was a monopoly of power, and (c) discussion and voting were replaced with the decisions of leaders. This philosophy denied freedoms of the individual and required individuals to submit to the wills of authorities, such as the King. It was widely believed by philosophers in this era that obedience to authority was essential to control excessive individualism, and avoid lawlessness and anarchy (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1953, Vol. 12, p. 256a).

In the late 18th century and early 19th century, the nature of the relationship of the individual to the state was at the centre of much thought and debate. Philosophers such as John Locke emphasized the freedom of the individual within the state. The importance of freedom of individuals was also reflected in the American revolution (all humans are created equal, pursuit of happiness) and the French Revolution (liberty, equality, fraternity). Other philosophers, such as Jean Jacques Rousseau emphasized the importance of the collective over any particular individual. For instance, in his *Social Contract* Rousseau argued that the individual is free only by *submitting* to the general will. The general will was conceived as the common core of opinion that remains after private wills cancel each other out. Rousseau argued that the general will, which can be ascertained by majority voting, is 'always right and tends to the public advantage' (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1953, Vol. 12, p. 256a). Although neither Locke nor Rousseau explicitly used the terms individualism or collectivism, their views are reflective of the emphasis on the relative importance of the individual and group, respectively.

The meaning of the term individualism was significantly elaborated upon by the French intellectual Alexis de Tocqueville, who commented extensively on individualism that he thought permeated the new society of the United States (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler & Tipton, 1985). de Tocqueville used the term individualism in connection with democracy in American society and contrasted the American social structure with the structures found in the aristocratic European tradition. He was the first to present individualism at the individual level as more than just egoism, although he feared that egoism would become its final phase (de Tocqueville, 1835, 1840).

Political philosophers of the 20th century also discussed ideas related to individualism, including Dewey (1930), Dumont (1986), and Kateb (1992). Dewey (1930), for example, distinguished what he referred to as 'old' individualism, which included the liberation from legal and religious restrictions, from the 'new' individualism, which focused on self-cultivation. Dumont (1986) discusses individualism as a consequence of Protestantism (i.e. humans do not have to go to church to communicate with God), political developments (emphasis on equality and liberty), and economic developments (e.g. affluence). A major recent development in

philosophy is the exploration of the possibility of societies in which there are some desirable attributes of both collectivism and individualism (Taylor, 1989).

With respect to the social sciences, there has been extensive discussion of these constructs in sociology (e.g. Parsons, 1949; Riesman, Glazer & Denney, 1961), anthropology, (Mead, 1967; Kluckhohn, 1956; Redfield, 1956); and psychology (Adorno, Frenkel-Bruswik, Levinson & Sanford, 1950; Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1990). Psychological research has mostly focused on the individual level of analysis. Individualism, collectivism, and authoritarianism as political-economic-cultural perspectives are assumed to shape the shared beliefs, attitudes, self-conceptions, norms, and values held by individuals (Triandis, 1995). Thus, psychological studies first focused on the 'authoritarian personality' and its defining features (Adorno *et al.*, 1950). For instance, Adorno *et al.* (1950) and more recently Altemeyer (1981) focused on individual-level expressions of the aforementioned characteristic of authoritarian societies, such as obedience to authorities, submissiveness, and punishment for deviance.

The first empirical study to identify the individualism and collectivism was done by Hofstede (1980), who surveyed IBM employees from 53 countries. Based on a factor analysis of the sum of all of the responses in each culture ( $N = 53$  countries), Hofstede named one of the factors individualism-collectivism, and thus assumed that the constructs were *bipolar*. Results from Hofstede's (1980) cultural level of analysis showed that affluent Western countries were high in individualism and developing countries were high in collectivism. Most East Asian countries, even if affluent, also tended to be more collectivist.

This pattern did fit well with a pattern that had been identified by Triandis (1972) as characteristic of traditional Greeks when contrasted with Americans. Moreover, the pattern was helpful in understanding the behaviour of Hispanics (Marin & Triandis, 1985). To further explore these constructs, Hui and Triandis (1986) asked social scientists from all inhabited continents to indicate what they considered to be the meaning of the constructs. They concluded that there was enough consensus to make the constructs useful for further research, and scales were developed to measure the constructs at the individual level (Triandis, Leung, Villareal & Clack, 1985) and the culture level (Triandis, Bontempo, Betancourt, Bond, Leung, Brenes, Georgas, Hui, Marin, Setiadi, Sinha, Verma, Spangenberg, Touzard & de Montmollin, 1986; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai & Lucca, 1988; Triandis, McCusker & Hui, 1990).

In the past decade, much attention has been focused on specifying the attributes of individualism and collectivism. A defining attribute of collectivism appears to be the definition of the 'self' as independent for individualists, and as interdependent for collectivists (Marku & Kitayama, 1991). In collectivist cultures, the self is conceived as an aspect of a collective—family, tribe, work-group, religious group, party, geographic district, or whatever is considered as an ingroup by members of the culture. By contrast, among individualists the definition of the self is unrelated to specific collectives.

A second defining attribute of collectivism is concerned with the goals of the individual and the collective. Among collectivists these goals are consistent, so that the individual does what the collective expects, asks, or demands, and rarely opposes the will of the collective. When a conflict exists between one's own goals and the goals of the collective, collectivists think that it is 'obvious' that the collective goals

should have priority. By contrast, individualists may have personal goals that are inconsistent with the goals of their ingroups. When a conflict does exist, many individualists think that it is 'obvious' that the individual goals should have priority.

In addition to defining the attributes of individualism and collectivism, the dimensionality of the constructs has been recently a topic of debate. Whereas Hofstede's (1980) cultural level analysis suggested that individualism and collectivism are *unidimensional*, Triandis and colleagues' research has found that individualism and collectivism are *multidimensional* at both the cultural level (Triandis *et al.*, 1986; Triandis, McCusker, Betancourt, Iwao, Leung, Salazar, Setiadi, Sinha, Touzard, Wang & Zaleski, 1993) and individual level (Chan, Triandis, Bhawuk, Iwao & Sinha, in preparation; 1995; Triandis *et al.*, 1988).

Using exploratory factor analysis with attitude data from nine cultures, Triandis *et al.* (1986) identified four cultural level dimensions related to individualism and collectivism. Individualism included factors of *Self-Reliance with Hedonism*, and *Separation from Ingroups*. These factors were orthogonal to factors of collectivism, which included *Interdependence with Sociability*, and *Family Integrity*. The latter was the only dimension correlated with Hofstede's (1980) dimension (0.78). More recently, Triandis *et al.* (1993) used the Leung-Bond procedure and extracted multiple etic (universal) and emic (culture-specific) independent dimensions of individualism and collectivism across cultures.

At the individual level, Triandis *et al.* (1988) examined the structure of these constructs using exploratory factor analysis, and found very similar factors both within the U.S. (study 1) and in samples from Illinois, Japan, and Puerto Rico (study 2). More recently, using confirmatory factor analysis, Chan *et al.* (in preparation) found that there are seven orthogonal factors for individualism and collectivism at the individual level.

Furthermore, reviews of the literature (Triandis, 1990, 1994, 1995) suggested that not all collectivist cultures are identical nor are all individualist cultures identical. In fact, there are a large number of collectivist and individualist patterns (Triandis, 1994, 1995). Cultures are probably similar on the main defining features of the constructs, but are likely to differ on culture-specific elements of the constructs. Along these lines, Triandis (1994) suggested that the constructs must be defined polythetically as is done in other sciences. For instance, in zoology, each phylum contains many combinations of attributes, but only a few attributes are characteristic of all of the species within that phylum. Thus, the defining feature of the category 'birds' may be 'wings' and 'feathers', while 'yellow beaks' and 'carnivorous' are attributes that differentiate among various species of birds. Similarly, the constructs of individualism and collectivism are specified by a few defining attributes, and different types of the construct require the addition of culture specific attributes. Thus, collectivism is specified by some defining attributes, but Japanese collectivism, for instance, would require several more culture-specific attributes, kibbutz collectivism some other combination of culture-specific attributes, etc.

In summary, while there has been much progress in the definition, antecedents, and consequences of individualism and collectivism in recent years, there are still some fundamental issues that need to be resolved. One such issue that has emerged from this programme of research is the question:

*Is collectivism and individualism a bipolar construct, as first conceptualized at the cultural level by Hofstede, or are these constructs orthogonal, as factor analyses carried out by Triandis and his associates at both the cultural and individual levels of analysis have suggested?*

Another important conceptual issue is how individualism and collectivism are related to other constructs that have been important in social psychology. One such construct that deserves attention is authoritarianism, which has been studied extensively by Altemeyer (1981). An examination of Altemeyer's (1981) items showed that the opposite of his right-wing authoritarianism had much in common with individualism (e.g. do your own thing). Furthermore, some of the main elements of Altemeyer's theory may overlap with some of the elements of collectivism theory discussed above. Specifically, Altemeyer's theory of authoritarianism has three components: (1) submission to authorities is legitimate (this may be parallel to the acceptance of ingroup norms and goals by collectivists); (2) aggression towards those who deviate from norms is acceptable (this may be parallel to the tight control by the ingroup characteristic of collectivism); and (3) high adherence to social conventions (perhaps parallel to the observation that collectivists behave according to norms rather than according to their own attitudes (Bontempo & Rivera, 1992). Which of these components overlap with components of collectivism remains unknown.

Thus, we ask a second question:

*How are collectivism and individualism related to authoritarianism? In particular, do people conceive the constituent elements of collectivism and authoritarianism as overlapping?<sup>1</sup>*

To answer these questions, one needs a technique by which perceived similarities and differences between the defining elements of the three constructs can be identified. Moreover, as Triandis *et al.* (1990) have argued, it is crucial to use multiple methods in the investigations of individualism and collectivism. Thus far, factor analysis has been the method of choice to examine the dimensionality of the constructs. The use of other methods will enable us to demonstrate whether findings converge. Multidimensional scaling methodology (MDS) is a technique that is well suited for this purpose. This methodology enables one to locate stimuli (e.g. in this context, the defining elements of each construct) in a spatial configuration or 'map', and has been used widely in psychology to examine the perception of traits, social situations, and ideologies (Kruskal & Wish, 1978). The underlying dimensionality, or theoretical meaning of the spatial representation can also be identified through these methods, and it typically makes fewer assumptions than factor analysis (MacCallum, 1974).

In this study, the MDS procedure was used to examine the inter-relationships among elements defining individualism, collectivism, and authoritarianism. Based on past research on individualism-collectivism, it was expected that these two

<sup>1</sup>By overlap, we mean that the region of the multidimensional space that is occupied by the collectivist elements may include one or more of the authoritarian elements.

constructs would not necessarily load on one single dimension. As for authoritarianism, it was expected that only some of the elements will overlap with those of collectivism. Specifically, the third component or Altemeyer's theory of authoritarianism, high adherence to social conventions, was expected to overlap with elements representing the second defining attribute of collectivism discussed above (i.e. accepting the goals of the larger collective instead of one's personal goals).

To examine the questions posed above, key concepts associated with the constructs of individualism, collectivism and authoritarianism were first identified by the authors based on empirical research on the constructs (Altemeyer, 1981; Schwartz, 1992). Next, American students were asked to make similarity judgments among these concepts. To aid in the interpretation of the multidimensional space, the authors constructed nine other ideas associated with the constructs. Students were asked to rate how related each of the concepts were to these ideas on Likert-type scales.

## METHOD

### Subjects

Thirty-eight respondents, 18 males and 20 females, participated in the study. Their participation partially fulfilled a requirement for an introductory psychology course at a large midwestern university.

### Materials and procedure

Respondents were asked to complete two types of ratings, similarity ratings and unidimensional ratings.

#### 1. Similarity ratings

For the similarity ratings, 15 concepts were identified by the authors to represent the constructs of Individualism, Collectivism, and Authoritarianism. These concepts are represented in Table 1.

Specifically, each concept was designed to capture an important aspect of the corresponding construct. The concepts related to individualism and collectivism were chosen based on Schwartz's (1992) research on individualism and collectivism in 20 countries. For instance, the concepts 'ENJOYING LIFE', 'PLEASURE', 'CHOOSING OWN GOALS', 'BROADMINDED', and 'DETACHMENT' are values that have been associated with individualistic cultures (Schwartz, 1992; Triandis *et al.*, 1990). Likewise, the concepts 'RECIPROCATING FAVOURS', 'FAMILY SECURITY', 'HONOURING PARENTS AND ELDERS', 'RESPECT FOR TRADITION', reflect the emphasis on good relationships that is characteristic of collectivist cultures (Schwartz, 1992; Triandis *et al.*, 1990). The concepts 'PUNISH DEVIATES', 'RESPECT FOR ESTABLISHED AUTHORITY', and

Table 1. Concepts used in the present study

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Concepts reflecting individualism	
I1.	Choosing own goals
I2.	Enjoying life
I3.	Detachment
I4.	Pleasure
I5.	Broadminded
Concepts reflecting collectivism	
C1.	Family security
C2.	Honouring parents and elders
C3.	Self-discipline
C4.	Reciprocate favours
C5.	Respect for tradition
Concepts reflecting authoritarianism	
A1.	Submissiveness
A2.	Punish deviates
A3.	Patriotism
A4.	Respect for established authority
A5.	Devoutness

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'DEVOUTNESS', 'PATRIOTISM', and 'SUBMISSIVENESS', all consistently appeared in Altemeyer's items, and were judged to reflect three major components of his theory of authoritarianism, aggressiveness, conventionalism, and submissiveness.

Using these concepts, all possible pairs of stimulus concepts were generated and arranged in a Ross ordering (Ross, 1964). The 15 concepts yielded 105 pairs of comparisons. For each pair of concepts, respondents were instructed to judge the similarity of the concepts, taking into account whatever characteristics they viewed as relevant. The specific instructions were as follows: 'Please judge how similar each of the following pairs of concepts are on the 9-point scale below, taking into account the characteristics of the concepts that are relevant. Please choose the numbers that best reflect your judgments'. The 9-point scale ranges from 'extremely similar' to 'extremely dissimilar'.

## 2. Unidimensional ratings

After the similarity ratings, respondents were also asked to rate how associated each concept is to the idea of: (a) doing your own thing; (b) being independent of groups; (c) paying attention to only my goals; (d) paying attention to group goals; (e) doing what my groups wants me to do; (f) being interdependent with groups; (g) obedience to authority; (h) hurting others that don't act properly; and (i) adherence to what is conventionally correct, on 9-point 'extremely related-extremely unrelated' scales. Each of the unidimensional scales were considered to be defining attributes of the aforementioned theoretical constructs. That is, a to c were the defining attributes of Individualism, d to f were those of Collectivism, and g to i those of Authoritarianism.

These unidimensional ratings were included to aid interpretation of the dimensions found. The order of presentation of these unidimensional scales was randomized.

Subjects' similarity judgments were aggregated for the 38 pairs, and were entered into a  $15 \times 15$  upper triangular input matrix. The data were then entered into KYST-2A, a nonmetric multidimensional scaling program (Kruskal, Young & Seery, 1978). In aggregating the data, we made the assumption that the concepts were perceived in a similar manner across subjects. A two-way procedure was used (i.e. concept  $\times$  concept matrix). We followed Kruskal and Wish's (1978) suggestion of using at least five stimuli per dimension to interpret a solution. Since we used 15 stimuli, solutions were obtained for one through three dimensions. The goodness-of-fit index of the solutions used in MDS is 'stress', which indicates how well distances in the configuration reflect the actual proximities in the data from which the space was derived.

As Kruskal and Wish (1978) note, one rudimentary approach to interpreting dimensionality is to simply look at the spatial representation of the stimuli and attempt to find themes that explain the geometric proximities. However, this approach is difficult and is not reliable, since it is 'not always clear whether or not (one's label) is genuine' (p. 36). At best, one may be able to detect a strong relationship between a dimension and the stimuli; yet in many cases, subtle patterns go unnoticed (Kruskal & Wish, 1978). Accordingly, we used multiple regression to assist in the interpretation of the dimensions. This analysis examines how well the location of each object on the unidimensional scales is predicted by its location in the multidimensional space. The model used was:

$$Y = b_1x_1 + b_2x_2 + b_3x_3$$

where  $x_i$  is the coordinate of the  $i$ th axis and  $Y$  is the predicted concept on the unidimensional scale. In statistical jargon, the scale values are regressed over the configuration. In order for a unidimensional scale to be useful in interpreting the space, two conditions must be met: (1) it must have large multiple correlation, indicating that the configuration 'explains' the variable well; and (2) it must have a high beta weight (normalized regression coefficient) on a dimension, indicating that the vectors correspond to the attributes in the multidimensional space (Kruskal & Wish, 1978).

## RESULTS

KYST-2A solutions were computed in one, two, and three dimensions. Stress for dimensions 1-3 were 0.34, 0.13 and 0.09, respectively. There was a large decrease in stress from the one-dimensional to the two-dimensional solution. Stress did not decrease substantially after the two-dimensional solution. The elbow test (Kruskal & Wish, 1978) suggested that the two-dimensional solution was closest to the correct dimensionality. The configuration plot for this solution is represented in Figure 1.

The regression weights ( $B$ ), (direction cosines) for each scale in the two dimensions, and the multiple correlations ( $R^2$ ) between each dimension and the respective rating scales are presented in Table 2.



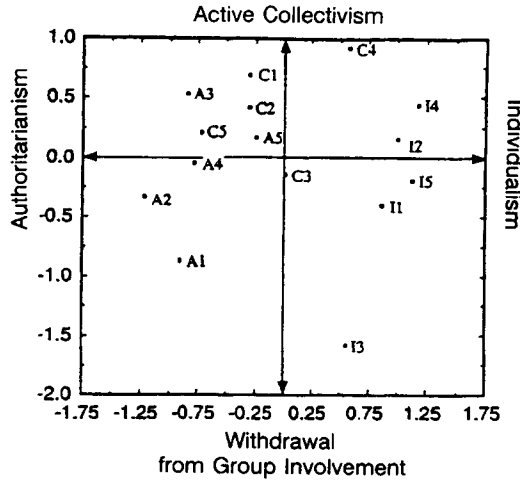


Figure 1. Relationship between Individualism, Collectivism, and Authoritarianism in a two-dimensional space. Refer to Table 1 for descriptions of each concept in the space

**Dimension 1**

Dimension 1 of the KYST-2A solution was labelled ‘*Individualism versus Authoritarianism*’. Several unidimensional scales were useful in interpreting the first dimension: the ‘do own thing’ scale had a very high multiple correlation (0.91) and the associated beta weight (or property vector) almost corresponds exactly with the dimension (a regression weight of  $-1.12$  is equal to an angle of approximately zero degrees). Similarly, the first dimension was highly correlated with unidimensional scales measuring, ‘be independent of groups’. This scale had a very high multiple correlation (0.90) and a high regression weight on the first dimension ( $-1.0$ ). Both of these items were classified *a priori* as ‘individualistic concepts’. Lastly, another scale that was particularly useful in understanding the meaning of the first dimension was ‘obedience to authority’. This scale appears to be related to the first dimension,

Table 2. Regression weights, multiple correlations and significance levels (*ps*) from the regression of unidimensional scale concepts on the two-dimensional space coordinates

Scale	Regression weights ( <i>B</i> )		R	p
	Dimension 1	Dimension 2		
Do own thing	-1.12	-0.05	0.91	<0.001
Be independent of groups	-1.00	0.58	0.89	<0.001
Pay attention to own goals	-0.83	0.31	0.71	<0.01
Do what my group wants	0.77	-0.78	0.80	<0.001
Being interdependent w/group	-0.22	-1.13	0.74	<0.008
Pay attention to group goal	0.72	-1.08	0.91	<0.001
Obedient to authority	1.01	-0.40	0.86	<0.001
Hurting others	0.79	0.29	0.67	<0.02
Adherence to conventions	0.78	-0.94	0.87	<0.001
IND (ave. of three items)	-1.00	0.30	0.86	<0.001
COL (ave. of three items)	0.36	-1.19	0.81	<0.002
AUTHOR (ave. of three items)	0.88	-0.31	0.75	<0.007

evidenced by the high beta weight on the first dimension (1.01), as well as by the high multiple correlation (0.86). This concept was determined *a priori* as an 'authoritarian concept'.

From an inspection of the two-dimensional solution presented in Figure 1, it is apparent that the stimuli vary along the first dimension on a continuum from Authoritarianism to Individualism. The individualism end of the continuum includes a cluster of the individualistic concepts: 'PLEASURE', 'ENJOYING LIFE', 'BROADMINDED', 'CHOOSING OWN GOALS', and 'DETACHMENT'. All of these have connotations of permissiveness, tolerance, and individual choice. At the authoritarianism end of the continuum, are the concepts 'PUNISHING DEVIATES', 'RESPECTING ESTABLISHED AUTHORITY', 'PATRIOTISM' and 'DEVOUTNESS'. In contrast to the concepts at the individualism end of the continuum, these concepts have connotations of rigidity, inflexibility, and hierarchy.

## Dimension 2

The second dimension was labelled '*Active Collectivism versus Withdrawal from Group Involvement*'. The 'pay attention to group goals' scale and the 'being interdependent with group members' were most useful in interpreting this dimension. Both scales had high regression weights on the second dimension ( $-1.08$  and  $-1.13$ , respectively), as well as high multiple correlations (0.91 and 0.74, respectively). At one end of the dimension were concepts that indicate a person's involvement in the group. For instance, concepts of 'FAMILY SECURITY', 'HONOURING PARENTS AND ELDERS', and 'RECIPROCATING FAVOURS', all emphasize activity and involvement with a group or collective. Indeed, these concepts were found to be typical of 'collectivists' (Schwartz, 1990; Triandis, 1988). At the other end of the dimension is the concept 'DETACHMENT', which exemplifies low involvement of social entities. This is a clear contrast to the more collectivist concepts found at the other end of the continuum.

## DISCUSSION

In this study we asked two questions: Is collectivism-individualism a bipolar construct or are these constructs orthogonal? Second, do people see the constituent elements of collectivism and authoritarianism as overlapping? Multidimensional scaling analysis of the key concepts associated with the constructs of individualism, collectivism and authoritarianism, revealed two dimensions: (1) individualism versus authoritarianism; (2) active collectivism versus withdrawal from group involvement.

With respect to the first question, the results of this study demonstrated that individualism and collectivism are perceived by our subjects as orthogonal constructs. Thus, to date many different methods, including exploratory and confirmatory factor analysis (Chan *et al.*, in preparation; Triandis *et al.*, 1988), and now multidimensional scaling analysis, have demonstrated that the constructs of individualism and collectivism are not opposite poles of the same dimension. Yet,

many contemporary researchers still assume that collectivism is the opposite of individualism. The present findings illustrate that this is clearly not the case; an individual can be high or low in both, or high on one and low on the other. This is also consistent with research on cognitive structures, which has found that people generally sample from separate collective and independent cognitive structures depending on the situation (Trafimow, Triandis & Goto, 1991). Likewise, this is similar to the idea of 'bicultural' worldviews that includes elements of both individualism and collectivism, especially in multicultural societies (Oyserman, 1993). Thus, at this point, researchers should take this dimensionality into account in their conceptualizations, measurements, and analysis of individualism and collectivism. For instance, this research suggests that it may be inappropriate to assign a subject a single score of individualism–collectivism.

Furthermore, close examination of Figure 1 shows that the individualist elements are spread out, some being close to some collectivist elements, while others are far from the majority of the collectivist elements. In short, individualism appears to be a broad and fuzzy construct, while collectivism appears to be a sharply delineated, clear construct. This is consistent with the previous research on the measurement of individualism and collectivism in the U.S., which typically found that the internal consistency measures of individualism are lower than the internal consistency measures of collectivism (Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk & Gelfand, 1995; Triandis *et al.*, 1995).

With respect to the second question, our analysis demonstrated that for the most part, elements of collectivism are conceived as quite different from authoritarianism. Figure 1 illustrates that both the authoritarian and the collectivism concepts tend to cluster separately in the multidimensional space. However, the concepts of 'DEVOUTNESS' and 'RESPECT FOR TRADITION' seem to be exceptions. These concepts seem to lie in both clusters of authoritarian and collectivism elements.

Although the concept of 'DEVOUTNESS' was categorized *a priori* as an element of authoritarianism it is not surprising that it overlaps with the collectivist elements in the multidimensional space. Collectivist cultures tend to be more conservative in general (Schwartz, 1992), and this may be related to devoutness. Indeed, Huisman (1994) found a high correlation between collectivist values and religiosity. Furthermore, the overlap of the collectivist element 'RESPECT FOR TRADITION' with the authoritarian elements was not unforeseen. As predicted, the main source of overlap between authoritarianism and collectivism appears to be the high adherence to social conventions and customs. Still the other elements of the constructs remain distinct. Specifically, submissiveness and obedience to authorities, and punishment toward those who deviate appears to be unique to authoritarianism. The emphasis on relationships (e.g. indebtedness, self-discipline, honouring and respecting parents, and family security) appears to be unique to collectivism.

Interestingly, our results demonstrated that individualism is conceived as the opposite of authoritarianism. Theoretically, it will be useful to study individualism in relation to authoritarianism. Peterson, Doty and Winter (1993) show that authoritarianism is still relevant for the study of many important social attitudes in the 1990s. For instance, they used Byrne's balanced *F* scale and Altemeyer's Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale and found that those who were high on those scales were more likely to endorse harsh, punitive solutions to the problems of AIDS

and drugs, and less likely to endorse more egalitarian ones. Authoritarians expressed hostility toward the environmental movement rather than toward polluters, had distinct attitudes about abortion and the homeless (they are lazy), favoured cracking down on Japan's business practices, and disapproved of diversity in universities. Furthermore, authoritarianism is still relevant for the study of behaviour. In the Milgram paradigm of giving shocks, authoritarians gave more shocks to peers who did not learn and used the extreme shock button with very short latencies after receiving the order to use it from the experimenter (Altemeyer, 1981). If individualism is indeed the opposite of authoritarianism as suggested in this study, then individualists, as measured by the corresponding scales, should behave in ways that are contrary to those high in authoritarianism. More research is needed to examine this proposition.

Future research should continue to examine the relationship between these constructs in other samples, using other levels of analysis, and using other techniques. Since the United States is individualistic, these subjects may have a particular view of individualism and collectivism that may not be shared by collectivists. Examining these relationships in collectivist cultures may be very useful.

Moreover, this study worked only at the individual level of analysis. Hofstede (1980) worked at the cultural level, since he aggregated the responses of his subjects to each question before doing a factor analysis. Since cultural level patterns and individual level patterns are statistically independent it is important to check the results on both levels (Leung & Bond, 1989). Still, these levels should theoretically be related since individuals are socialized to hold values that foster the interests and fit in with the requirements of cultural institutions (Schwartz, 1994). Thus, if the present study is repeated in a sample of 30 or so cultures it will be possible to explore if the cultural level results reflect the individual level results or provide a different pattern of meanings for individualism, collectivism, and authoritarianism.

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