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**THE POLITICS AND VALUES OF INDIVIDUALISTS AND COLLECTIVISTS:
A CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON**

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A THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

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The Graduate School

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December, 2002

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An Abstract of the Thesis Presented
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This dissertation examines horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism as testable dimensions of cultural variation. Collectivism emphasizes the primacy of norms, duties, and obligations, whereas individualism favors maximum enjoyment for the individual, interpersonal contracts, and freedom from the collectivity. While the horizontal dimension stresses equality, the vertical dimension calls attention to hierarchy.

While past research (Triandis, 1995, Triandis & Gelfand, 1998) has demonstrated the convergent and divergent validity of horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism, it is contended that the Triandis (1995) measures of horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism could provide predictive value by discriminating between attitudinal responses of adult members of the Democratic and Republican parties in Maine and Liberal and Progressive Conservative parties in New Brunswick.

In addition to assessing horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism within the context of national and political party comparative analyses, also examined were their association with sociopolitical variables. Participants answered a mailed

questionnaire measuring types of individualism and collectivism and scores on selected sociopolitical variables. Respondents also provided socio-demographic information.

Overall, the Triandis (1995) questionnaire adequately measures the constructs of horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism. Also revealed was that Canadian citizens were more collectivist than their American counterparts. However, the two national groups did not differ on either vertical or horizontal individualism.

Horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism proved useful in discriminating between political parties. While all political groups were comparable in regards to their valuation of horizontal or egalitarian statements, in most cases, right-of-center parties proved more favorable than left-of-center parties toward items measuring vertical aspects of individualism and collectivism. Clearer portraits of party differences were revealed when examining scores on the following sociopolitical variables: right-wing authoritarianism, defined as the covariation of submission to authorities, aggression, and conventionalism; social dominance orientation, a general attitudinal orientation toward intergroup relations, reflecting whether one generally prefers such relations to be equal, versus hierarchical; and equality.

While Canadian political parties were similar, Democrats and Republicans were dissimilar. While Democrats stood out because of their low scores on right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation, the Republicans were unique in their low valuation of equality.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In everyday discourse, culture is an oft referenced but rarely operationalized concept. Such is not the case in the social sciences, where even a limited literature review uncovered about 175 definitions of culture (Lonner & Malpass, 1994). Triandis (1995) offers the following description: "culture is usually linked to a language, a particular time, and a place" (p. 4). He says that culture:

emerges in interaction. As people interact, some of their ways of thinking, feeling, and behaving are transmitted to each other and become automatic ways of reacting to specific situations. The shared beliefs, attitudes, norms, roles, and behaviors are aspects of culture. (p. 4)

Others believe that culture is "just as powerful an influence on human behavior as is any biological process" (Tavris & Wade, 1998, p. 693). In a similar vein, Pye (1997) suggests that culture is "absolutely basic to human condition" (p. 253). However, he also reports that the concept of culture "has been hard to pin down with any degree of intellectual rigor" (p. 244). Nonetheless, he adds: "it is indispensable for serious thinking about the workings of human society and the behavior of people. Indeed, all of the social sciences in the last analysis are based on the fundamental fact that human society is only possible because of culture" (p. 244).

Individualism and Collectivism

Of the many possible dimensions that can be adopted to reflect core cultural values, the concept of individualism/collectivism (I/C) has been the focus of great interest in the field of cross-cultural psychology. Kim, Triandis, Kagitçibasi, Choi and Yoon (1994), state the I/C construct provides structure for the rather fuzzy construct of culture. Further, I/C affords a testable dimension of cultural variation (Hofstede, 1980). Although some speak of I/C as one dimension, both individualism and collectivism, as independent constructs, exist as tendencies within all individuals and all societies (Triandis, 1995).

Triandis (1995) suggests that a given society or person is not exclusively collectivist or individualist. Individualism and collectivism should not be viewed as a dichotomy. It is reasonable to accept that certain cultures may be more or less collectivist or individualist than others. However, the preponderance of one cultural syndrome does not imply the absence of the other. Both cultural themes emerge across a variety of settings, but for a given culture, one will be more dominant or be used more frequently to frame an issue or action (Triandis, 1995).

Individuals include both individualistic and collectivistic tendencies in their repertoire of behaviors and use “the individualistic in some situations and the collectivist in other situations” (Triandis, 1995, p. 187). Labeled individualists are those who are more likely to sample individualist cognitive elements “and use them to construct the meaning of a social situation” (Triandis, 1995, p.8); collectivists are those who are more likely to sample collectivist elements.

In general, collectivism emphasizes the primacy of norms, duties, and obligations, whereas individualism favors maximum enjoyment for the individual, interpersonal

contracts, and freedom from the influence of the collectivity (Triandis, 1995). Triandis (1995) puts forth the following definitions:

collectivism is a social pattern consisting of closely linked individuals who see themselves as parts of one or more collectivities (family, co-workers, tribe, nation); are primarily motivated by the norms of, and the duties imposed by, those collectives; are willing to give priority to the goals of these collectives over their own personal goals; and emphasize their connectedness to members of these collectives. (p. 2.)

Individualism is

a social pattern that consists of loosely linked individuals who view themselves as independent of collectives; are primarily motivated by their own preferences, needs, rights, and the contracts they have established with others; give priority to their personal goals over the goals of others; and emphasize rational analyses of the advantages and disadvantages to associating with others. (Triandis, 1995, p. 2)

Within the individual, collectivism and individualism are referred to as allocentric and idiocentric tendencies respectively. It is possible to find in any culture an allocentric, one who believes, feels and acts "very much like collectivists do around the world" (Triandis, 1995, p. 5). Idiocentric individuals have beliefs and feelings and demonstrate behaviors that are similar to other individualists (Triandis, 1995). At the societal level, one can discern predominantly individualist or collectivist cultures. One should also bear in mind that it is possible to be an allocentric in an individualist culture, and conversely, within a collectivist culture, one can identify idiocentrics. The terms "idiocentric" and "allocentric" used to describe the individualistic and collectivistic tendencies at the

individual level are relatively new. As such, one usually finds in the relevant literature the use of the terms "individualist" and "collectivist" to describe both persons and cultures. Other times, the labels idiocentric and individualism, allocentric and collectivist are used interchangeably.¹

Based on over twenty years of research, Triandis (1995) claims "individualism and collectivism are real. Individualism and collectivism are not just intuitive, theoretical entities" (Triandis, 1995, p. 44). This assertion is based on four different measurements on which individualists and collectivists differ: 1) Personal goals and communal goals; for the collectivists, these two types of goals are closely aligned; among individualists, they are not; 2) Cognition; the collectivist's cognitions are based on cues relative to norms, obligations, and duties, whereas the cognitions of individualists reflect the importance of personal attitudes, needs, rights, and interpersonal contracts; 3) Relationships; collectivists tend to maintain relationships with others even when these relationships are not rewarding or when they lead to a disadvantage for the individual. On the other hand, those who are individualist tend to maintain or cease relationships based on a rational cost/benefit analysis; and 4) Self; for collectivists, the Self is perceived as being interdependent with others. In the case of individualists, the Self is independent (Triandis, 1995). In some cultures, the Self is viewed as interdependent with the surrounding context. For those with an interdependent self, it is their relationships with Others that are central to their individual experiences. Aspects of cognition, such as some

¹ To enhance the readability of the following document, the better known and more frequently used terms individualist and collectivist will be adopted throughout.

aspects of schemata formation and some processes involved in thinking are influenced by a focus on relevant others in the social context (Triandis, 1995).

If some elements of the Self are portrayed as universal, other components are clearly culture-specific. Markus and Kitayama (1991) posit that the Self is a product of social factors and may present infinite variations. As such, the precise content and structure of the Self may vary from culture to culture. Of central importance to their thesis is the following: how separate or connected is Self from Other? Although not rejecting other conceptualizations of the Self, these authors suggest that the degree of separateness/connectedness of the Self from Other is an important individual difference. Of all the various schemata that create and maintain the self-system, they argue, it is the constructs of the independent and interdependent selves that are the most general and overarching.

Types of Individualism and Collectivism

Triandis (1995) proposes that in addition to the view of the Self as 1) independent of others, and 2) interdependent with others, the Self can also be viewed as 3) the same as others and 4) different than others. By pairing the independent Self and the interdependent Self, and the same Self with the different Self, it is possible to create a matrix composed of these different selves. Through this configuration, as seen in Table 1, one can identify two types of collectivism and two types of individualism.

An independent self is reflected in Individualism, while an interdependent self coincides with collectivist tendencies. And both the individualistic self and the collectivistic self may be further defined by either the Same self or horizontal attribute or

by the Different self or vertical attribute. The Same self is more or less like everyone else, while the Different self is seen as being different from others (Triandis & Gelfand, 1998).

Table 1

Types of Collectivism and Individualism as a Function of the Different Selves.

Self		
	Independent	Interdependent
Same	Horizontal Individualism	Horizontal Collectivism
Different	Vertical Individualism	Vertical Collectivism

Social cohesion and oneness with others is associated with the horizontal dimension within collectivist cultures. "Horizontal collectivists merge with in-groups (family, tribe, coworkers, nation), but do not feel subordinate to these in-groups (Triandis, Chen, & Chan, 1998, p. 276). The vertical dimension reflects serving and sacrificing for the benefit of the in-group. "Vertical collectivists submit to the norms of their in-groups and even are willing to self-sacrifice for their in-group" (Triandis et al., 1998, p. 276). However, in all cultures, the vertical dimension also implies inequality and that rank has privileges. In contrast, the horizontal dimension focuses on similarity among individuals on "most attributes, especially status. This reflects the "same self", which does not want to stand out" (Triandis, 1995, p. 44).

The horizontal individualists do their own thing but do not necessarily compare themselves with others. They do not want to be distinguished... The vertical individualists are especially concerned with comparisons with others. They want to be 'the best', win in competitions, and be distinguished". (Triandis et al., 1998, p. 276)

It should be noted that "individuals use all four of these patterns in different percentages, across situations" (Triandis, 1995, p.80). However, each individual will "act or favor one of four patterns" (p. 167).

Societal Individualism and Collectivism

Which factors are conducive to societal individualism and collectivism? Two general concepts have been suggested. First, cultures can be rated on their level of tightness or looseness. A tight culture's members agree on what "constitutes correct action" (Triandis, 1995, p. 52); are obligated to behave exactly according to the norms of the community, and will receive severe criticism should their actions deviate from the established norms. Conversely, the loose culture reflects an absence of the aforementioned dimensions. Collectivist societies are judged to be tight; individualistic societies, loose.

Second, cultures can be categorized based on their level of simplicity or complexity. Complex societies are designated as those with a large Gross National Product. The status of technological innovation is also considered when evaluating a society's level of simplicity or complexity. Cultures relying heavily on agriculture or other traditional means of subsistence are said to be simplistic. Collectivist cultures tend to be simplistic; individualistic cultures, complex (Triandis, 1995).

Individual Differences in Individualism and Collectivism

At the individual level, specific dimensions have been documented in order to categorize individualists from collectivists. In fact, at least 16 different variables including self-perceptions, identity, emotions, motivation and personality, serve as effective attributes in reflecting individualism and collectivism (Triandis, 1995).

Collectivists perceive the group as the unit for their social perceptions; individualists focus on the individual. Collectivists' identities are defined by their relationships and their group memberships, whereas individualists' identities are based on personal ownership (what they own) and their personal experiences.

The emotions of collectivists are often other-focused and of short duration whereas the emotions of individualists are ego-focused and of long duration. In terms of motivation, collectivists are apt to adjust their goals in order to accommodate those of others. Individualists' motivations are a result of internal needs, personal rights and capacities and interpersonal contracts. Collectivists also place more emphasis on affiliation needs whereas individualists are more focused on domination needs (Triandis, 1995).

Triandis (1995) also documents gender and age differences in relation to collectivism and individualism. In regards to gender, Triandis (1995) claims that it is a woman's responsiveness to the needs of her children that fosters collectivist tendencies. He further suggests that higher rate of individualism in men than in women is a result of men having more choices than women in most societies.

Daab (1991) reported gender differences on individualism. In his study, participants were asked to rate pairs of contrasting words, where one item reflected

collectivism; the other individualism. Each word described one individual from a pair of fictional persons. Participants were asked to decide which of the two fictional characters deserved more appreciation. At a significance level of $p < .001$, male participants, compared to women, favored more individualistic answers; thus giving higher ratings to the male characters. Furthermore, participants of fifty years of age or older gave more collectivist answers. This result supports Triandis' (1995) claim that older participants tend to be more collectivist, as does research by Norricks et al. (1987) and Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, et al. (1988).

In the Norricks et al. (1987) study, participants aged 50 and older gave more context when judging others while younger participants were more likely to make context-free judgments. As Triandis (1995) argues, "as people age, they become more embedded in a mobile society, establish more networks, and have more opportunities to describe people in context" (p. 62). Thus, describing people in context demonstrates collectivism.

Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal et al. (1988) reported that a sample of Japanese parents were collectivists while their children were individualistic. Due to the limited number of studies put forward by Triandis (1995) to bolster his claim regarding the relation between individualism and collectivism and age and gender, it would seem prudent to conduct additional research. It is also important to note that in none of the aforementioned studies were the vertical and horizontal dimensions of individualism and collectivism examined.

In four studies conducted by Bourgeois from 1996 to 1998, evidence of gender and age differences on individualism and collectivism is inconsistent. A correlational

analysis among the gender variable and the individualism and collectivism subscales from a 1998 study revealed a positive correlation between being male and vertical individualism ($r=.48$) and a negative correlation between being male and horizontal collectivism ($r=-.47$). Also revealed was a statistical difference, $t(30) = 2.97$, $p. < .006$ existed between males and females on vertical individualism. Here, men ($M=6.04$) scored higher than women ($M=4.93$). On the other hand, it is women ($M=7.23$) who scored significantly higher than men ($M=6.11$) on horizontal collectivism, $t(30) = 2.90$, $p. < .007$. However, in the three other studies, no gender differences were found in terms of horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism subscales.

As for evidence of a positive correlation between an increase in age with an increase in one's collectivism, Bourgeois' results were mixed. In two studies, no significant correlations were found between the variable age and any of the individualism and collectivism subscales. On the other hand, in a 1997 study, age did correlate positively with horizontal collectivism ($r=.21$) and negatively with vertical individualism ($r= -.39$).

In sum, support for Triandis' (1995) hypothesized relation between collectivism and gender and age was not overwhelming. Only in one instance did the writer find a gender difference regarding horizontal collectivism. This same study also revealed a gender difference in terms of vertical individualism. As for the age variable, one study out of four suggests a negative correlation between age and vertical individualism; one other, a positive correlation between age and horizontal collectivism. Future research should try to confirm these gender and age differences. Finally, birth order differences might also be included in future research as Sulloway (1996) finds that first-born and

only children are ambitious and dominating, characteristic of individualism, whereas later-borns are more Other-oriented and cooperative, reflecting collectivism.

CHAPTER 2

PRIOR RESEARCH AND MEASUREMENTS

The 1980's have been described as the decade of individualism/collectivism (Kim et al., 1994). And enthusiasm for individualism and collectivism has not waned in the 1990s and the beginning of this new century. Interest in these concepts started with Hofstede's book, Culture's Consequences written in 1980 (Kim et al., 1994). In his seminal work examining the work-related values of employees of IBM subsidiaries in 53 different countries, Hofstede identified four factors representative of human values: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity, and of interest here, individualism (Triandis, 1995).

Power distance is defined in terms of the prevailing norms of inequality within a culture. Individualism-collectivism refers to the extent to which the identity of members of a given culture is shaped primarily by personal choices and achievements or by the groups to which they belong. Masculinity-femininity corresponds to a "tough-tender" dimension. In masculine cultures, values such as competition, success, and performance are relatively more prevalent than in feminine cultures, where there is relatively more emphasis on values such as warm social relationships, quality of life, and care of the weak. The fourth dimension, uncertainty avoidance, alludes to the degree to which members of a culture are uncomfortable with uncertainties in life. Societies high on this dimension prefer structured rather than unstructured situations, where there are clear guidelines for behavior (Smith, Dugan, & Trompenaars, 1996, p. 233).

Thus, most social scientific research and theoretical developments pertaining to individualism and collectivism have taken place in the past 20 years; as theoretical constructs they are still in their infancy.

Theorists and researchers in cross-cultural psychology have used individualism and collectivism to explain many differences between cultures. Social psychologists have successfully applied these same concepts to better understand individuals (Triandis, 1995). Collectivism and individualism have been used in many different contexts to study different phenomena in areas such as economics, health, religion, and communication styles (Triandis, 1995). However, one question remains: how well or effectively are these constructs measured? Because of their complexity, there is no fail-safe method or instrument to measure individualism and collectivism (Triandis, 1995).

In addition to the cultural and the individual levels of analysis, the literature outlines three distinct strategies for investigating individualism and collectivism. In one case, one can conduct a cross-cultural or an ecological analysis. In a second approach, one focuses on one specific culture or country and its members. Stated differently, one examines intra-cultural differences. Finally, one can measure the constructs of collectivism and individualism across different people from different cultures. In other words, one collapses over the nationality variable, combining every participant's responses into one analysis. This is called a pancultural analysis and leads to the determination of universal factors related to collectivism and individualism.

Whatever research strategy is chosen, researchers must also decide whether to examine collectivism/individualism in terms of beliefs, attitudes, values or a combination of these or other elements of subjective culture. Triandis (1995) argues that collectivism and

individualism are cultural syndromes and as such, high correlations should be found between a person's self-descriptions, attitudes, values, and other components of subjective culture.

Because each method has limitations, Triandis (1995) advocates a multimethod measurement of collectivism/individualism. As is the case of social psychological constructs in general, there are indeed many ways to study collectivism/individualism: (1) observations in the field or laboratory, (2) content analyses of autobiographies or other types of content analysis, and (3) the traditional pencil and paper questionnaire. For example, Triandis, McCusker, and Hui (1990) used five different methods to measure collectivism and individualism:

- 1) the meaning of self in collectivist and individualist cultures;
- 2) the perceived homogeneity of ingroups and outgroups in these kinds of cultures;
- 3) responses to attitude items;
- 4) responses to value items; and
- 5) perceptions of social behavior as a function of social distance in these two kinds of cultures. (Triandis, 1995, p. 193)

Bourgeois (1996, 1997, 1998) has initiated studies using the method of the meaning of self and the method of responses to attitude items in order to measure collectivism/individualism among college students. Because these studies have been so central to the development of the final project, they are presented in detail.

Study 1. Meaning of Self

Bourgeois (1996) used a modified version of Kuhn and McPartland's (1954) Twenty Statements Test to measure participants' individualist and collectivist tendencies. Instead of 20 statements, subjects were asked to complete only 10 sentences beginning with the words "I am". This reduction in number of statements was based on reports suggesting participants' difficulties in generating a full 20 statements or answers that were not repetitive beyond the first 10 statements (Bochner, 1994). Bochner (1994) suggests, "the order in which a participant completes the "I am" sentences reflects the state or trait salience of those self-references" (p. 276). To capitalize on this salience effect, in other words, the importance of the self-referents that are written down first, only the first 7 sentences completed by the subjects were used in the computation of their self-structure scores.

Method

Participants

There were 96 participants: 48 from the United States and 48 from Canada. The Americans were a randomized sub-sample of an original sample of 140 college students at the University of Maine participating in a study measuring social opinions for course credit. The Canadians were students in an undergraduate social psychology class offered at Mount Allison University (New Brunswick, Canada).

Materials and Procedure

The American subjects received a 12-page booklet. The first page asked the subjects to indicate their sex, age, and parents' occupation. The second page was headed "The Self-Concept", followed by: " How would you describe yourself? Below are ten

lines, each beginning with "I am". Please complete each of the lines with a short phrase. Do not write your name, as we do not want to be able to identify you". This was followed by the incomplete sentence "I am" repeated 10 times on consecutive lines down the sheet (See Appendix A). The remaining pages consisted of 95 Likert-type items pertaining to another study. The Canadian students, on the other hand, were read the aforementioned instructions and then were asked to write their 10 short phrases on a piece of loose-leaf paper.

Scoring

The author classified the subjects' statements into one of the following three categories: 1) Individualist; statements about personal qualities, attitudes, beliefs, behaviors, states and traits that did not relate to other people; Ex: I am honest; 2) Collectivist; statements about group membership, demographic characteristics, and groups with which people experience a common fate; I am a Roman Catholic; 3) Allocentric; statements about interdependence, friendship, responsiveness to others, sensitivity to how others perceive the individual; Ex: I am a person who wants to help others. Each item was weighted according to its position in the rank order, the first sentence being assigned a value of 7, the second 6, et cetera; the 7th statement was assigned a value of 1. Each subject received 3 scores: an Individualist, a Collectivist, and an Allocentric score. These scores were based on the number of statements in each category and their position in the hierarchy; the summation of these 3 scores always equaled 28. In summary, there were three dependent variables, an Individualist, a Collectivist and an Allocentric score, respectively.

Results

Scores for each individual on each of the three dependent variables were summed and averaged. Separate t-tests for independent samples were conducted. The self-structure statements of the Canadians were more group anchored than those of the American subjects. The statistical analysis revealed that a significant difference, $t(94) = 2.94, p < .015$ existed between the two groups on the Collectivism scores. There was however no significant difference between the self-references of the Canadian and American groups on Individualism. It should be noted that participants stated an insufficient number of Allocentric items in order to give any meaningful statistical analysis to this dimension.

Discussion

The author's hypothesis was that Canadians are more collectivist and less individualistic than Americans are. Although the hypothesis pertaining to group differences in collectivism was confirmed, differences in individualism was not. In other words, Canadians appear to be more collectivist than Americans but are no different in their level of individualism.

There were methodological inconsistencies present in this study that should be rectified in future research. It is recommended that both groups answer the "I am" test using a printed paper-and-pencil format. Also, only one experimenter was used to rate the subjects' answers to the "I am" test, so that there was no way to measure reliability of scores. Scores should be based on evaluations from a number of raters.

Study 2. Responses to Attitude Items

Bourgeois (1996) used the data collected on the 140 U.S. participants of Study 1 to replicate a study by Hui and Yee (1994) examining the internal structure of an attitude item measure, the INDCOL scale. Originally created in 1988, this paper-and-pencil instrument was used to detect differences between individualists and collectivists. The original INDCOL scale contained 36 items and comprised six sub-scales to measure the following target-specific collectivism: collectivist behavior toward one's spouse, parents, kin, neighbor, friends, and co-workers. Research by Hui and Yee (1994) failed to confirm the original six-factor model of collectivism/individualism. Instead, a principal component factor analysis, using only 33 of the 36 items, revealed a model based on the following 5 factors: 1) Colleagues and friends/supportive exchange; 2) Parents/consultation and sharing; 3) Kin and neighbors/susceptibility to influence; 4) Parents and spouse/distinctiveness of personal identity; 5) Neighbor/social isolation.

Method

Data were collected from 70 male and 70 female college students at the University of Maine participating for course credit. The mean age of the group was 19.8. The 33 items of the INDCOL scale were intermixed with 62 items measuring opinions on various social issues. Ratings were done on a 9-point Likert scale.

Results

The data set was subjected to a principal component analysis. This procedure extracted 13 factors. An attempted varimax rotation failed to converge in 24 iterations. Therefore, to test Hui and Yee's factor solution, it was decided to limit the extraction to 5 factors. Cumulatively, these factors accounted for 39.2% of the variance. Although they

did not reveal the same five underlying dimensions extracted by Hui and Yee (1994), some were at least conceptually similar.

The five factors found in the present analysis of the INDCOL scale were the following: The first factor was labeled "Affiliation/Interdependence" and accounts for 11.8% of the variance. Factor 2 was labeled "Cordial neighbor" and accounts for 9.1% of the variance. It shared items with the original "collectivist behavior toward one's neighbor" factor. Factor 3 accounts for 6.7% of the variance and was labeled "Advice from elders". Factor 4 accounts for 6% of the variance and was labeled "Teamwork/Group membership". Finally, the fifth factor was labeled "Sharing with others" and accounts for 5.5% of the variance. It shared items with the "parents/consultation and sharing" factor identified by Hui and Yee (1994) in their attempt to replicate their original factors.

Discussion

The results from this study suggested that the constructs of individualism and collectivism are multifaceted. Indeed, Triandis and Gelfand (1998) warned against the "dichotomization" of individualism and collectivism: they suggest that the constructs be conceptualized as polythetic:

As in zoology, in which, for instance, a "bird" is defined by two attributes (e.g., feathers and wings), and hundreds of species of birds are defined by other attributes, individualism and collectivism may be defined by four attributes and different species of these constructs (e.g., Korean and Japanese collectivism) can be defined by additional attributes. (p. 118)

In Hui and Yee's study, data were collected from Chinese participants; this study (Study 2) is based on American students' responses to the INDCOL scale. Therefore, one can suggest that the use of samples from different cultures will lead to different factor solutions.

The present study also computed a general bipolar individualism/collectivism (IC) score for each of the 140 students. Scores above the IC mean represented collectivism and a score below the mean represented individualism. Statistical analyses revealed that IC scores correlate positively ($r=.27$) with Humanism (Kinght, 1999) scores, but negatively with Machiavellianism (Christie & Geis, 1970) scores ($r=-.26$). Those with collectivist tendencies also have humanist tendencies. Further, those with individualist tendencies would also have Machiavellian tendencies.

Study 3. Horizontal/Vertical Individualism/Collectivism

Bourgeois (1997) tested additional measures of individualism/collectivism that had been used in a study by Triandis, Chan, Bhawuk, Iwao, and Sinha (1995). This study also served as an attempt to replicate findings reported by Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk, and Gelfand (1995) in which alpha coefficients for the subscales of Triandis' (1995) new (HVIC) individualism and collectivism measure were determined.

Method

Participants

Forty-eight University of Maine students answered a series of measurements including the Thurstone Scaling of Family Integrity, Behavioral Content of the Self, and the Own Goals vs. Parents' Goals measurements (Triandis et al., 1995). These measures

were used to examine the common core of collectivism and individualism at the individual level. While the "Behavioral Content of the Self" reflected the kind of self at the individual level, the others reflected the goal structures of the individuals (Triandis et al., 1995). The participants also responded to the 32 item horizontal/vertical collectivism and individualism (HVIC) survey developed by Triandis (1995) (See Appendix B).

Results

The subscales of the newer Triandis HVIC scale revealed adequate reliabilities. The alpha coefficient was .68 for the Horizontal Individualism (HI) subscale; .73 for Horizontal Collectivism (HC); .88 for Vertical Individualism (VI) and finally, .61 for the Vertical Collectivism (VC) subscale. In addition, a correlational analysis among all the measures revealed that HC correlates positively with VC ($r=.56$), and three other measurements of collectivism but negatively with behavioral individualism ($r= -.28$). HI correlates positively with VI ($r=.44$) and another general measure of individualism ($r=.32$). Also, there was a positive correlation between VC and three other measurements of general collectivism, including a willingness to adopt one's parents' goals ($r=.32$), and a negative correlation between VC and measurement of one's desire to adopt personal goals ($r= -.42$). Finally, it was found that VI correlates negatively with the above mentioned measurement pertaining to one's parents' goals ($r = -.42$).

Discussion

Singelis et al. (1995) argue that "measuring V-C, V-I, H-C, and H-I, is more desirable than measuring either the more abstract constructs of individualism and collectivism, or the constituent elements of the constructs" (p. 248). They also report data providing support for this position. Their Cronbach Alpha Reliabilities for the four

subscales were as follows: H-I (.67), V-I (.74), H-C (.74), and V-C (.68). Correlations among the four subscales reported by Singelis et al. (1995) and the present study were also similar. However, as revealed in Table 2, some differences should be noted.

Table 2

Intercorrelations Between HVIC Subscales from Singelis et al. (1995) and Bourgeois (1997)

	<u>Singelis (n=267)</u>	<u>Bourgeois (n=91)</u>
HI – VI	-.00	.44**
HI - HC	.20**	.27
HI - VC	-.08	.07
VI - HC	.00	-.06
VI - VC	.14*	.06
HC - VC	.39***	.57**

* - signif. LE .05 ** - signif. LE .01 (2-TAILED) *** - signif. LE .001

Whereas our research revealed a statistically significant positive correlation between H-I and V-I, the Singelis et al. study (1995) does not. Additionally, the Singelis et al. (1995) study found positive and statistically significant correlations between HC and HI and VI and VC. The Bourgeois (1997) study found similar positive correlations,

but they were not statistically significant. The sizable difference in samples sizes between the Singelis (1995) and Bourgeois (1997) studies , 267 and 91 participants respectively, must be considered as a possible factor leading to this difference.

Regarding the four individualism and collectivism subscales, Singelis et al. (1995) suggest that "(t)he horizontal-vertical collectivism constructs are statistically related to each other. If a researcher is not interested in this distinction, collapsing these two constructs would be reasonable. On the other hand, the horizontal-vertical individualism constructs are definitely distinct" (p. 268). The present study seems to validate the statement regarding the relatedness of collectivism subscales, but does not support the notion of independence between horizontal and vertical individualism. Further research is recommended.

In general, the present findings support the Singelis et al. (1995) argument that the four subscales have higher internal consistency (coefficient alphas) than previous measurements of collectivism and individualism. Further, they also claim that the use of the four subscales, tested in their study and again used in the present study, can provide distinct information that is not readily apparent when using other measurements of collectivism/individualism. Finally, Singelis et al. (1995) also suggest that there is convergent validity for these measures and they appear to provide an optimum way to measure collectivism and individualism.

Study 4. Self-Concept and Individualism/Collectivism (Bourgeois 1998)

There is evidence in the psychological literature that people employ orienting schemas for organizing, interpreting, and imposing personal meaning on current experiences to effect a sense of order, predictability, or personal control. Similarly, self-

social schemata (Ziller, 1973) guide, interpret, and control interpersonal relations. Ziller (1973) and Ziller and Clarke (1987) have developed a series of non-verbal diagrams to map such self-other schemata. It was proposed that responses to a number of Ziller's self-other diagrams should be able to differentiate collectivists from individualists and "horizontal" from "verticals".

Method

Ninety-one college students at the University of Maine answered the 32-item HVIC questionnaire. In addition, they answered the NEO-Short Form questionnaire which measures the well documented "Big Five" personality factors of Introversion, Neuroticism, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, and Openness to experience (also known as the Culture or Intellect variable) (Costa & McRae, 1992), the Own goals vs. Parents' goals scale, and various non-verbal measurements of the self-concept developed by Ziller (1973, 1991).

The Own Goals vs. Parents' Goals scale was a series of individualistic or collectivistic items designed to correspond "to the theoretical notion that when personal and group goals are in conflict, people in collectivist cultures give priority to the group goals, whereas people in individualistic cultures give priority to personal goals" (Triandis et al., 1995, p. 467). Examples and scoring of selected non-verbal measurements (Ziller, 1973, 1991) are found in Appendix C. Also collected was data pertaining to the subjects' sex and age. In all, 23 males and 68 females took part in this research. The mean age of the sample was 21.4.

Results

The HVIC scales were subjected to reliability analysis to check for internal consistency. Cronbach alphas for the four subscales of the HVIC measure were as follows: HI; .65, VI; .79, HC; .67, and VC; .61. Table 3 shows all intercorrelations between all the HVIC subscales.

Table 3

Intercorrelations Between HVIC Subscales

(n=91)

Subscale	1	2	3	4
1. HI				
2. VI	-.09			
3. HC	.17	-.26**		
4. VC	.06	.10	.46**	

** - signif.LE. 01 (2-TAILED)

The Own Goal (Cronbach Alphas =.46) and Parents' Goals (Cronbach Alphas =.54) scales did not prove to be as reliable as the Triandis scales, whereas the NEO-R subscales all had Cronbach Alphas above the .69 level. In terms of group means, participants scored highest on HI (M= 6.69), followed by HC (M= 6.67). Analogously, ranking scores, collected through a question where the participants were asked to rank self-descriptors, showed a comparable trend. Over 65 % of the respondents selected labels suggesting horizontal tendencies as being the most representative self-descriptors.

As was the case with the group means for the four Triandis subscales, participants appear to favor items that deal with the horizontal facets of individualism and collectivism.

With respect to the social self-schemata, significant group differences were revealed for Social Interest, Openness, and Nonhierarchy (all $p < .05$). Results showed Horizontal Collectivists ($M=8.8$) scoring higher than Horizontal Individualists ($M=7.7$) on Social Interest; those scoring high on Social Interest tend to perceive the social environment from the point of view of significant others rather than their own.

Also, both Vertical Collectivists' ($M=11.0$) and Horizontal Collectivists' ($M=9.1$) scores were significantly higher than Horizontal Individualists' score ($M=7.4$) on Openness. Openness is linked to one's movement toward others or one's separateness from others. It is conceptualized as one's "breadth of associations with others whose location from the self is proximal or distal" (Phillips & Ziller, 1997, p. 425). Finally, horizontal collectivists ($M=1.8$) and horizontal individualists ($M=1.5$) scored significantly higher than the vertical group ($M=?$) on Nonhierarchy. Nonhierarchical individuals tend to view others as equals and tend to reject power or status differentials between Self and Other. Those who favor a hierarchical structure rank individuals in order of their relative importance to others.

In regards to other measures included in this study, including those relevant to the Big 5 personality factors, numerous significant group differences can be reported (all $p < .05$). VCs ($M=7.5$) scored higher than HCs ($M=6.6$), VIs ($M=6.1$) and HIs ($M=5.7$) on Conscientiousness. HCs ($M=6.4$) scored higher than HIs ($M=5.7$) on Extraversion and on Agreeableness ($M=6.6$ and $M=5.8$ respectively). As for the Culture/Intellect trait, VIs ($M=5.1$) scored lower than HIs ($M=5.9$). Finally, VCs ($M=4.5$) scored significantly

higher than HC, HI, and VI groups ($M=3.8, 3.8,$ and 3.3 respectively) on the Adoption of Parents' Goals variable.

Correlational analyses revealed the distinctiveness of the four types of collectivism/individualism. HI correlates positively with the Own Goals variable ($r=.26$) and Openness to experience ($r=.21$). It correlates negatively with Extraversion ($r=-.23$). VI on the other hand, shows only negative correlations with the following variables: Parents' Goals ($r=-.21$), Agreeableness ($r=-.48$), and HC ($r=-.26$). VC correlates positively with Parents' Goals ($r=.39$), Culture/Intellect ($r=.24$), conscientiousness ($r=.40$) and agreeableness ($r=.25$). It is negatively correlated with Own goals ($r=-.26$). In the case of HC, it shows the same positive correlations with variables as does VC, in addition to the following variables: age ($r=.21$), social interest ($r=.25$), and extraversion ($r=.21$). It correlates negatively with VI ($r=-.26$). It should also be noted that the two subscales of collectivism are positively correlated ($r=.46$). Table 4 reveals the correlations between the HVIC dimensions and key constructs.

Discussion

Examined as a whole, these analyses are revealing. For instance, a positive correlation between HI and the Own goals variable was noted, as was a negative correlation between VI and the Parents' goals variable. In the case of the former, it is the type of individualism that represents a Self that is the same as Others but also Independent of them. It can be argued that those who view themselves as independent might also be inclined to focus on their own goals. On the other hand, it is VI, the type of individualism that sees social interaction as hierarchical, which correlates negatively with

Table 4

Correlations Between Individualism/Collectivism and Other Key Variables

(n=91)

Individualism/Collectivism Subscales

<u>Variables</u>	<u>HI</u>	<u>VI</u>	<u>HC</u>	<u>VC</u>
1. Own goals	.26*	-.02	-.08	-.26*
2. Culture/Intellect	.21*	-.21	.16	-.09
3. Extraversion	-.23*	-.05	.21*	.02
4. Parents' goals	.06	-.21*	.38**	.39**
5. Agreeableness	-.14	-.48**	.46**	.25**
6. Openness	-.18	.04	.25*	.25*
7. Conscientiousness	-.09	-.02	.42*	.46**
8. Age	.17	.02	.21*	.18
9. Social interest	-.21	-.14	.24*	.13 *

- signif. LE.05 ** - signif. LE.01 (2-TAILED)

Parents' goals. It can be argued that the individual, who is achievement focused, and accepting of ranks, may also be indifferent or even against other people's goals - even their parents' goals. Clearly, horizontal individualists are not exactly like vertical individualists.

A comparison of the VC and HC variables is also informative. The VC variable represents interdependence, duty, and obligations toward one's group. It seems reasonable that such a variable would positively correlate with the variable Parents' goals, and that VCs' scores on this variable would be significantly higher than the other groups. Also, VC correlates with conscientiousness and agreeableness; as does HC. However, HC also correlates with the variables Social Interest and Extraversion. It can be argued that both sub types of collectivism should correlate with variables that demonstrate a concern and focus on others. How then, can one explain the additional correlations with HC? Because they see others as equals, Horizontal Collectivists might be more outgoing and less subdued than VC individuals. As such, the relationship between Social Interest and Extraversion and HC seems to be explainable. Indeed, Horizontal Collectivists did score significantly higher than Horizontal Individualists on Social Interest.

Many studies exploring individualism and collectivism tend to be conducted at the societal level. This final study, on the other hand, has attempted to identify the constructs of individualism and collectivism at the individual level. Confirming relationships with measures of Self and personality traits, it is clear that individualism and collectivism can offer an expanded view and understanding of individuals, in addition to their insights into cultural differences.

This study also underlined the importance of the vertical and horizontal dimensions of individualism and collectivism. Results demonstrate four distinct types of individualism and collectivism. Further, the variability within these four types merits further exploration. This study also revealed a propensity for college students to favor "horizontal" items rather than "vertical" ones. One wonders if this partiality toward equality will be revealed when employing a non-college adult sample. This final study also serves to empirically support the distinction between vertical and horizontal collectivism and individualism, and to demonstrate the psychometric strength of the HVIC measure.

General Discussion

The Bourgeois studies of 1996 and 1997 tend to validate Triandis' Individualism/Collectivism concept, and the latest study, his horizontal and vertical dimensions. In addition, Triandis' proposed measure of these concepts seems appropriate as the Cronbach alphas for the four HVIC subscales, reported by Bourgeois (1997, 1998) proved comparable to results reported by Singelis et al. (1995). A comparison for the three studies is reported in Table 5.

Furthermore, a recent article reporting four different studies by Triandis and Gelfand (1998) indicates that the constructs of vertical and horizontal collectivism and individualism were empirically supported, revealed convergent and divergent validity, and are applicable to various cultural settings.

In the first study reported by Triandis and Gelfand (1998), South Korean college students answered a modified 27-item version of the Singelis et al. (1995) instrument measuring vertical and horizontal individualism and collectivism. Exploratory factor

analyses revealed the HC, VI, HI and VC factors; confirming the same factors that emerge in studies using Western participants. As such, these results provide "further confidence in the viability of the horizontal and vertical distinction" (p. 120).

In the second study, Illinois undergraduates answered the above mentioned 27-item attitude measurement in addition to a series of scenarios that "measure the relative emphasis on HI, VI, HC, and VC" (p. 120). An example of these multiple-choice format scenarios follows:

You are buying some new clothing. Which is the most important factor that you will consider in choosing the style? The style that is ...

- A. Most suitable to your unique personality
- B. Most impressive in social situations
- C. Worn by your friends
- D. Recommended by your parents (p.121)

Each answer represented either horizontal collectivism or individualism or vertical collectivism or individualism and each scenario was scored by "noting the frequency of endorsement of HI, VI, HC, and VC answers" (p. 121) by the participants. Results of this study revealed that in general, "the constructs had good convergent and divergent validity" (p. 121). For instance, in regards to the individualism constructs, differentiation between the horizontal and vertical "within the scenarios ($r=-.50$) and the attitude items ($r=.30$) as well as across methods ($r_s = .20$ and $-.20$, respectively)" (p. 121) was reported. However, in regards to the collectivism constructs, only differentiation between horizontal and vertical aspects within the scenarios was judged to be adequate.

The third study by Triandis and Gelfand (1998) was an attempt to see how the

Table 5

Alpha Coefficients for Subscales of the Triandis (1995) HVIC Measure for Three Studies

<u>Subscale</u>	<u>Singelis et al.(1995)</u>	<u>Bourgeois (1997)</u>	<u>Bourgeois (1998)</u>
Horizontal	.74	.73	.67
Collectivism			
Horizontal	.67	.68	.65
Individualism			
Vertical	.68	.61	.61
Collectivism			
Vertical	.74	.88	.79
Individualism			

previously mentioned instruments would relate to previous measurements constructed by Triandis (1995). Here, the participants of Triandis and Gelfand's (1998) second study answered the same 27 modified items as well as an additional 48 items measuring aspects of individualism and collectivism.

Triandis and Gelfand's (1998) fourth study was an attempt to see how the previously mentioned instruments would relate to other measurements of individualism and collectivism. In both studies 3 and 4, it was predicted that the HI, VI, HC and VC constructs would differentially relate to existing measures. In general, it was revealed that "the vertical individualists stressed competition and hedonism even more than the horizontal individualists; the horizontal individualists stressed self-reliance. The vertical collectivists seemed to be more authoritarian and traditional but also stressed sociability; the horizontal collectivists stressed sociability, interdependence, and hedonism" (Triandis & Gelfand, 1998, p. 125).

In general, and similar to studies reported by major researchers in the field such as Triandis and Gelfand (1998), the Bourgeois studies (1996, 1997, 1998) reveal four different group types based on the individuals' vertical and horizontal collectivism and individualism. Vertical individualists are conscientious, achievement-oriented, and have complex self-concepts. They reject parents' goals and use flattery as a tool (high Machiavellianism). Vertical collectivists are also conscientious, but they differ from VI individualists in their openness and agreeableness, and their observance to parents' goals, characterizing themselves as dutiful.

Horizontal individualists and horizontal collectivists share open personality styles, but differ in many other ways. The horizontal individualist is introverted, emphasizing

own goals, his/her uniqueness and has high social self-esteem. He/she has a pronounced self-focus (high self-centrality). The horizontal collectivist, on the other hand, is conscientious, extraverted, agreeable, oriented positively to parents' goals, styles himself or herself as "cooperative" and is high in social interest and self-complexity. In contrast to horizontal individualists, the horizontal collectivist is low on self-centrality. The whole picture supports Triandis' (1995) and others' (see Strunk and Chang, 1999; and Triandis and Gelfand, 1998) findings.

CHAPTER 3
PRESENT STUDY - INDIVIDUALISM AND COLLECTIVISM,
HORIZONTAL AND VERTICAL

Introduction

When individualism and collectivism were conceptualized disregarding the horizontal and vertical dimensions, cultural differences were found; that is, Canadians scored higher on collectivism than Americans did, though these two groups did not score differently in terms of individualism. Further research (Bourgeois, 1997), also found correlations between collectivism and humanism on one hand and individualism and Machiavellianism on the other.

Moreover, an even clearer and complete picture of collectivist and individualistic individuals emerged when considering the vertical and horizontal dimensions of individualism and collectivism. For instance, vertical collectivism correlated with variables related to humanism such as openness, conscientiousness, and agreeableness. Horizontal collectivism also correlated with the aforementioned variables, but in addition, correlated with social interest and extraversion. Therefore, it could be argued that vertical collectivists are humanists through a sense of duty or obligation, while horizontal collectivists show this tendency because of their added sociability.

Likewise, group differences concerning vertical and horizontal individualists can be reported. On one hand, horizontal individualism correlated with a variable measuring focus on personal goals. On the other hand, vertical individualism correlated negatively with agreeableness. Based on these correlations, one might state the following:

Horizontal individualists may very well be self-focused, but unlike the vertical individualists, their interactions with others are probably more harmonious.

Studies 3 and 4 by Bourgeois (1997, 1998) also empirically support the constructs of horizontalism, verticalism, individualism, and collectivism; they revealed attributes unique to horizontal individualism (HI), vertical individualism (VI), horizontal collectivism (HC) and vertical collectivism (VC). In addition, the final study, by introducing variables relevant to the self-concept, showed the relevance of vertical and horizontal collectivism and individualism at the individual level. The series of studies have shown the validity of the aforementioned dimensions and their measurement. In a sense, the studies have demonstrated content validity. Future research will need to show predictive validity for vertical and horizontal collectivism and individualism.

Canadians, Americans and Individualism and Collectivism

It is true that in recent years, researchers in various disciplines, notably the social sciences, have examined the constructs of individualism and collectivism (Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). "However, only a few studies have examined the validity of empirically distinguishing between " (Strunk & Chang, 1999, p. 666) horizontal individualism, horizontal collectivism, vertical individualism, vertical collectivism (Strunk & Chang, 1999; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998; Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990). Fewer still have undertaken research examining these constructs within the context of socio-political studies.

Indeed, one way of confirming the validity of HI, VI, HC, and VC would be by seeing if it can discriminate between established groups who traditionally hold divergent sociopolitical attitudes and values. A previously reported study by Bourgeois (1996)

suggests that Canadians and Americans might possess different levels of collectivism. Fortunately, others have also wondered about the differences and similarities between Canada and the United States and its citizens.

In particular, Lipset (1990) has written extensively on this topic. In fact, by using a variety of sources, including survey data, public opinion polls, citations and other documentary materials, he has examined the social, political, legal, cultural and intellectual differences between these two North American nations. His goal is to demonstrate that Canada and the United States "vary in consistent ways across a broad spectrum of behavior, institutions, and values. The differences reflect the basic organizing principles" (xiii).

Lipset (1990) claims that the differences between Canada and the United States have existed since their founding as independent states.

The very organizing principles that framed these nations, the central cores around which institutions and events were to accommodate, were different. One was Whig and classically liberal or libertarian - doctrines that emphasize distrust of the state, egalitarianism, and populism – reinforced by a voluntaristic and congregational religious tradition. The other was Tory and conservative in the British and European sense – accepting of the need for a strong state, for respect for authority, for deference - and endorsed by hierarchically organized religions that supported and were supported by the state. (p.2)

He argues that Canada "has been and is a more class-aware, elitist, law-abiding, statist, collectivity-oriented, and particularistic (group-oriented) society than the United

States" (p.8). As for the United States, it is described as "classically liberal, Whig, individualistic, antistatist" (p.212) and populist.

Others have also recognized national differences. For instance, in an article reporting Canadian provincial and US state roles in urban planning, Keating and Mehrhoff (1992) state that "in terms of cultural values, Canada is widely regarded as more collectivist than the USA, with a larger place given to broad conceptions of the public interest and less respect for market forces and private enterprise" (p. 175). In an article in the *Canadian Journal on Aging* (1993), Clark suggests that "individualism is deeply ingrained in all social institutions in the U.S., from the legal to the educational, economic and political" (p. 490). On the other hand, an examination of the gerontological policies and programs in Canada "reveals a larger underlying commitment to collectivism" (p. 491).

Finally, in "Identities in North America: The Search for Community" - a book examining the socio-cultural forces and values of Canada, the United States and Mexico - Earle and Wirth (1995) contend that an important difference between Canada and the United States "is the relative importance assigned to individual and collective rights" (p. 10). They state that individualism "lies at the heart of American-style process liberalism" (p.10), while Canada champions the values of collectivism and group rights.

Thus, in the eyes of many, including Lipset (1990), Canada and the United States are somewhat dissimilar in political and religious institutions and in culture and values. "They share many of the same ecological and demographic conditions, approximately the same economic development, and similar rates of upward and downward social mobility

on a mass level. Today they are both wealthy and democratic societies, but they still march to a different drummer..." (p.2)

However, it seems just as many disagree with Lipset's conclusions regarding Canadian/American differences. For instance, Grabb and Curtis (1988) suggest that historically, there may have been national differences in regards to values, but that more recently, differences between Canadians and Americans were not found. To bolster their claim, they reviewed a sampling of studies conducted in the 1970s. For example, Curtis (1971) found no national difference in regards to voluntary association activity; Truman (1971) and Manzer (1974) for political values; Crawford and Curtis (1979) for various attitudes and opinions; and Clark (1975) for general observations on societal values. In 1987, Templin, in a study of state and provincial legislators, found no national difference. Both American and Canadian legislators were equally concerned about symbols of status and both reported similar levels of political egalitarianism.

Finally, Baer, Grabb, and Johnston (1993) examined Canadian and American participants' opinions on a series of questions sampling 5 general issue areas: "1. Perceptions of corporate power and profits, combined with attitudes regarding government social spending and economic inequality; 2. Alternative or radical orientations to the capitalist organization of society; 3. Attitudes about labour and unions; 4. Beliefs about gender inequality; 5. Attitudes about family discipline and social control, especially in relation to crime" (p. 17). In general, they found no evidence suggesting strong cross-national differences. "Instead, the supposed national differences stems primarily from the existence of a relatively more traditional U.S. Old South (and

occasionally the U.S. Middle) and a Quebec that is significantly less traditional than all of the other regions" (p.22).

Thus, on one hand, the results of some research indicate differences between Canadians and Americans. On the other hand, it is difficult to discount the claims and evidence presented by those who see no differences between the citizens of the two North American nations. However, as is usually the case in such a multidisciplinary polemic, these opposing viewpoints reviewed here are oversimplifications. Other issues must be considered in order to synthesize all the elements of this debate.

First, even Lipset (1990) himself recognizes that in comparison to other nations, the United States and Canada are quite similar. Of Canada and the United States, Lipset says: " they are probably as alike as any other two peoples on earth" (p.2) and "in comparison to Great Britain and much of Europe, Canada and the United States share the same values" (p.4). This leads us to those, who, although agreeing that there are national differences, ponder the strength or quality of these differences. Reviewing Lipset's (1990) seminal work, Continental Divide, Hiller (1991) underlines that Lipset himself acknowledges that the differences between Canada and the United States "are essentially a matter of degree" (p.201).

Similarly, Tiryakian (1991), reviewing Lipset's book in the American Journal of Sociology warns "the reader may feel uncomfortable when much is made of attitudinal differences that amount to, say, less than 10% between Canadian and American respondents on given survey items" (p. 1041). Finally, authors such as Davis and Horowitz (in Lipset, 1990) contend that Canadian-American differences are simply the result of a cultural lag - "that Canada, traditionally somewhat less developed

economically than America, has been slower to give up the values and lifestyles characteristics of a less industrialized, more agrarian society. On this view, Canada should become more like the United States as the structural gap declines" (p. 215). Similarly, the "world-system" and "convergence" theories maintain that because of U.S. companies' domination of broad sections of Canadian economic life and Canada's cultural dependence on the United States via the spread of the American mass media, that "Canada and the United States should become even more similar" (Lipset, 1990, p. 215).

In a sense, Lipset's thesis of national differences comes with several caveats: 1) when uniting Canada and the U.S. in a comparison with other nations, the North American countries actually are quite similar; 2) if there are national differences, they are statistically small; and 3) these differences may disappear over time. Those looking for incontestable evidence showing Canadian/American differences will be disappointed.

Intuitively however, it seems reasonable to accept that there may be important differences between one nation, Canada, emphasizing "peace, order and good government" and another, the United States, built upon the principles of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" (Farough, 2000); between one country which glorifies its "uniformed, disciplined Mountie" (G. Cawelti, in Lipset, 1990, p.91) and another, characterized by "those rugged individualists – the cowboy, the frontiersman, and even the vigilante" (G. Cawelti, in Lipset, 1990, p.91); or finally, between a Canada viewed as the "Starbuck to the American Ahab" (Matthews, 1991, p. 720)?

What has past social scientific research examining this question concluded? Unfortunately, results from a sampling of research reviewed by the author are equivocal. For instance, one study of marketing techniques used in North American revealed that

Americans were individualistic, whereas Canadians were more collectivity oriented (Sheith, 1979). Lipset's writings seem to suggest the same. Bourgeois' study in 1996 revealed similar results. However, Lipset's critics such as Baer, Grabb and Johnston (see Baer, Grabb, and Johnston, 1990, Grabb, 1994; Grabb, Baer, and Curtis, 1999) remain steadfast in their opinion that both Canada and the United States are individualistic nations.

In terms of research directly examining individualism and collectivism, very few studies have focused solely on Canadians and Americans. However, Triandis (1995) did report results from a cross-national study conducted by Hofstede (1991) where various countries were rated on individualism and another variable conceptually linked to collectivism. A visual inspection of the figure appearing on p. 104 in Triandis' (1995) book reveals that Canadians scored 83 out of 100 (100 being the highest score) on individualism while the United States' score was 94. In regards to collectivism, Canada scored 47, while the United States scored 46. Thus, in this one study, Canada is less individualistic than the United States, but they show similar scores in terms of collectivism. This contrasts with results reported by Bourgeois (1996) where Canadians (New Brunswick) scored higher on collectivism than Americans (Maine).

How then does one resolve this stalemate? One solution is to focus on specific variables while acknowledging that one's conclusions about national differences may not be very generalizable. Therefore, one component of the present research will be to examine the levels and types of individualism and collectivism among a limited sample - residents of New Brunswick and Maine, a subset of Canadians and Americans sharing similar historical, geographical, and cultural realities. A few commonalities include a

political border, climatic conditions, strong interests in the fishing and forestry industries, residents of Native American and French-Canadian (Acadian) ancestries and membership in the Conference of New England Governors and Eastern Canadian Premiers, etc.

Republicans, Democrats, Progressive Conservatives and Liberals

Another obvious group comparison when considering divergent sociopolitical attitudes and values is between the various political parties operating in the North American landscape. In the United States, the Republican Party and the Democratic Party are dominant, while in Canada, it is either the Progressive Conservative Party or the Liberal Party who have traditionally been in power. The literature, scientific or otherwise, is replete of findings detailing the attitudinal differences between Republicans and Democrats (e.g., Jamieson, 2000; Shafer & Claggett, 1995; Uslaner, 2000); and between the Conservatives and the Liberals (e.g., Blais, Gidengil, Nadeau, & Nevritte, 2002; Campbell & Christian, 1996).

In particular, Shafer and Claggett (1995) have found that Republicans and Democrats differ on issues pertaining to cultural values, social welfare, foreign relations, social insurance, civil rights, and civil liberties. In general, they found that Democrats tend to be on the left of the political spectrum while the Republicans tend to be on the right of all the aforementioned issues. More specifically, Democrats were categorized as 'Progressive' and Republicans 'Traditionalist' regarding cultural and national issues. Regarding economic and welfare issues, Democrats were categorized as 'Redistributive' and Republicans 'Market-Oriented'.

As for members of the Canadian political parties, Blais et al. (2002) have found significant differences between Liberals and Progressive Conservatives on the following

issues: disposition towards business, towards unions, banning guns, and abortion. In all cases, the Liberals tended to be more centrist while the Progressive Conservatives were considered to be right-of-center. One should note however that these differences are rather modest when comparing the differences between the Liberals and Progressive Conservatives with more 'extreme' Canadian political parties such as the NDP, Reform or Bloc Quebecois.

Finally, studies by Altemeyer (1996, 1998) have explored party differences in both countries and their relation to right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation. Details of his studies will be examined later.

Right-Wing Authoritarianism, Social Dominance Orientation, Equality and Freedom

In addition to exploring horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism within the context of national and political party comparative analyses, it is crucial to demonstrate that the four dimensions have some systematic relationship with other constructs. Of particular relevance to this present study would be studies detailing the relation of the four types of individualism and collectivism and their relation to sociopolitical attitudes. Unfortunately, very few studies falling under this category have been undertaken (Strunk & Chang, 1999).

A noteworthy exception is a study by Strunk and Chang (1999) that examined the relations among HI, VI, HC, VC, and social dominance orientation (SDO), and social attitudes (pro-Black, anti-Black, Protestant work ethic, humanitarian, and egalitarian). The following scales by Katz and Hass (1988) were used to measure the social attitudes: The Pro-Black and Anti-Black scales, the Protestant Ethic Scale, and the Humanitarianism-Egalitarianism Scale. The Pro-Black Scale measures positive attitudes

and beliefs about Blacks, while the Anti-Black Scale measures negative attitudes and beliefs about Blacks. The Protestant Ethic Scale measures attitudes and beliefs corresponding to the Protestant Work Ethic, while the Humanitarianism-Egalitarianism Scale measures attitudes and beliefs corresponding to humanitarian and egalitarian views (Strunk & Chang, 1999).

Strunk and Chang (1999) reported the following:

HI was positively associated with the Protestant Ethic Scale [$r = .13$, $p < 0.05$] and the Humanitarianism-Egalitarianism Scale [$r = .18$, $p < 0.01$]. VI was positively associated with the Social Dominance Orientation scale [$r = .24$, $p < 0.001$], the Anti-Black Scale [$r = .20$, $p < 0.001$] and the Protestant Ethic Scale [$r = .14$, $p < 0.05$]. HC was negatively associated with the Social Dominance Orientation scale [$r = -.18$, $p < 0.01$] and positively associated with the Pro-Black Scale [$r = .15$, $p < 0.05$], the Protestant Ethic Scale [$r = .15$, $p < 0.05$] and the Humanitarianism-Egalitarianism Scale [$r = .43$, $p < 0.001$]. VC was positively associated with the Anti-Black Scale [$r = .14$, $p < 0.05$], the Protestant Ethic Scale [$r = .18$, $p < 0.01$] and the Humanitarianism-Egalitarianism Scale [$r = .28$, $p < 0.001$]. (p. 669)

Triandis and colleagues (Gelfand, Triandis, & Chan, 1996; Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998) have also discussed the rather uncertain relation between right-wing authoritarianism and individualism-collectivism. Coincidentally, both SDO and right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) have been measured extensively by Altemeyer (1996) in studies conducted in the United States and in Canada.

In fact, some of his Altemeyer's studies compared Americans and Canadian politicians and their scores on measurements of SDO and RWA. Adopting Altemeyer's

(1996) conceptualization of right-wing authoritarianism, it is defined here as the covariation of three kinds of attitudes in a person: 1. Authoritarian submission - a high degree of submission to the authorities who are perceived to be established and legitimate in one's society; 2. Authoritarian aggression - a general aggressiveness, directed against various persons, that is perceived to be sanctioned by established authorities; 3. Conventionalism - a high degree of adherence to the social conventions that are perceived to be endorsed by society and its established authorities (Altemeyer, 1994, p. 317).

Altemeyer (1996) has demonstrated that his RWA scale is a valid instrument that correlates with liberal and conservative attitudes. He thus argues that "it seems germane to politics" (p. 259). In regards to politics, he claims that "studies of most of the legislatures in Canada and nearly all the state legislatures in the United States have found that Canadian Conservative/Canadian Reform/Republican politicians, like their supporters in the voting booths, score higher on the RWA Scale than Canadian New Democrats/Canadian Liberals/Democrats do" (Altemeyer, 1998, p. 52). It is reasonable to assume that the participants of this present study should not differ in their response to the RWA scale; that is, Republicans and Progressive Conservative should score higher than the Democrats and the Liberals.

In addition to its well-researched and well-defined relation to politics, RWA has more tentatively been linked to individualism and collectivism (Gelfand, Triandis, & Chan, 1996; Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998). Using a multidimensional scaling method on similarity judgments of concepts representing individualism and collectivism, a sample of Illinois college students judged individualism and collectivism as orthogonal, while individualism was perceived to be the opposite of authoritarianism

(Gelfand, Triandis, & Chan, 1996). In this study however the constructs of verticality and horizontality had not been considered.

Later research by Triandis and Gelfand (1998) offers an alternative view of the authoritarianism and individualism and collectivism link. In their study, "right-wing authoritarianism was correlated with VC ($r=.29$, $p<.005$), but not with HC ($r=.01$) (Triandis and Gelfand, 1998, p. 124). However, it is interesting to note that in a previous study reported in the same article, "there was less divergent validity between HC and VC. This suggests that HC and VC have considerable overlapping variance but that the overlapping variance is also distinguishable from authoritarianism. On the other hand, some of the unique variance of VC, presumably the aspect that accepts submission to in-group authorities, is related to authoritarianism" (p. 124).

Besides authoritarianism, another construct to receive much attention in recent years in the field of social psychology and political psychology has been SDO (Altemeyer, 1998; Levin & Sidanius, 1999; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994; Pratto, Tatar & Conway-Lanz, 1999; Whitley, 1999). In reference to group conflict and group-based inequality, Pratto et al. (1994) suggest that modern society is at a stage where ideologies that promote social inequality compete with others that promote greater social equality. They further insist that it is important to understand the underlying factors that "lead to the acceptance or rejection of ideologies that promote or attenuate inequality" (p. 741).

In particular, they describe SDO as a general attitudinal orientation toward intergroup relations, reflecting whether one generally prefers such relations to be equal, versus hierarchical, that is, ordered along a superior-inferior dimension. The theory

postulates that people who are more social-dominance oriented will tend to favor hierarchy-enhancing ideologies and policies, whereas those lower on SDO will tend to favor hierarchy-attenuating ideologies and policies (p. 742).

In relation to partisan politics in Canada, Altemeyer (1996) summarizes his research on SDO as follows: "(E)very study I have done with the SDO scale has found that persons who favored the Reform Party of Canada scored higher in social dominance than any other party's supporters. Those who liked the Conservatives always scored next highest. Then came the Liberals and NDPers, usually in that order" (p. 83). Although no results pertaining to American political groups has been reported by Altemeyer, one would suspect that Republicans would score similarly to their politically conservative Progressive Conservative counterparts in Canada. And in research conducted by Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth and Malle (1994) self-described conservatives did score higher on SDO than self-described liberals.

In a discussion on legislators in North America, Altemeyer (1996) suggests that "the Democratic Party in the United States attracts the same kind of politicians who join the NDP and Liberals in Canada" (p. 293). Conversely, one can argue that there will be similarities between members of the Republic Party and the Progressive Conservative Party. This, of course, has been confirmed in regards to RWA; Altemeyer has also reported that Republicans and Progressive Conservatives scored higher on Ethnocentrism than did Democrats and Liberals. Republicans and Progressive Conservatives also share a conservative economic philosophy as measured by the Economic Philosophy scale. Therefore, one suspects that Republicans and Progressive Conservatives will also score similarly on SDO and that these scores will be higher than those obtained by the

Democrats and Liberals. Altemeyer (1996) has reviewed the relation between political party affiliation and SDO.

Others have found interactions between group status, SDO, and perceived injustice toward one's group (Rabinowitz, 1999), Levin and Sidanius (1999) have explored the link between SDO and social identity, while Pratto, Tatar, and Conway-Lanz's 1999 study revealed that high SDO people and low SDO respond differently to social resource allocation scenarios. To state briefly, the construct of SDO is gaining favor among researchers in the social sciences. However, as of yet, not many have explored SDO's relations to individualism and collectivism. One exception is Strunk and Chang's 1999 study where they reported that SDO correlated positively with VI (0.24, significant. LE. 05), and negatively with HC, VC, and HI (-0.18. LE. 01, -0.10, and -0.08 respectively) . Consistent with Strunk and Chang's predictions, SDO, a measure reflecting inequality, was positively correlated with a measure of individualism. Also consistent with their predictions was the negative correlation between SDO and horizontal collectivism.

In general, it can be expected that future research measuring the relation between SDO and horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism should reveal similar results reported by Strunk and Chang (1999). However, one can also posit one notable difference. Whereas no significant positive correlation was revealed between SDO and vertical collectivism, it is quite possible that the dimension of verticality should be positively correlated with SDO. If one's accepts the notion of ranks between individuals and that relationships should be hierarchical in nature, it seems reasonable to think that this same person would strive to be socially dominant. Therefore, one can predict that

SDO will be positively correlated with both VI and VC. Alternatively, horizontalism reflects an acceptance of equality among people. Therefore, and although Strunk and Chang (1999) only found a significant negative correlation between HC and SDO, one can predict that both HI and HC will show negative and significant correlations with SDO. An additional motivation in using RWA and SDO in this study is their interesting similarities and differences.

In an extensive review of both constructs, Altemeyer (1998) concludes that "unlike high RWAs, high SDOs do not particularly endorse kowtowing to authorities, nor do they show marked degrees of conventionalism" (p. 62). Altemeyer's review also suggests that "Social Dominators" (p. 76) reject equality "on the SDO scale more than most people do because they tend to reject equality in general. It is antithetical to their outlook on life, and their personal motivation" (p. 76). Whitley (1999) also differentiates between right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation. In addition to confirming that the two constructs are only minimally correlated ($r=.14$), he states: "Authoritarianism focuses on submission to in-group authority figures independent of whether they advocate intergroup dominance, whereas SDO focuses on dominance over out-groups independent of the views of in-group authority figures. That is, authoritarianism is an intragroup phenomenon, whereas SDO is an intergroup phenomenon" (Whitley, 1999, p. 127).

Overall, we have predicted that Republicans and Progressive Conservatives will score high on both RWA and SDO, whereas Democrats and Liberals will score low on these two constructs. As for the relation between RWA and SDO with horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism, there is an absence of empirical studies directly

examining RWA, SDO and the four types of individualism and collectivism. Further, there are only a small number of studies simply reporting findings on the link between RWA and individualism and collectivism or SDO and individualism and collectivism separately. Nonetheless, based on Altemeyer (1996), Triandis and Gelfand (1998), and Whitley 's (1999) work, one can suggest the following: If authoritarianism is an intragroup phenomenon, one would suspect collectivism to relate positively to it. Collectivists focus on duties, norms and obligations toward their group. Collectivists have groups. Individualists concern themselves less with the needs of their group; if they consider themselves to be part of a group in the first place. As such, one can hypothesize that it is VCs and HCs who will score the highest on RWA, while individualists, be it VIs or HIs will score low on a construct measuring submission to authorities and adherence to social conventions.

On the other hand, social dominators favor the maintenance of inequality between people; they accept dominance of one group of people over another. These descriptions are similar to those given to individuals who score high on the vertical dimensions of individualism and collectivism. They too accept inequality and believe that "rank has its privileges" (Triandis, 1995, p. 44). Being "vertical" means seeing oneself as different than others (Triandis, 1995). It seems reasonable then to posit that individuals categorized as either vertical collectivists or vertical individualists will score high on SDO.

Conversely, those identified as horizontal collectivists or horizontal individualists will score low on SDO. Table 6 below shows the four types of individualism and collectivism and how they should score on RWA and SDO.

Table 6.

Individualists' and Collectivists' Hypothesized Scores on RWA and SDO

		RWA	
		High	Low
SDO	High	Vertical Collectivists	Vertical Individualists
	Low	Horizontal Collectivists	Horizontal Individualists

Beyond its link to SDO, Altemeyer (1996) has also shown how RWA relates to important political values. In particular, he refers to equality and freedom. In fact he suggests that equality and freedom are "arguably the two most basic values of democracy" (p. 281).

In a series of studies in the US, Altemeyer has demonstrated that regardless of their level of authoritarianism, US state lawmakers rated freedom highly (first among the nine values presented). The respondents showed less favor toward equality, ranking it sixth. Low RWAs ranked it third, High RWAs seventh. In March 1991, Altemeyer sent a survey to "members of the Alabama, Maine, Missouri, Pennsylvania, and Utah Houses of Representatives, and the Missouri Senate" (Altemeyer, 1996, p. 283). The participants were asked to answer the RWA scale and to also "indicate on a -4 to +4 basis if they would like to pass certain laws, even though some of them might violate the Bill of

Rights" (Altemeyer, 1996, p. 283). Altemeyer posited that High RWA legislators would be opposed to laws that favored equality and be favorable toward laws restricting citizens' freedom. In all, the survey included 5 laws that would reduce freedoms and 4 laws that would increase chances of equality. By creating an index of these 9 items, Altemeyer created a measure that indicated "how much each lawmaker would undermine freedom and equality" (Altemeyer, 1996, p. 286). And of all the participants it was those rated to be High RWAs that revealed the greatest tendency to undermine both values.

There are partisan differences in RWA: In the United States, Democrats score lower on RWA than Republicans. In Canadian politics, it is the New Democratic Party politicians who score the lowest, while the Progressive Conservatives score the highest on RWA. The Liberals score between these groups. It is also interesting to note, if considering group means consisting of all politicians combined, the American politicians score higher on RWA than the Canadian politicians (Altemeyer, 1996). Others have also testified to the relative importance of equality and freedom in the comprehension of political attitudes and systems (Triandis, 1995).

For instance, Triandis (1995) suggests links between the constructs of individualism and collectivism and the political system values discussed by Rokeach (1973). Triandis (1995) explained that:

Rokeach asked people to rank-order eighteen values, like freedom and equality. He identified people who (1) placed both of these values among their top for our five values, (2) placed both of these values among their bottom four or five values, (3) emphasized freedom and de-emphasized equality, and (4) emphasized

equality and de-emphasized freedom. He then discovered that these four types of people favored different political systems (p. 50)

Thus, a political system that favors both equality and freedom, such as social democracies in Australia and Sweden, should correspond to HI. A system where equality is fostered but not freedom would be similar to the HC dimension. The example of an Israeli Kibbutz was given. A system where freedom is valued and equality is not corresponds to a VI conceptualization. The competitive capitalism and market economies of the United States are an example of this type of system. Finally, VC matches with political systems where both freedom and equality are not valued, such as fascism or communalism. However, although links between these typologies have been proposed, no true empirical test of this thesis has been reported. Further, one can also wonder if the correspondence of these typologies could be replicated at the individual level. In other words, will individual supporters of these various political systems also reveal the personal attributes posited by Triandis (Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998)?

Albeit amid some criticism (Cochrane, Billig, & Hogg, 1979), Rokeach's two-dimensional model of political ideology has proven hardy. For instance, group differences among supporters and politicians of different political parties in Australia (Thannhausen & Caird, 1990) and in the UK (Cochrane et al., 1979) were revealed using the Rokeach model. However, it appears that groups tend to differ mostly in their valuation of equality, rather than freedom. Interestingly, Rokeach (1973, p. 208) reported that within a 1968 US sample of adult political activists. Humphrey and McCarthy Democrats ranked equality second and first, respectively, whereas Nixon and Reagan Republicans ranked it 9th and 17th. There was less variation in ranking of freedom:

Supporters of Humphrey ranked it fourth, McCarthy second, Nixon second, and Reagan first. A broad sample of nonactivist Democrats, Republicans and Independents ranked equality sixth, tenth, and seventh; the three groups all gave the same ranking for Freedom, that is third highest out of 18.

Rokeach (1973) also published the results of a cross-cultural study comparing US, Canadian, Israeli and Australian male college students. Of particular interest to the present project was the fact the US sample ranked equality lower than the Canadian group. This result goes against Seymour Lipset's long-standing thesis (1963, 1990) "that Canadians are less egalitarian or individualistic than Americans" (Rokeach, 1973, p. 93).

In sum, it is posited that HC, VI, HC, VC will demonstrate their usefulness in discriminating between national and political groups; perhaps offering a better understanding of these differences and inconsistencies found in previous research. HI, VI, HC, and VC should also prove their worthiness in the fields of social and political psychology by demonstrating different patterns of associations with RWA, SDO, equality and freedom.

Present Study

The present research examined the relationship between political party affiliation and individualism and collectivism. Nationality and ethnicity were also considered. The survey respondents were active members of the Democratic and Republican parties living in Maine together with Liberal and Conservative party members living in New Brunswick (Canada).

The primary goals of this research are 1) to test the reliability and validity of the new Triandis (1995) questionnaire measuring horizontal and vertical individualism and

collectivism; and 2) to better understand the relation among individualism and collectivism and sociopolitical values. The secondary goals of this research are 1) to explore the relation between gender, education, age and types of individualism and collectivism; 2) to determine if cross-cultural differences on collectivism and individualism scores are identifiable within a Maine/New Brunswick sample; and 3) to verify political party differences on right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, freedom and equality.

Descriptive statistics and socio-demographic data was obtained for all participants in regard to the following variables: age, sex, birth order, nationality, ethnicity, political party affiliation, educational level, individualism and collectivism, social dominance (see Appendix D), Rokeach values (see Appendix E) and right-wing authoritarianism (see Appendix F).

Hypotheses

Two hypotheses pertain to nationality: 1a) Canadian participants will score higher on collectivism than their American counterparts. On the other hand, 1b) Americans will score higher on individualism.

Two hypotheses pertain to political party affiliation: 2a) Republicans and Progressive Conservatives will be more vertical than Democrats and Liberals; 2b) Democrats and Liberals will be more horizontal than Republicans and Progressive Conservatives.

Four hypotheses pertain to social dominance and RWA: 3a) Vertical collectivists will score high on RWA and high on SDO; 3b) Horizontal collectivists will score low on SDO, but high on RWA; 3c) Vertical individualists will score high on SDO, but low on

RWA; and finally, 3d) Horizontal individualists will score low on both SDO and RWA. One can recall the hypothesized scoring of individualists and collectivists on right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation illustrated in Table 6.

Four hypotheses repeat predictions about value orientation recorded by Triandis (1995): 4a) Vertical collectivists will score low on freedom and on equality; 4b) Vertical individualists will score low on equality, but high on freedom; 4c) Horizontal collectivists will score high on equality, but low on freedom, and 4d) Horizontal individualists will score high on both freedom and equality. Table 7 illustrates the individualists' and collectivists' hypothesized scoring on equality and freedom.

Table 7.

Individualists' and Collectivists' Hypothesized Scores on Equality and Freedom

		Equality	
		High	Low
Freedom	High	Horizontal Individualists	Vertical Individualists
	Low	Horizontal Collectivists	Vertical Collectivists

Method

A mail survey was used to collect data. Because mailed questionnaires generally have low return rates, the mailing clearly identified sponsorship by the University of Maine Psychology Department and support from the headquarters of the different political parties in Maine and in New Brunswick. Further, the format of the questionnaire was clear and concise and most items were closed questions. Accompanying the questionnaire was a letter from the investigator explaining the research and a plea for participation. Returns were encouraged by enclosure of a postal permit envelope (a self addressed stamped envelope for the Canadian participants).

From the headquarters of the political parties, we received hundreds of addresses of randomly selected party members. It is important to note that the party lists contained mostly individuals who had been active by attending party caucuses or conventions. In the case of the Republicans, we received well over 500 addresses.²

After approval of the research by the University of Maine Human Subjects Research Committee, questionnaire packets were mailed to a random sample of members on the parties' mailing lists. The questionnaire packet contained an introduction letter stating the general purpose of the study, statements pertaining to the participants' rights and other ethical considerations, and the investigator's name and phone number to field inquiries (See Appendix G). Also included was the actual questionnaire. In addition to the measures annexed at the end of the present document (see Appendices B, and D through F), the questionnaire also included a page referring to socio-demographic

² It is important to note that the director of the Republican Party warned that this mailing list probably contained errors because of a software malfunction and no guarantees on its accuracy could be made.

variables (See Appendix H). Further, postal permit envelopes by the Psychology Department at the University of Maine (or self-addressed stamped envelopes for the Canadian participants) were sent to the participants so they might return the completed questionnaire. The following numbers of randomly selected participants were sent questionnaires: Progressive Conservatives, 136; Liberals, 111; Democrats, 161; Republicans, 150. Later, 90 more Republican names would be selected in order to increase the number of respondents³. Overall, the response rate across the entire sample was 46.6%. Appendix I shows the breakdown of responses and non-responses by party and non-response category (Rogelberg and Long, 1998). The highest response rate was for the Liberals (70.3%), the lowest for the Republicans (32.5%).

³Although only 12 Republican questionnaires were sent back "Return to Sender / Unknown address", one wonders how many never reached the intended respondents. The original mailing list may have provided many incorrect addresses, thereby increasing the number of questionnaires being sent out to reach an appropriate response rate.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Participants

The final sample includes 72 Democrats, 78 Republicans, 78 Liberals, and 74 Progressive Conservatives. An additional 38 participants did answer the questionnaire but did not state a party affiliation or stated a party other than the aforementioned. These 38 respondents are not included in the tabulation of results. The average age of the sample is 51.1 years of age, while 49.7 % of respondents are male and 49.4% female.

Overall, the four political groups are very similar in terms of their socio-demographic profiles. In terms of gender, age, employment category, number of siblings, and rank in terms of age within family, no between group differences were found. In fact, the only significant difference between the groups is that the Progressive Conservatives have obtained less years of formal education than members of the Democratic and Republican parties. Appendix J presents a general profile of the political party samples based on selected variables.

Reliabilities of Measures

To evaluate internal consistency of the measures utilized in the present study, Cronbach's (1951) alphas were computed. For the four individualism-collectivism scales, alphas for each of the following subscales were: 8-item HI, .65; 8-item HC, .73; 8-item VI, .75; 8-item VC, .64. For the 14-item social dominance orientation (SDO) scale, the alpha was .83. And for the 20-item right-wing authoritarianism (RWA), the alpha was .90. Item-total correlations were also computed for the above measures. In none of the cases were item-correlations low enough to substantially attenuate the alphas for the

individualism-collectivism, RWA and SDO scales. It should be noted that the participants' equality and freedom scores are based on single item scales. In these cases, reliability cannot be assured and one must therefore be cautious in analyzing results based on these measures.

National Differences

As predicted in hypothesis 1a, Canadians score higher than Americans on both horizontal and vertical collectivism scales. However, hypothesis 1b is not confirmed, as there were no significant differences between Americans and Canadians on the individualism scales. Table 8 reveals the mean differences between the groups and summarizes the t-tests results.

Table 8

Nationality Group Means and T-Tests Results on HI, HC, VI, and VC

	Americans	Canadians	t
HI	6.73	6.89	-1.37
HC	6.89	7.37	-4.14***
VI	4.61	4.61	-.02
VC	5.63	5.91	-2.12*

Americans (N=150) Canadians (N=152)

* - signif. LE .05 *** - signif. LE .001 (2-TAILED)

Political Party Differences on Individualism and Collectivism

Of the four types of individualism and collectivism, only on HI were there no significant group differences. In the case of VI, Progressive Conservatives (M=4.72) and Republicans (M=4.93) scored significantly higher than Democrats (M=4.26), partially confirming hypothesis 2a. Further, the Republicans also scored higher than the

Liberals (M=4.51). The only difference on VC was that Progressive Conservatives (M=6.00) scored higher than Democrats (M=5.48). Appendix K shows a summary of the analysis of variance as well as the orthogonal contrasts used to identify specific group differences. In regards to HC, both Canadian political parties (Progressive Conservatives, M=7.39; Liberals, M=7.34) scored higher than both American parties (Republicans, M=6.87; Democrats, M=6.92).

Hypothesis 2a posited that Republicans and Progressive Conservatives would be more vertical than Democrats and Liberals. Indeed, the Republicans scored significantly higher than both left-of-center parties on vertical individualism, whereas the Progressive Conservative group's score on vertical individualism was significantly higher than the Democrats' group mean. On vertical collectivism, one right-of-center party, the Progressive Conservatives, scored significantly higher than the Democrats.

Hypothesis 2b posited that Democrats and Liberals would be more horizontal than Republicans and Progressive Conservatives. Analyses reveal that there are no group differences on HI. And in terms of HC, it is national differences and not left-wing/right-wing political party differences that are statistically significant. As previously mentioned, both the Liberals and the Progressive Conservatives scored significantly higher on HC than Republicans and Democrats.

HI, HC, VI, and VC Group Differences on Sociopolitical Variables

As a preliminary step, scores for each participant on HI, VI, HC, and VC were standardized so that the individuals' four scores could be compared. Then, adopting methodology used by Triandis and Gelfand (1998), the highest of the individuals' four standard scores was used "to assign the participant to one of the four categories" (p. 123).

Based on this categorization, 87 participants were labeled Horizontal Individualists; 108 as Vertical Individualists; 64 as Horizontal Collectivists and finally 74 participants were classified as Vertical Collectivists⁴.

In general, the socio-demographic profiles of the individualism-collectivism subtypes are similar as can be seen in table 9. A few significant differences can be noted. First, a chi-square test and cross tabulation report reveal that the ratio of males to females in the VI group is significantly higher than the ratios present in the other three groups (See Appendix L). Secondly, another chi-square test and cross tabulation report reveal that a higher than expected number of HC participants indicate an education level of elementary school or less (See Appendix M). Finally, analyses of variance followed by post-hoc tests (see Appendix N) reveal the VC group (M=54.9) is significantly older than the HI group (M=46.8).

Further analyses of variance reveal group differences on RWA, SDO and equality, but not freedom (See Appendix O). A priori orthogonal contrasts reveal that the VC group scores higher than either the HI or the VI group on right-wing authoritarianism. Other analysis shows that the HC group also scores higher than either HI or VI on RWA. Figure 1 displays each group's mean score on RWA.

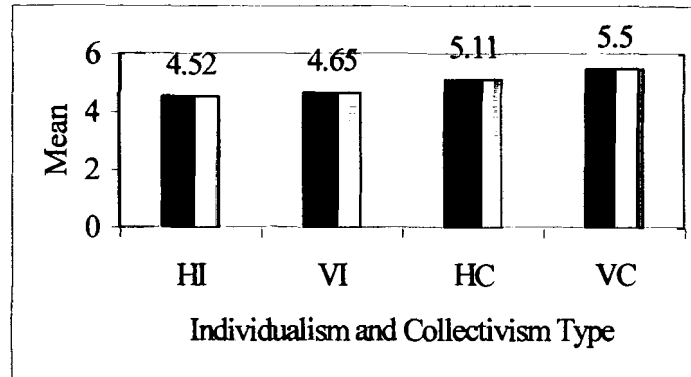
⁴ One should note that this technique does not provide very distinctive groups, as the individual's score that categorizes him or her might only slightly differ from his or her next highest score.

Table 9

Socio-Demographic Profiles of Individualism-Collectivism Groups

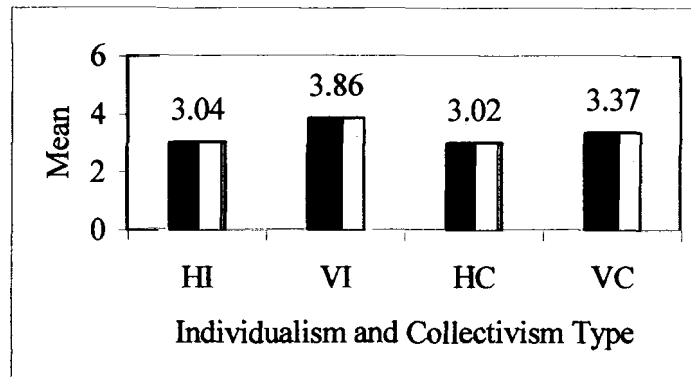
		<u>Individualism-Collectivism Group</u>				
		HIs	VIs	HCs	VCs	
Socio-demographic variables	Gender (N)	Males	40	62	22	29
		Females	42	33	36	42
	Age (mean)	46.8	49.3	53.6	54.9	
	Education Level (N)	Elementary school or less	3	-	5	-
		Some high school	2	3	1	1
		High school diploma	10	18	16	20
		Some college	23	24	14	15
		College graduate	25	34	16	28
		Post graduate degree	19	16	6	7
	Number of siblings (mean)	3.06	3.53	4.63	3.54	

Figure 1

HI, VI, HC, and VC Groups' Scores on RWA

Regarding social dominance orientation, the mean of the VI group is higher than means of the VC, HI, and HC groups. Figure 2 displays each group's mean score on SDO.

Figure 2

HI, HC, VI, and VC Groups' Scores on SDO

Vertical collectivists were predicted to score high on both RWA and SDO. In fact, vertical collectivists scored the highest of all 4 groups on RWA and significantly higher than two of them; horizontal individualists and vertical individualists. Regarding SDO, although the difference was not significant, vertical collectivists scored higher than

horizontal individualists and horizontal collectivists. Only vertical individualists scored higher than vertical collectivists on SDO.

Horizontal collectivists were predicted to score low on SDO, but high on RWA. In fact, the horizontal collectivist group scored the lowest of all 4 groups on SDO and scored the second highest on RWA. The horizontal collectivists scored significantly higher on RWA than either horizontal individualists or vertical individualists. Only the vertical collectivist group scored higher than horizontal collectivists on RWA.

That vertical individualist group scored significantly higher than the 3 other groups on SDO partially confirms hypothesis 3c that predicted vertical individualists would score high on SDO. Also confirmed is the prediction that the vertical individualist group would score low on RWA, as two other groups, vertical collectivists and horizontal collectivists, scored significantly higher.

Contrasts reveal that the horizontal individualist group scored the lowest of all 4 groups on RWA, while scoring second lowest on SDO. On RWA, 2 groups score significantly higher than the horizontal individualists. Regarding SDO, it is the vertical individualists who score significantly higher than the horizontal individualists.

Therefore, the scores at least partially confirm hypothesis 3d which posited that the horizontal individualists would score low on both RWA and SDO.

Table 10 represents the overlaying of these 4 groups' rankings on RWA and SDO on the matrix originally presented in table 6.

Table 10

Ranking of Individualism and Collectivism Groups on RWA and SDO

		RWA	
		High (1 st or 2 nd highest)	Low (lowest or 2 nd lowest)
S			
D	High	Vertical Collectivists;	Vertical Individualists;
O	(1 st or 2 nd highest)	2nd highest on SDO ;highest on RWA	highest on SDO ; 2 nd lowest on RWA
	Low		
	(lowest or 2 nd lowest)	Horizontal Collectivists; lowest on SDO ; 2 nd highest on RWA	Horizontal Individualists; 2 nd lowest on SDO ; lowest on RWA

Regarding predictions concerning individualists' and collectivists' scores on equality and freedom, contrasts revealed only partial support for the proposed hypotheses. In fact, only the vertical individualist group ($M=7.11$) scores significantly lower than the other 3 groups on equality (VC, $M=7.63$; HI, $M=7.95$; and HC, $M=8.32$). However, the groups' mean scores on equality and freedom are in the direction of the predictions. Table 11 displays the groups' mean scores and standard deviations.

Table 11

Individualism and Collectivism Groups' Means and Standard Deviations on Equality and Freedom

		Equality	Freedom
Horizontal Individualists	Mean	7.95	8.30
	Std. Deviation	1.33	1.39
Vertical Individualists	Mean	7.11	8.35
	Std. Deviation	1.73	1.03
Horizontal Collectivists	Mean	8.32	8.25
	Std. Deviation	.99	1.12
Vertical Collectivists	Mean	7.63	8.04
	Std. Deviation	1.53	1.43

Relation Between Gender, Age, Education and Types of Individualism and Collectivism

T-tests confirm that females scored higher than males on both collectivism scales (HC and VC) but lower on VI. Table 12 displays the group means on the individualism and collectivism variables.

Correlation analyses reveal that education level is negatively linked to the participants' scores on HC ($r_s = -.15, p < .01$) and VC ($r_s = -.25; p < .01$). Participant age was positively associated with VC ($r = .17, p < .01$), but negatively correlated with HI ($r = -.25, p < .01$) and VI ($r = -.17, p < .01$).

Table 12

Gender Group Means on the Individualism and Collectivism Variables.

	Gender	Mean	Std. Deviation	Significance
HI	Males	6.75	.99	ns
	Females	6.91	1.02	
HC	Males	6.98	.98	p < .011
	Females	7.26	1.04	
VI	Males	4.87	1.35	p < .000
	Females	4.27	1.22	
VC	Males	5.62	1.09	p < .037
	Females	5.88	1.22	

Males (N=169) Females (N=168)

Political Party Differences on RWA, SDO, Equality and Freedom

Analyses of variance reveal political party differences on RWA, SDO, equality and freedom (see Appendix P). Tukey post-hoc tests (see Appendix Q) show that Democrats (M=3.88) score significantly lower than the Liberals, Republicans, and Progressive Conservatives on RWA (mean score of 4.76, 5.32, and 5.33 respectively). Regarding SDO, again the Democrats (M=2.65) score lower than any of the other three groups: Liberals (M=3.38), Conservatives (M=3.51), and the Republicans (M=4.02). Finally, another series of post-hoc tests (see Appendix O) reveal that the Republicans

(M=6.55) score significantly lower than the Liberals (M=7.78), Conservatives (M=8.03), and Democrats (8.13) on equality. Post-hoc tests failed to confirm group differences on Freedom.

Group Differences Based on Nationality and Ethnicity

The ethnic composition of the Canadian group offers an opportunity to clarify statements regarding Canadian and American differences on collectivism and to explore in greater detail the differences between the Acadians and English New Brunswickers. While it is true that both groups of Canadians (Acadians, M=7.33; English New Brunswickers, M=7.42) score significantly higher than the participants from Maine (M=6.85) on horizontal collectivism, only the English New Brunswickers (M=6.00) score significantly higher than the Maine group (M=5.59) on vertical collectivism.

Furthermore, a Tukey post-hoc test shows that English New Brunswickers (M=5.37) score higher than their Acadian cohorts (M=4.77) on RWA and also higher than the American group from Maine (M=4.56). Finally, the New Brunswick Acadians (M=8.02) score significantly higher than the group from Maine (M=7.34) on equality. Appendix R presents the group mean differences and a summary of the ANOVA results.

Summary of Results

One can confirm Canadians score significantly higher than Americans on collectivism, while these two groups do not differ on individualism. Regarding political party differences on the vertical and horizontal dimensions of individualism and collectivism, hypotheses are partially confirmed. In most cases, right-of-center parties score significantly higher than left-of-center parties on vertical measures. On the other

hand, no party differences can be reported in relation to the horizontal dimensions of individualism and collectivism.

Results also reveal that while collectivists score high on right-wing authoritarianism, individualists score low on this measure. In addition, it is revealed that both vertical collectivists and individualists score high on social dominance orientation, while horizontal collectivists and individualists score low on this dimension.

While individualists and collectivists do not differ on freedom, significant differences on equality can be reported. Participants placed in the horizontal individualist and horizontal collectivist groups score high on equality, while those placed in the vertical groups score low in equality.

Results confirm that females score higher than males on collectivism measures, but lower on vertical individualism. Also, education level is negatively correlated with vertical and horizontal collectivism. Regarding participants' age, it correlates positively with vertical collectivism, while it is negatively correlated with individualism measures.

It can also be reported that Democrats score significantly lower than all other parties on both right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation. Republicans on the other hand, score significantly lower than all other parties on equality.

Group comparisons reveal that irrespective of French or English ethnicity, New Brunswick participants score higher than the American group on horizontal collectivism. But, on vertical collectivism, only English participants from New Brunswick score higher than the Maine participants. These same English participants score significantly higher than both their French and American counterparts on right-wing authoritarianism.

Finally, one can also report that French participants from New Brunswick score higher than Maine participants on equality.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This study had several objectives. The primary goals were to test the reliability and validity of the new Triandis (1995) questionnaire measuring horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism and to look at the relation among individualism and collectivism and the sociopolitical values of right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, equality, and freedom.

Secondary goals included the exploration of the relation between gender, education, age, and types of individualism and collectivism; cross-cultural differences on collectivism and individualism within a combined Canadian and American sample; and to verify political party differences on the aforementioned sociopolitical values. The following is a discussion of the relevant findings.

Reliability of Individualism and Collectivism Measures

The coefficient Alphas for the subscales of the Triandis (1995) individualism and collectivism questionnaire were consistent with results reported by Singelis et al. (1995) and Bourgeois (1997, 1998). Although achieving lower coefficients than those obtained for the measures of right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation, the results indicate that the Triandis (1995) questionnaire adequately measures the constructs of horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism. By increasing the number of items per subscale from eight to fourteen (as is the case for the SDO measure) or twenty (as is the case for the right-wing authoritarianism measure), one might succeed in increasing the reliability coefficient scores. However, what the subscales might gain in reliability, the questionnaire overall might lose in parsimony and practicality of use.

Validity of Individualism and Collectivism Measures

Authors such as Triandis (1995), Bourgeois (1997, 1998), and Triandis and Gelfand (1998) have shown that the constructs of vertical and horizontal individualism and collectivism are empirically supported, reveal convergent and divergent validity and are applicable to various cultural settings. This study used the “known groups method” approach to assessing validity (Gold, 1984). It was hoped that the individualism and collectivism subscales would discriminate between a Canadian sample and an American sample, as well as differentiate between Democrats, Republicans, Liberals and Progressive Conservatives.

Many authors (see Clark, 1993; Earle and Wirth, 1995; Keating and Mehrhoff, 1992) and in particular Lipset (1990), state that Canadian society is collectivist, while the United States is individualistic. On the other hand, several of Lipset’s (1990) detractors, including Baer, Graab, and Johnston (1993) and Graab and Curtis (1988), maintain that there are no discernable differences between these two North American countries.

This study gave ammunition to both sides of this debate. On one hand, it was revealed that Canadians did score higher than Americans on both vertical and horizontal collectivism measures. At least in this context, limited to samples from New Brunswick and Maine answering a questionnaire measuring attitudes, Canadian citizens were more collectivist than their American counterparts

On the other hand, the two national groups did not differ on either vertical individualism or horizontal individualism. Let us revisit the arguments put forth in a previous section. We stated that Canada and the United States may be different, but in

comparison to other countries they appear to be quite similar. Differences, if present, are usually statistically small and they may disappear over time.

This study did not explore the differences in institutions, laws, or social policies in Canada and the United States. Instead, it measured attitudinal differences between geographically and socio-demographically similar samples from both countries. We can state that Americans and Canadians are similar with respect to individualism, but are different in terms of collectivism. One cannot predict if this pattern will be present in the future, but for now, this difference is statistically significant. Although Canada and the United States “are probably as alike as any other peoples on earth” (Lipset, p.2), this study reveals that with respect to collectivism, they are different.

Regarding the political parties, studies, opinion polls, and anecdotal evidence suggest that Democrats and Republicans (see Gallup, 2002; Jamieson, 2000; Uslander, 2000) and Liberals and Progressive Conservatives (see Blais, Gidengil, Nadeau, and Nevritte, 2002; Campbell and Christian, 1996) hold divergent points of view on various issues and share different values. For instance, Altemeyer (1996, 1998) revealed how these parties were different in terms of right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation. We hoped to demonstrate that these groups would also score differently on measures of horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism.

Let us recall the statement that Canadians and Americans are not different in regards to individualism. Even when splitting the two national samples into their respective political parties, there were no differences between the groups on horizontal individualism. On the other hand, these same political groups’ scores on vertical individualism are statistically different. If all Republicans and Democrats are American

and all Liberals and Progressive Conservatives are Canadians, does this result not contradict the one finding of no national differences on individualism?

In this particular case, the Republicans and Democrats scored the highest and the lowest respectively on vertical individualism. While the difference between the Republicans and Democrats on vertical individualism is statistically significant, the difference between the Canadian groups on this measure is not. In other words, the Republicans score the highest on vertical individualism while the Democrats score the lowest and the Canadian parties remain indistinguishable in the middle. Therefore, when combining the Republicans and Democrats into one 'American' group, their 'extreme' scores average into a score comparable to the Canadians' and we find no significant difference between the two national samples.

Regarding one type of collectivism, horizontal collectivism, we see that the Canadian political parties scored significantly higher than both the Republicans and Democrats. This result is not surprising as we already reported that the Canadian party samples, when combined into one national sample, scored higher on horizontal collectivism than the combined American political party samples.

In the case of vertical collectivism, the Canadian parties did score higher than the American parties. However, only the difference between the highest scoring group, the Progressive Conservatives, and the lowest scoring group, the Democrats was statistically significant. We previously emphasized that Canadians were more vertically collectivistic than Americans. With the Republicans scoring the same as Liberals, and both these groups' scoring just below the Conservatives, maybe it isn't as important to highlight that

Canadians score high on this measure, but rather than one group of Americans, in this case, Democrats, score low.

Relation Between Individualism and Collectivism Measures
and Right-Wing Authoritarianism

As predicted, the collectivist groups, both vertical and horizontal, did score high on right-wing authoritarianism. In fact, these groups scored significantly higher than horizontal and vertical individualists on this measure. It is reasonable to accept that vertical collectivists, a group characterized by their traditionalism and authoritarianism (Triandis, 1995) would score high on a dimension representing adherence to social conventions and submission to authorities. One can also note past research (Triandis & Gelfand, 1998) confirming the positive correlation between vertical collectivism and right-wing authoritarianism. Regarding horizontal collectivists' high score on RWA, although it was predicted in this study, the results go against past findings by Triandis and Gelfand (1998). Let us recall that their study revealed no significant correlation between RWA and horizontal collectivism. Perhaps in this case, it is the participants' collectivist attributes, such as their affiliation needs and their willingness to place their group's goals above their own that outweigh their 'horizontal dispositions' while responding to the RWA items.

As previously mentioned the individualist groups scored the lowest on RWA. The results confirm findings by Gelfand et al. 1996, in which participants judged the construct of individualism as opposite to authoritarianism. It is also not surprising the horizontal individualists, a group characterized by their self-reliance, would produce low scores on a measure of submission to authorities and adherence to social conventions.

Relation Between Individualism and Collectivism Measures
and Social Dominance Orientation

As predicted, participants identified as high on the vertical dimension scored high on SDO while those in the horizontal group scored low. Vertical individualists, elsewhere labeled as competitive and hedonistic (Triandis & Gelfand, 1998) scored significantly higher than all other groups. Individuals scoring high on vertical measures want to compete with others and defeat them, are accepting of inequality, believe that rank has privilege, and feel different than others. It holds that they would score the highest on a measure reflective of inequality and hierarchy.

On the other hand, participants placed in the horizontal groups scored low on SDO. In other words, individuals who favor social cohesion and see themselves as being the same as others, particularly in terms of status, also presented scores on social dominance that suggests they favor equality and support hierarchy-attenuating policies and ideologies. These findings were expected and confirm past research which suggested a positive correlation between SDO and vertical individualism and a negative correlation between SDO and horizontal collectivism (Strunk & Chang, 1999).

Relation Between Individualism and Collectivism Measures and Freedom and Equality

Recall that we had hoped to replicate a correspondence between horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism and political values. Triandis (1995) proposed that the four types of individualism and collectivism should each correspond to a different political system; systems that each value freedom and equality differently. We argued that these correspondences could also be identified at the individual level.

The correspondences proposed at the cultural level were not overwhelming at the individual level. Perhaps the relative homogeneity of a typically Western all North American sample impacted at least the valence, if not the direction of the participants' responses.

Thus, although not statistically significant, except for vertical individualists scoring lower than all other groups on equality, the group scores on freedom and equality were in the direction suggested by Triandis (1995). Like competitive capitalism and market economies, where freedom is valued and equality is not, vertical individualists score the lowest on equality but the highest of all four groups on freedom. Horizontal individualists scored relatively high on both freedom and equality; much like social democracies that favor both these political values.

Horizontal collectivists while scoring the highest on equality, had the second lowest score on freedom. This pattern of response, high on equality, but low on freedom, parallels descriptions of political systems like the Israeli Kibbutz. Finally, results revealed that vertical collectivists scored relatively low on both measures. This pattern matches descriptions of communalism where both freedom and equality are not particularly valued.

Relation Between Individualism and Collectivism and Selected Socio-Demographic Variables

Past research by Triandis (1995) and Daab (1991) suggested that women should score high on collectivism while men would score high on individualism. The results of this study show that indeed, women scored higher than men on both vertical and horizontal collectivism.

Regarding differences on individualism, it is interesting that the sexes did not differ on the horizontal individualism. On the other hand, men did score significantly higher than women on vertical individualism. In general, horizontal individualism is linked to self-reliance. Thus, we can argue that men and women are equally self-reliant. On the other hand, the vertical dimension represents inequality, competing with others and defeating others. Furthermore, vertical individualism is characterized by its focus on competition and hedonism. Thus, it may be an oversight to state that men are more individualistic than women without specifically mentioning the vertical attributes of individualism.

The current study confirms results reported by Triandis (1998), Norricks et al. (1987), and Triandis et al. (1998) indicating that older people are more collectivist. Here however, results reveal only a positive correlation between vertical collectivism and age, but not horizontal collectivism and age. Attributes of horizontal collectivism are interdependence, hedonism, and sociability. On the other hand, vertical collectivism is linked to increased authoritarianism, traditionalism and sociability. In general, it is correct to state the older individuals are more collectivistic than younger people. One might posit that this increase in collectivism is a result of older individuals' traditionalism and tendency to be more authoritarian. Correlational analyses also confirm that one's age has no bearing on one's level of horizontal or vertical individualism. In a sense, we are saying that participants' similar scores on horizontal individualism reveal a shared focus on self-reliance and similar scores of vertical individualism reflects a comparable need for competition and a tendency to be self-focused.

It was also revealed that collectivism measures correlated negatively with education. This implies that educated people are less concerned with affiliation needs and do not always place group goals above their own. Educated people do not feel subordinate to others, nor can they be classified as authoritarian or traditional.

Cross-Cultural Differences on Measures of Individualism and Collectivism

We originally stated that Canadians were significantly more collectivistic than Americans. However, a closer examination of the two linguistic groups within the larger New Brunswick sample revealed important nuances. Regarding horizontal collectivism, it is true that both French and English Canadians scored higher than the participants from Maine. On the other hand, only the English participants from New Brunswick scored significantly higher than the Americans on vertical collectivism. Instead of generalizing to all New Brunswickers, we should specify that it is actually English New Brunswickers who are more authoritarian and traditional than Americans. It is not surprising to highlight that this same group also scored significantly higher than all others on right-wing authoritarianism as RWA and vertical collectivism have been shown to be positively correlated (Triandis, 1995; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998).

It is also interesting to note that of all groups, it is the Acadians (French-Canadians) sampled for this study who scored the highest on equality. Historically, the Acadian community has strived to protect and to promote its language and culture; to maintain its cultural specificity while also being full members of New Brunswick (Canadian) society (Bastarache, 1998; Franco.Ca, 2002, S.A.A.N.B, 2002). One can surmise that being a part of a community continuously struggling to reach economic,

educational, social, and political justice and equity must indelibly etch the value of equality in the mind and psyche of its members; at least those who are active in politics.

Political Party Differences on Political Values

As predicted in this study and demonstrated in past studies by Altemeyer (1996, 1998), Republicans and Progressive Conservatives did score higher on RWA and on SDO than Democrats and Liberals. Indeed, the Democrats scored significantly lower than all other groups on RWA and SDO.

On the other hand, the Republicans score on equality was significantly lower than all other groups. The aforementioned result confirms findings presented several decades ago by Rokeach (1973) that supporters of Republican presidential candidates valued equality less than supporters of Democratic candidates.

Rokeach (1973) also reported less variation of these group's ranking of freedom. In this study, no statistically significant political party group differences were found. We replicated Rokeach's (1973) finding across four political parties and two nations – our North American participants did not differentiate themselves regarding the importance they gave to freedom as they all ranked it rather highly.

Future Research

Although the current study demonstrated the reliability of Triandis' (1995) questionnaire measuring horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism, it is clear that the instrument can be improved. We had previously mentioned that the theoretical constructs of individualism and collectivism were still in their infancy- the same can be said for the Triandis (1995) questionnaire. It seems reasonable to try to increase the reliabilities of each sub-scale of the questionnaire by creating newer items, and either

replacing or adding to those currently being used. A reliable instrument is imperative to the development of individualism and collectivism as testable dimensions of cultural variation.

While exploring the possibilities of new items, future research would also examine the questionnaire's ability to discriminate between larger numbers of groups. While the current study's participants were limited to the dominant parties within a very limited geography, today's North American reality is one of several political parties in each country and an increasing recognition of both nations' multiculturalism. Also, one could move beyond partisan politics and sample participants from various politicized groups, such as environmentalists and social activists.

On one hand, this study reinforces the belief that Canadians are different than Americans. Indeed, as suggested by Lipset (1991), Canadians are indeed more collectivistic than Americans. However, these two national groups are no different in terms of their individualism. Perhaps the question shouldn't be "are they different or are they the same?" but rather, "how are they different and how are they the same?". This study has at least identified four constructs – horizontalism, verticality, individualism, and collectivism – that enables us to better understand the complexities of this issue.

Horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism also proved useful in discriminating between political parties. While all political groups were comparable in regards to their valuation of horizontal or egalitarian statements, in most cases, right-wing parties proved more favorable than left-of-center parties toward items measuring vertical aspects of individualism and collectivism. Clearer portraits of party differences were revealed when examining scores on right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance

orientation, freedom and equality. While Canadian political parties were rather similar, there was no mistaking Democrats for Republicans. While Democrats stood out because of their low scores on right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation, the Republicans were unique in their low valuation of equality.

Finally, future research should pursue the relation between horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism and selected socio-political values. Although not all statistically significant, there appeared to be definite pattern as to how individualists and collectivists scored on right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation and equality. Other studies could provide statistical evidence substantiating these trends or provide evidence that goes against these findings.

Conclusion

In light of the tragic events of September 11, 2002, the numerous armed conflicts occurring internationally⁵, and the ongoing tensions between states, it is increasingly obvious that culture matters. Our world is getting smaller. We do not live in isolation. On the world stage and in our own neighborhoods, we interact with many who do not exhibit the same cultural syndromes.

At the national level, we see differences. As members of different political parties, we do not share the same values. At different levels, on various issues, we agree to disagree. Culturally speaking, we are different. Eerily, Triandis (1995) referred to Huntington (1993) who argued:

that the conflicts of the future will be along cultural lines, that there will be a confrontation between collectivists, who value group rights more

⁵ WarREPORTS.com reports recent conflicts in the following countries or regions: Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Burundi, Chechnya, Colombia, Congo, India, Indonesia, Irak, Israel, Ivory Coast, Kosovo, Lebanon, Pakistan, Philippines, Russia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Sudan, and Yugoslavia.

than individual rights and argue that “overemphasis” on human rights interferes with central planning; and individualists, who insist on human rights all over the world.” (Triandis, p. 169)

In our pluralistic society, it becomes imperative to consider cultural variations. It is also clear that culture is inextricably intertwined with our politics. Our leaders and the policies they promote are influenced by their cultural lens. Who and what we support is influenced by our cultural make-up. To ameliorate society and the interactions among all citizens, we need to understand one another and our cultures. Horizontal and vertical collectivism and individualism are constructs that will help us achieve this goal.

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Appendices

Appendix A

I am Test

The Self-Concept

How would you describe yourself? Below are ten lines, each beginning with "I am".

Please complete each of the lines with a short phrase. Do not write your name, as we do not want to be able to identify you.

I am _____

I am _____

I am _____

I am _____

I am _____

I am _____

I am _____

I am _____

I am _____

I am _____

Appendix B

Horizontal and Vertical Individualism and Collectivism (HVIC) Scale (Triandis 1995)

HVIC Scale

This questionnaire is anonymous, and there are no right or wrong answers. We want to know how much you agree or disagree with some statements. You will probably find that you agree with some of the statements, and disagree with others, to varying degrees.

Please indicate your reaction to each statement by placing the appropriate number in the blank space next to it. Use the following scale in making your decision.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Very Strongly Disagree				Neither Disagree Nor Agree				Very Strongly Agree

1. I prefer to be direct and forthright when I talk to people.
2. My happiness depends very much on the happiness of those around me.
3. I would do what would please my family, even if I detested that activity.
4. Winning is everything.
5. One should live one's life independently of others.
6. What happens to me is my own doing.
7. I usually sacrifice my self-interest for the benefit of my group.
8. It annoys me when other people perform better than I do.
9. It is important for me to maintain harmony within my group.
10. It is important to me that I do my job better than others.
11. I like sharing little things with my neighbors.
12. I enjoy working in situations involving competition with others.

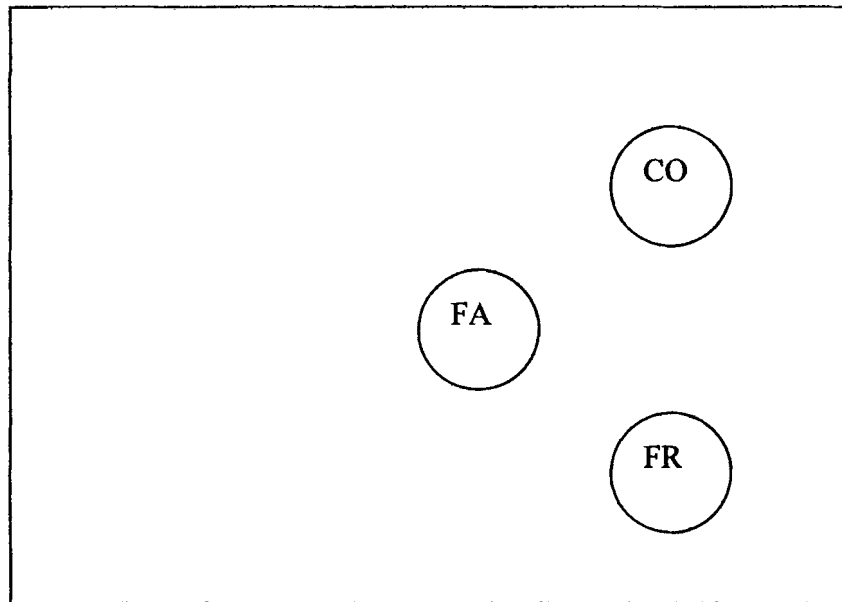
13. We should keep our aging parents with us at home.
14. The well-being of my co-workers is important to me.
15. I enjoy being unique and different from others in many ways.
16. If a relative were in financial difficulty, I would help within my means.
17. Children should feel honored if their parents received a distinguished award.
18. I often do "my own thing".
19. Competition is the law of nature.
20. If a co-worker gets a prize I would feel proud.
21. I am a unique individual.
22. To me, pleasure is spending time with others.
23. When another person does better than I do, I get tense and aroused.
24. I would sacrifice an activity that I enjoy very much if my family did not approve of it.
25. I like my privacy.
26. Without competition it is not possible to have a good society.
27. Children should be taught to place duty before pleasure.
28. I feel good when I cooperate with others.
29. I hate to disagree with others in my group.
30. Some people emphasize winning; I am not one of them.
31. Before taking a major trip, I consult with most members of my family and friends.
32. When I succeed, it is usually because of my abilities.

Appendix C

Examples and Scoring of Ziller (1973, 1991) Non-Verbal Measurements

Social Interest

The small circles shown below stand for your co-workers, family and friends. Draw a circle to stand for yourself and place it anywhere within the rectangle below.

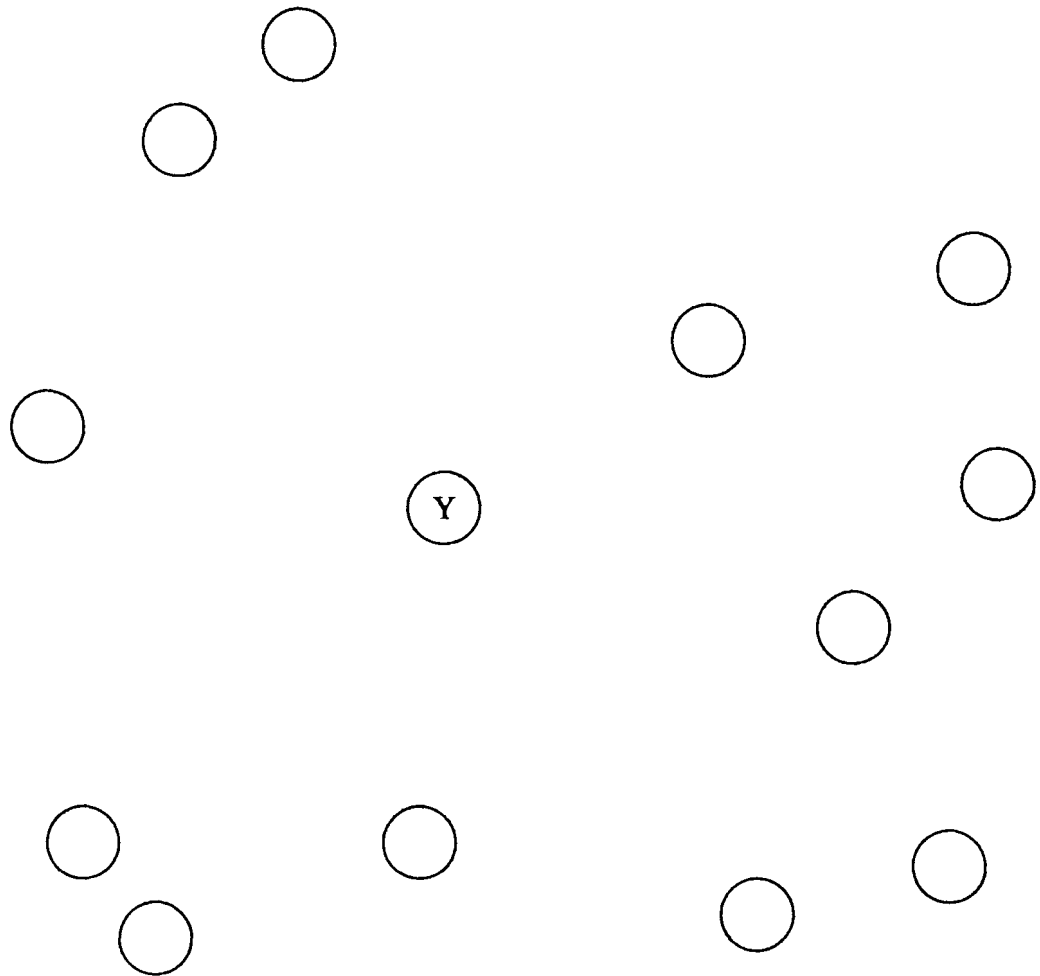


Scoring

The scoring is a "4" if the center of the self circle is within the triangle of which the centers of the other circles are vertices, and progresses downward to a "1" if the center of the self circle is located to the left side of the triangle. Three illustrations using different characters were presented in the questionnaire. Thus, the minimum score would be 3 and the maximum 12.

Openness

The circle marked "Y" stands for Yourself. The other circles stand for other people. Draw as many or as few lines as you wish from the circle for Yourself to the circles which stand for other people.



Scoring

The total number of circles linked to the Yourself circle by a line represents the person's score. The minimum score would be zero while the maximum score would be 12.

Nonhierarchy

The two arrangements of circles below represent people. Choose either arrangement and mark each circle in that arrangement with the letter standing for one of the people in the list below. Do this in any way you like, but use each person only once and do not omit anyone. Again, only use one of the arrangements.

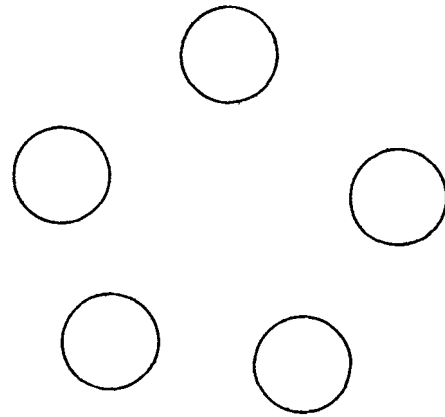
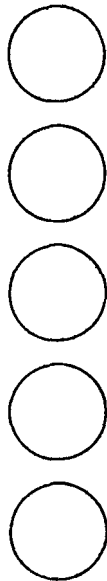
A = a good athlete

Y = yourself

N = nurse

S = a sad person

C = a person who is 10 years of age



Participants scored 1 if they selected the vertical arrangement; 2 if they selected they circular arrangement.

Appendix D

Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) Scale

SDO

Which of the following statements do you have a positive or negative feeling towards?

Using the scale provided, rate the degree of your positive or negative feeling toward each of the statements.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Very
Strongly
Negative

Neither
Negative
Nor Positive

Very
Strongly
Positive

1. Some people are just inferior to others.
2. In an ideal world, all nations would be equal.
3. Increased social equality.
4. If people were treated more equally we would have fewer problems in this country.
5. It is not a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others.
6. All humans should be treated equally.
7. It is important that we treat other countries as equals.
8. This country would be better off if we cared less about how equal all people were.
9. Some people are just more deserving than others.
10. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on others.
11. Equality.
12. Some groups of people are simply not the equals of others.
13. Some people are just more worthy than others.
14. Increased economic equality.

Appendix E

Rokeach Value Survey

Rokeach

Below are 18 values listed in alphabetical order. Please rate the importance of each value as a GUIDING PRINCIPLE IN YOUR LIFE. Please indicate your rating to each value by placing the appropriate number on the blank space next to the value. Use the following scale in making your decision.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

No importance

Of supreme

for me at all

importance for me

1. A comfortable life (a prosperous life)
2. An exciting life (a stimulating, active life)
3. A sense of accomplishment (lasting contribution)
4. A world at peace (free of war and conflict)
5. A world of beauty (beauty of nature and the arts)
6. Equality (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all)
7. Family security (taking care of loved ones)
8. Freedom (independence, free choice)
9. Happiness (contentedness)
10. Inner harmony (freedom from inner conflict)
11. Mature love (sexual and spiritual intimacy)
12. National security (protection from attack)

13. Pleasure (an enjoyable, leisurely life)
14. Salvation (saved, eternal life)
15. Self-respect (self-esteem)
16. Social recognition (respect, admiration)
17. True friendship (close companionship)
18. Wisdom (a mature understanding of life)

Appendix F

Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale

RWA

This survey concerns a variety of social issues. You will probably find that you agree with some of the statements, and disagree with others, to varying degrees. Indicate your reaction to each statement by placing the appropriate number in the blank space next to it. Use the following scale in making your decision.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Very Strongly	Neither Disagree	Very strongly
Disagree	nor Agree	Agree

1. People should pay less attention to the Bible and the other old traditional forms of religious guidance, and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral.
2. What our country needs, instead of more "civil rights", is a good stiff dose of law and order.
3. Our country will be destroyed someday if we do not smash the perversions eating away at our moral fiber and traditional beliefs.
4. Our society needs to free thinkers who will have the courage to defy traditional ways, even if this upsets many people.
5. Government, judges and the police should never be allowed to censor books.
6. Some of the worst people in our country nowadays are those who do not respect our flag, our leaders, and the normal way things are supposed to be done.

7. In these times laws have to be enforced without mercy, especially when dealing with the agitators and revolutionists who are stirring things up.
8. Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly.
9. The situation in our country is getting so serious, the strongest methods would be justified if they eliminated the troublemakers and got us back to our true path.
10. Rules about being “well-behaved” and “respectable” should be changed in favor of greater freedom and new ways of living.
11. Everyone should have their own lifestyle, religious beliefs, and sexual preferences, even if that makes them different from everyone else.
12. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.
13. Authorities such as parents and our national leaders generally turn out to be right about things, and the radicals and protesters are almost always wrong.
14. A lot of our rules regarding modesty and sexual behavior are just customs which are not necessarily any better or holier than those which other people follow.
15. There is absolutely nothing wrong with nudist camps.
16. The real keys to the “good life” are obedience, discipline, and sticking to the straight and narrow.
17. We should treat protesters and radicals with open arms and open minds, since new ideas are the lifeblood of progressive change.
18. What our country really needs is a strong determined leader who will crush evil, and take us back to our true path.

19. It is very important that young people be able to protest against anything they don't like, for there are lots of things wrong with the "traditional" ways.
20. The facts on crime, sexual immorality, and the recent public disorders all show we have to crack down harder on deviant groups and troublemakers if we are going to save our moral standards and preserve law and order.

Appendix G

Introduction Letter

Dear [Party Name]:

I am writing to ask your help in a research project designed to learn more about political processes. Your name was taken from a list provided to me by your party headquarters.

My name is David Bourgeois. I am currently a fifth year Ph.D. psychology student at the University of Maine. My research interests are in the field of politics and psychology.

Born in Massachusetts and raised in Moncton, New Brunswick, it seemed natural that I take primary interest in the political life of New England and the Atlantic Provinces.

In my study, I have been struck by the similarities in the political culture of Maine and New Brunswick and also by the considerable differences. The following questionnaire, part of my dissertation research, deals with political opinions and issues of everyday life. Members of the Republican and Democratic parties in Maine, as well as members of the Liberal and Conservative parties in New Brunswick have been asked to participate. As you are an active member of your party, your opinions matter to me and are important for this research.

I hope that you will find time to take part in my study. Your participation is valuable, as it will help increase our knowledge about various political and social issues. It should take you no longer than 20 minutes to fill out this survey. Please return the answered questionnaire in the enclosed self-addressed stamped envelope.

When you answer and send back this questionnaire, I will then assume that you have agreed for me to use your answers as part of the research data that I am collecting. Findings based on these will be published without any identifying information. Your answers are entirely confidential and will be associated only with the number at the top of the questionnaire. When we begin analysis of the questionnaire, the list of names corresponding to the numbers will be destroyed, to assure the anonymity of respondents.

Your participation in this study is greatly appreciated.

David Y. Bourgeois

Department of Psychology – University of Maine

For further information, please feel free to call me (collect) at (207) 581-3764.

(Canadian Version)

Dear [Party Name]:

I am writing to ask your help in a research project designed to learn more about political processes. Your name was taken from a list provided to me by your party headquarters.

My name is David Bourgeois. I am currently a fifth year Ph.D. psychology student at the University of Maine. My research interests are in the field of politics and psychology.

Born in Massachusetts and raised in Moncton, New Brunswick, it seemed natural that I take primary interest in the political life of New England and the Atlantic Provinces.

In my study, I have been struck by the similarities in the political culture of Maine and New Brunswick and also by the considerable differences. The following questionnaire, part of my dissertation research, deals with political opinions and issues of everyday life. Members of the Republican and Democratic parties in Maine, as well as members of the Liberal and Conservative parties in New Brunswick have been asked to participate. As you are an active member of your party, your opinions matter to me and are important for this research.

I hope that you will find time to take part in my study. Your participation is valuable, as it will help increase our knowledge about various political and social issues. It should take you no longer than 20 minutes to fill out this survey. Please return the answered questionnaire in the enclosed self-addressed stamped envelope. For the convenience of some participants, I have enclosed an English version and a French version of the questionnaire. Please answer only one.

When you answer and send back this questionnaire, I will then assume that you have agreed for me to use your answers as part of the research data that I am collecting. Findings based on these will be published without any identifying information. Your answers are entirely confidential and will be associated only with the number at the top of the questionnaire. When we begin analysis of the questionnaire, the list of names corresponding to the numbers will be destroyed, to assure the anonymity of respondents.

Your participation in this study is greatly appreciated.

David Y. Bourgeois

Department of Psychology – University of Maine

For further information, please feel free to call me (collect) at (207) 581-3764.

Appendix H

Socio-Demographic Data

So that we can see how your opinions compare with those of other people, we'd like a few facts from you.

Where do you live? _____

(City / Town / Village)

What is your sex? _____ Male _____ Female

In what year were you born? _____

Do you have any sisters or brothers?

_____ No _____ Yes If yes, how many (total): _____

If so, are you the:

_____ First born

_____ Youngest

_____ 2nd, 3rd, 4th oldest, etc. (Please give number)

Are you a member of the: _____ Liberal Party

_____ New Democratic Party

_____ Progressive Conservative Party

_____ Other

What is the highest level of formal education you obtained?

_____ Elementary school or less

_____ Some high school

_____ High school diploma

- Some college
- College graduate
- Post graduate degree

What is your predominant ethnic background?

- Black-Non Hispanic
- Aboriginal (North American Indian/Métis / Inuit)
- Asian or Pacific Islander
- Acadian / French-Canadian
- Hispanic
- White - Non Hispanic

Are you presently:

- Employed
- Retired
- Homemaker
- Student
- Temporarily unemployed

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

David Bourgeois

(Maine Version)

So that we can see how your opinions compare with those of other people, we'd like a few facts from you.

Where do you live? _____

(City / Town / Village)

What is your sex? _____ Male _____ Female

In what year were you born? _____

Do you have any sisters or brothers?

_____ No _____ Yes If yes, how many (total): _____

If so, are you the:

_____ First born

_____ Youngest

_____ 2nd, 3rd, 4th oldest, etc. (Please give number)

Are you a member of the: _____ Democratic Party

_____ Republican Party

_____ Other

What is the highest level of formal education you obtained?

_____ Elementary school or less

_____ Some high school

_____ High school diploma

- Some college
- College graduate
- Post graduate degree

What is your predominant ethnic background?

- Black-Non Hispanic
- American Indian or Alaskan
- Asian or Pacific Islander
- Franco-American / Acadian / French-Canadian
- Hispanic
- White - Non Hispanic

Are you presently:

- Employed
- Retired
- Homemaker
- Student
- Temporarily unemployed

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

David Bourgeois

Appendix I: Number and Percentage of Responses and Nonresponses

Table I.1. Responses and Nonresponses by Political Party

Party	Original Sample	Response	Nonresponse		
			Inaccessibility (Bad address)	Inability (Deceased)	Carelessness or Noncompliance (No reply, no party selected, etc.)
Liberals	111	78 (70.3%)	2 (1.8%)	-	30 (27%)
Progressive Conservatives	136	74 (54.4%)	8 (5.9%)	1 (0.7%)	53 (39%)
Democrats	161	72 (44.7%)	5 (5%)	-	81 (50.3%)
Republicans	240	78 (32.5%)	12 (5%)	1 (0.4%)	149 (62.1%)

Appendix J: Socio-Demographic Profile of Political Party Groups

Table J.1. Socio-Demographic Data by Political Party Groups

			<u>Political Party</u>			
			Liberals	Progressive Conser- vatives	Democrats	Republicans
Socio- demo- graphic variables	Gender	Males	41	35	38	42
		Females	37	39	34	36
	Age (mean)		47.9	53.9	52.7	53.7
	Edu- cation Level	Elementary school or less	2	7	-	-
		Some high school	3	3	-	-
		High school diploma	16	23	13	14
		Some college	10	11	15	30
		College graduate	35	21	22	24
		Post graduate degree	12	9	21	10
	Number of siblings (mean)		3.83	3.90	3.00	3.57

Appendix K: ANOVA Summary Table and Contrast Tests for Political Party Group

Differences on HI, VI, HC, and VC

Table K.1. Significant Political Party Differences on HI, VI, HC, and VC

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
HI	Between (Combined) Groups	4.744	3	1.581	1.582	.194
	Linear Term Unweighted	3.157	1	3.157	3.158	.077
	Weighted	3.089	1	3.089	3.090	.080
	Deviation	1.656	2	.828	.828	.438
	Within Groups Total	297.854	298	1.000		
HC	Between (Combined) Groups	17.274	3	5.758	5.747	.001
	Linear Term Unweighted	13.185	1	13.185	13.160	.000
	Weighted	13.496	1	13.496	13.470	.000
	Deviation	3.778	2	1.889	1.885	.154
	Within Groups Total	298.579	298	1.002		
VI	Between (Combined) Groups	18.603	3	6.201	3.825	.010
	Linear Term Unweighted	3.394	1	3.394	2.093	.149
	Weighted	3.085	1	3.085	1.903	.169
	Deviation	15.518	2	7.759	4.785	.009
	Within Groups Total	483.174	298	1.621		
VC	Between (Combined) Groups	10.214	3	3.405	2.566	.045
	Linear Term Unweighted	9.600	1	9.600	7.236	.008
	Weighted	9.492	1	9.492	7.154	.008
	Deviation	.722	2	.361	.272	.762
	Within Groups Total	395.396	298	1.327		
	Total	405.610	301			

Contrast Tests

		Contrast	Value of Contrast	Std. Error t	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
HI	Assume equal variances	1	-.2759	.16339	-1.689	298	.092
		2	-.3038	.16339	-1.860	298	.064
		3	-.2997	.16550	-1.811	298	.071
		4	-.0279	.16009	-.174	298	.862
		5	-.0238	.16224	-.147	298	.883
		6	.0041	.16224	.025	298	.980
HC	Assume equal variances	1	.0513	.16359	.313	298	.754
		2	-.4279	.16359	-2.616	298	.009
		3	-.4718	.16570	-2.848	298	.005
		4	-.4792	.16028	-2.989	298	.003
		5	-.5231	.16244	-3.221	298	.001
		6	-.0440	.16244	-.271	298	.787
VI	Assume equal variances	1	-.6724	.20810	-3.231	298	.001
		2	-.2509	.20810	-1.206	298	.229
		3	-.4609	.21078	-2.187	298	.030
		4	.4215	.20390	2.067	298	.040
		5	.2115	.20663	1.024	298	.307
		6	-.2100	.20663	-1.016	298	.310
VC	Assume equal variances	1	-.2901	.18825	-1.541	298	.124
		2	-.3494	.18825	-1.856	298	.064
		3	-.5191	.19068	-2.723	298	.007
		4	-.0593	.18445	-.321	298	.748
		5	-.2291	.18692	-1.226	298	.221
		6	-.1698	.18692	-.908	298	.364

Appendix L: Chi-Square Test and Cross Tabulations Measuring Independence of the
Gender and Individualism-Collectivism Types

Table L.1. Chi-Square Test and Cross Tabulations Results for Gender and Individualism-

Collectivism Types

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson	14.661	3	.002
Chi-Square Likelihood Ratio	14.851	3	.002
Linear-by- Linear Association	3.803	1	.051
N of Valid Cases	306		

a 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 29.00.

GENDER * ICVH Crosstabulation

		ICVH				Total	
		his	vis	hcs	ves		
GENDER	1.00	Expected Count	41.0	47.5	29.0	153.0	
		% within GENDER	26.1%	40.5%	14.4%	19.0%	100.0%
		Adjusted Residual	-.3	3.6	-2.0	-1.8	
GENDER	2.00	Expected Count	41.0	47.5	29.0	153.0	
		% within GENDER	27.5%	21.6%	23.5%	27.5%	100.0%
		Adjusted Residual	.3	-3.6	2.0	1.8	
Total		Expected Count	82.0	95.0	58.0	71.0	306.0
		% within GENDER	26.8%	31.0%	19.0%	23.2%	100.0%

Appendix M: Chi-Square Test and Cross Tabulations Measuring Independence of
Education Level and Individualism-Collectivism Types

Table M.1. Chi-Square Test and Cross Results for Education Level and Individualism-Collectivism Types

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	30.287	18	.035
Likelihood Ratio	31.737	18	.024
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.269	1	.039
N of Valid Cases	307		

a 12 cells (42.9%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .19.

EDU * ICVH Crosstabulation

EDU			ICVH				Total
			his	vis	hcs	vs	
1.00	Expected Count		2.2	2.5	1.5	1.9	8.0
	% within EDU		37.5%	.0%	62.5%	.0%	100.0%
	Adjusted Residual		.7	-1.9	3.2	-1.6	
2.00	Expected Count		1.9	2.2	1.3	1.6	7.0
	% within EDU		28.6%	42.9%	14.3%	14.3%	100.0%
	Adjusted Residual		.1	.7	-.3	-.6	
3.00	Expected Count		17.3	19.8	12.1	14.8	64.0
	% within EDU		15.6%	28.1%	25.0%	31.3%	100.0%
	Adjusted Residual		-2.3	-.5	1.4	1.7	
4.00	Expected Count		20.5	23.5	14.4	17.6	76.0
	% within EDU		30.3%	31.6%	18.4%	19.7%	100.0%
	Adjusted Residual		.7	.1	-.1	-.8	
5.00	Expected Count		27.8	31.9	19.5	23.8	103.0
	% within EDU		24.3%	33.0%	15.5%	27.2%	100.0%
	Adjusted Residual		-.8	.6	-1.1	1.2	
6.00	Expected Count		13.0	14.9	9.1	11.1	48.0
	% within EDU		39.6%	33.3%	12.5%	14.6%	100.0%
	Adjusted Residual		2.1	.4	-1.2	-1.5	
9.00	Expected Count		.3	.3	.2	.2	1.0
	% within EDU		100.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	100.0%
	Adjusted Residual		1.6	-.7	-.5	-.5	
Total	Expected Count		83.0	95.0	58.0	71.0	307.0
	% within EDU		27.0%	30.9%	18.9%	23.1%	100.0%

Appendix N: ANOVA Summary Table for Individualism-Collectivism Group

Differences on Age

Table N.1. Significant Individualism-Collectivism Group Differences on Age

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Age	Between Groups	2990.286	3	996.762	4.207	.006
	Within Groups	68714.89	290	236.948		
	Total	71705.18	293			
Education Level	Between Groups	15.142	3	5.047	3.516	.016
	Within Groups	434.969	303	1.436		
	Total	450.111	306			

Appendix O: ANOVA Summary Table for HVIC Group Differences on Sociopolitical
Variables

Table O.1. Significant Individualism-Collectivism Group Differences on Sociopolitical

Variables

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Right-Wing Authoritarianism	Between Groups	38.788	3	12.929	6.23	.000
	Within Groups	660.318	318	2.076		
	Total	699.106	321			
Social Dominance Orientation	Between Groups	37.281	3	12.427	8.07	.000
	Within Groups	504.994	328	1.540		
	Total	542.275	331			
Equality	Between Groups	60.204	3	20.068	9.13	.000
	Within Groups	723.118	329	2.198		
	Total	783.321	332			
Freedom	Between Groups	3.002	3	1.001	.61	.612
	Within Groups	540.455	327	1.653		
	Total	543.456	330			

Appendix P: Analyses of Variance - Political Party Differences on RWA, SDO, Equality and Freedom

Table P.1. Significant Political Party Differences on RWA, SDO, Equality and Freedom

ANOVA Summary Table for Political Party Group Differences

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Right-Wing Authoritarianism					
Between Groups	98.635	3	32.878	16.967	.000
Within Groups	558.096	288	1.938		
Total	656.731	291			
Social Dominance Orientation					
Between Groups	70.070	3	23.357	16.134	.000
Within Groups	428.511	296	1.448		
Total	498.580	299			
Equality					
Between Groups	105.432	3	35.144	16.763	.000
Within Groups	624.770	298	2.097		
Total	730.202	301			
Freedom					
Between Groups	13.047	3	4.349	2.725	.044
Within Groups	472.350	296	1.596		
Total	485.397	299			

Appendix Q: Tukey Post-Hoc Tests Measuring Political Party Differences on RWA,
SDO, and Equality

Table Q.1. Post-Hoc Significant Political Party Differences on RWA, SDO, and Equality

Multiple Comparisons- Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable	(I) PARTIES	(J) PARTIES	Mean Difference (I- J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Right-Wing Authoritarianism	Democrats	Republicans	-1.4364*	.2313	.000
		Liberals	-.8730*	.2306	.001
		Conservatives	-1.4432*	.2345	.000
Social Dominance Orientation	Democrats	Republicans	-1.3681*	.1981	.000
		Liberals	-.7252*	.1981	.001
		Conservatives	-.8576*	.2006	.000
	Republicans	Democrats	1.3681*	.1981	.000
		Liberals	.6429*	.1927	.005
		Conservatives	.5105*	.1953	.044
Equality	Republicans	Democrats	-1.4712*	.2366	.000
		Liberals	-1.1282*	.2319	.000
		Conservatives	-1.3732*	.2350	.000

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Appendix R: Descriptives and ANOVA Summaries for Ethnic Group Differences on HI,
VI, HC, VC, RWA, SDO, Equality, and Freedom

Table R.1. Group Differences by Ethnic Group Differences on HI, VI, HC, VC,
RWA, SDO, Equality, and Freedom

		N	Mean	DF	F	Sig
Horizontal Individualism	Mainers	127	6.70	2	.88	.417
	NBers	65	6.83			
	Acadians	84	6.88			
Vertical Individualism	Mainers	127	4.58	2	.09	.913
	NBers	65	4.66			
	Acadians	84	4.62			
Horizontal Collectivism	Mainers	127	6.85	2	9.47	.000
	NBers	65	7.42			
	Acadians	84	7.33			
Vertical Collectivism	Mainers	127	5.59	2	3.09	.047
	NBers	65	6.00			
	Acadians	84	5.84			
Right-Wing Authoritarianism	Mainers	124	4.49	2	7.54	.001
	NBers	61	5.37			
	Acadians	83	4.77			
Social Dominance Orientation	Mainers	125	3.29	2	.87	.421
	NBers	65	3.55			
	Acadians	84	3.37			
Equality	Mainers	127	7.34	2	5.33	.005
	NBers	65	7.74			
	Acadians	84	8.02			
Freedom	Mainers	125	8.24	2	.34	.709
	NBers	65	8.14			
	Acadians	84	8.10			

BIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHOR

David Y. Bourgeois was born in Waltham, Massachusetts on June 14, 1970. He graduated from École Mathieu-Martin in Dieppe (New Brunswick) Canada in 1988. Following graduation he attended l'Université de Moncton (New Brunswick , Canada) where he specialized in Psychology. He graduated with a Baccalauréat spécialisé en psychologie (Bachelor of Psychology) in 1992. After graduating, he attended l'Université Laval where he obtained a Maitrise ès arts en psychologie (Master of Arts in Psychology) in 1994. In the fall of 1994 he moved to Maine and entered the doctoral program in Psychology where he has been studying social and political psychology. David is a candidate for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Psychology from The University of Maine in December, 2002.