



PERGAMON

International Journal of Intercultural Relations  
25 (2001) 141–163

---

---

International Journal of  
INTERCULTURAL  
RELATIONS

---

---

www.elsevier.com/locate/ijintrel

# Evolution of culture assimilators: toward theory-based assimilators<sup>☆</sup>

Dharm P. S. Bhawuk\*

*Department of Management and Industrial Relations, College of Business Administration,  
University of Hawaii at Manoa, 2404 Maile Way, Honolulu, HI 96822, USA*

---

## Abstract

A review of cross-cultural literature shows that culture assimilators have emerged as the most researched method of cross-cultural training, and that the theory of individualism and collectivism has begun to find many applications. Since researchers have generally disregarded the inclusion of culture theories in assimilators, and theories are valued for both their explanatory and predictive functions, development of a culture assimilator based on the theory of individualism and collectivism may add to the growth of the field. In this paper, a method for developing such an assimilator is proposed, and implications for future research and practice are discussed. © 2001 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved.

*Keywords:* Assimilator; Individualism; Collectivism

---

## 1. Introduction

In the last quarter century, since the publication of the paper, *The culture assimilator: An approach to cross-cultural training* (Fiedler, Mitchell, & Triandis, 1971), the field of cross-cultural training has evolved in many directions, and researchers and practitioners alike have come to accept that cross-cultural training is useful for preparing people who have to work in another culture (Bhawuk & Brislin, 2000; Landis & Bhagat, 1996; Deshpandey & Viswesvaran, 1992; Black

---

<sup>☆</sup>This paper is dedicated to Professor Harry C. Triandis for his exemplary contributions to the development and refinement of the theory of individualism and collectivism for almost twenty years. An earlier draft of this paper was presented at the Academy of Management Annual Meeting in August 1999 in Chicago. The author thanks the two reviewers and Dan Landis for their critical comments, which helped the author significantly improve the paper.

\*Corresponding author. Tel.: +1-808-956-8732; fax: +1-808-956-2774.

*E-mail addresses:* bhawuk@cba.hawaii.edu (D. P. S. Bhawuk).

& Mendenhall, 1990; Brislin & Yoshida, 1994; Tung, 1981; Chemers, 1969). Practitioners are found to use different methods to train people, and the range includes the use of video films like *Going International* (Copeland & Griggs, 1985), using consultants to brief or orient expatriates in 2–4 h sessions, and using fully developed intercultural training programs. However, a review of the cross-cultural training literature indicates that culture assimilators, a collection of real-life scenarios describing puzzling cross-cultural interactions and explanation for avoiding the emerging misunderstandings, are still the most researched and accepted method of cross-cultural training (Bhawuk & Brislin, 2000; Landis & Bhagat, 1996; Albert, 1983a), and in a number of studies the effectiveness of this method has been established (Bhawuk, 1998; Harrison, 1992; Landis, Brislin, & Hulgus, 1985; Gudykunst, Hammer, & Wiseman, 1977; Malpass & Salancik, 1977; Weldon Carlston, Rissman, Slobodin, & Triandis, 1975; Fiedler et al., 1971; O'Brien, Fiedler, & Hewett, 1970).

The general acceptance of culture assimilator as a training tool is reflected in the development of a number of culture-specific assimilators over the years (Triandis, 1995b; Tolbert, 1990; Vink, 1989; Ito & Triandis, 1989; Albert, 1983b; Landis & Miller, 1973; Worchel & Mitchell, 1972). A culture general assimilator (Brislin, Cushner, Cherrie, & Yong, 1986) has also been developed, which is used to sensitize people to cross-cultural differences regardless of the roles they will play (e.g., businessperson, foreign student, diplomat) and the country they will live in. However, no attempt has been made to use culture theory, i.e., overarching theories like individualism and collectivism that meaningfully explain and predict social behaviors across cultures, in assimilators, and this general disregard of theory is unfortunate. Since theories are useful in both explaining and predicting behaviors, and in the literature a number of culture theories have appeared in the 1980s (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1990, 1995a; Fiske, 1990, 1992; Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987, 1990; Trompenaars, 1993) it is argued here that the development of an assimilator using a culture theory, e.g., individualism and collectivism, may provide a new direction to research in cross-cultural training.

The value of the constructs of individualism and collectivism in cross-cultural training can be estimated by their effectiveness in predicting daily social behaviors across cultures (Wheeler, Reis, & Bond, 1989), explaining such phenomena as cultural distance, cultural influences on the self, and perception of behavior toward ingroups and outgroups (Triandis, McCusker, & Hui, 1990), predicting effects of social loafing (Earley, 1989) and competition (Wagner, 1995) in groups, using this theory for briefing (Triandis, Brislin, & Hui, 1988) and preparing (Brislin, 1994; Bhawuk, 1997) people from either type of culture when they visit the other type of culture, and the measurement of intercultural sensitivity (Bhawuk & Brislin, 1992). This researcher has also found the theory extremely useful in orienting development workers and volunteers from Western industrialized countries working in a developing country, in that the short-duration orientation could go beyond superficial dos and don'ts and provide a meaningful framework for the participants to conceptually understand the reasons for cross-cultural differences in their interactions with the host nationals. This paper traces the evolution of culture assimilators and presents a blueprint for the development and validation of an assimilator based on individualism and collectivism. It is hoped that the

development of a theory-based assimilator would provide the first step toward the inclusion of culture theories in cross-cultural training programs, and for that reason may be considered a significant milestone in the field of cross-cultural training.

## 2. Evolution of culture assimilators

There are two important characteristics of culture assimilators, one deals with its content, i.e., critical incidents, and the other with the learning process, i.e., isomorphic attribution. These elements have not changed over the years in the evolution of the assimilators.

Flanagan (1954) noted that completeness and clarity are the two important characteristics of critical incidents. To have the characteristics of “completeness” and “clarity” suggested by Flanagan, culture assimilators are designed to provide various emphases: (1) interpersonal attitudes that address a contrast between the home culture and the target culture; (2) the customs or norms of the other culture; (3) the contrasting values of the two cultures; and (4) the various social situations that may be encountered at work, home life, etc. (Fiedler et al., 1971). The importance of the incidents in the daily life of the sojourners is what makes them “critical” and hence important to be covered in cross-cultural training programs. It should be noted here that individualism and collectivism could be used to capture the four emphases, i.e., cultural differences in attitudes, norms, values, and social contexts (work or home).

When trainees use an assimilator, they learn to identify behaviors that are appropriate in their own culture but not appropriate in another culture, and learn to make attributions that are similar to those made by people in the host culture. In other words, they learn to make isomorphic attributions (Triandis, 1975). When people make isomorphic attributions they do not use their own cultural framework alone; they also use the framework of the other cultures to interpret the behavior in the same way as do members of the other culture. A theory-based assimilator is likely to facilitate the process of isomorphic attribution by providing more meaningful explanations.

### 2.1. Culture-specific assimilators

The early culture assimilators were developed with a pair of cultures in mind, usually to prepare Americans to live in another culture, e.g., Thailand, Iran, Honduras, etc. They helped the trainees learn inductively to avoid certain behaviors that are not acceptable in the host culture. In other words, the trainees learn a number of dos and don'ts, that are grounded in “behavioral settings” (Triandis, 1994, p. 26) or social contexts. When asked to explain, a trainee is likely to offer an aspect of the culture as an explanation for the differences in behaviors, e.g., he or she may say that “A man greets a female in Thailand without touching her” or “One does not criticize a colleague in Honduras”. Clearly, these are merely dos and don'ts, but the trainees are likely to also remember the social context provided by the critical incidents from which they derive these lessons. It can be argued that a strength of the culture-specific assimilators is that they provide context for learning new behaviors,

but a weakness is that they do not provide a cognitive framework for understanding cultural differences.

A content analysis of two recently developed culture-specific assimilators for Japan (Ito & Triandis, 1989) and Venezuela (Tolbert, 1990) supported the idea that culture-specific assimilators are weak in providing meaningful explanations for cultural differences (Bhawuk, 1995). The Japanese culture assimilator consists of 57 incidents. An examination of the themes of the incidents in this assimilator showed that the incidents could be classified into five categories: Behaviors in a hierarchy (9 incidents), face saving behaviors (4 incidents), harmony or emotional control of behaviors (8 incidents), group goal-related behaviors (2 incidents), and norm-related behaviors (34 incidents). Explanations offered were of the type “The Japanese do not criticize their superiors (e.g., teachers, boss)”, “In Japan people who are angry do not express their feelings”, “Students do not wear jewelry to school”, “Guests do not get to do dishes”, “Criticism should be embedded in many positive statements”, “Demeaning oneself is a proper behavior”, “Guests are not supposed to enter the kitchen”, “Newcomers give small gifts to their neighbors”, and so forth.

The Venezuelan assimilator (Tolbert, 1990) has 41 critical incidents and they describe differences in nine areas: Differences in perception of time, interpreting “yes” when it is “no”, differences in definition of employee motivation and productivity, assumptions that business practices are similar between the US and Venezuela, differences in standards of social interactions during work hours, different levels of acceptance of aggressive behavior, differences in practices related to confirming appointments, differences in opinions about national issues, and differences in the interpretations of follow-through on assigned tasks. Explanations include “In Venezuela people are not fussy about being on time”, “When an employee says “yes” he or she only means that he or she will *try* to complete the task”, “Salesmen are demotivated if not allowed to socialize in the office”, “Appointments are not sacrosanct”, and so forth. Therefore, though the incidents provide social context, they do not offer much in terms of explanation.

In his definition of critical incidents, Flanagan (1954) also suggested that they should be able to facilitate “...solving practical problems and developing broad psychological principles...” It is clear that the culture-specific assimilators focus on solving practical problems but do not try to provide broad psychological principles to the learners as a way of understanding differences in human behavior across cultures, a weakness that can be overcome by using culture theories. It should be noted that though most of the existing culture-specific assimilators have this weakness, some of the incidents do use theoretical concepts in the explanation section.

## 2.2. *Culture general assimilator*

Triandis (1984) proposed a theoretical framework, which consisted of 21 dimensions of cultural differences in social behavior, for the development of culture assimilators. He presented evidence that by using the framework researchers could develop culture assimilators in a shorter time, and argued that this framework, compared to the traditional method, could be used to develop culture assimilators

more efficiently in that an assimilator could be developed in about one-third of the time taken by the traditional method.

Brislin et al. (1986) developed a culture general assimilator following a similar framework, except that they included 18 themes or dimensions (Brislin, 1995; Brislin, 1986). This was a major development in the field of cross-cultural training, since it was the first culture general assimilator, and was a clear departure from the earlier tradition of culture-specific assimilators. The culture general assimilator uses the same format as the culture-specific assimilators, i.e., critical incidents, alternatives, and explanations for the alternatives. This assimilator consists of 100 critical incidents that cover themes or categories like Anxiety and Related Emotional States, Prejudice and Ethnocentrism, Time and Space, Roles, Categorization, Values, and so forth, that have been identified in the literature as important for the sojourners to be sensitive to. The inclusion of theoretical concepts is a definite strength of this assimilator, which has received empirical support for its effectiveness in a number of studies (Cushner, 1989; McIlveen-Yarbro, 1988). The contribution of the volume to the world of practice is reflected in its popularity and the publication of the second edition of the volume (Cushner & Brislin, 1996), which has 110 critical incidents.

The use of 18 categories proposed by Brislin et al. (1986), however, could be viewed as a weakness of this material. It can be argued that it is difficult for anybody to remember 18 disparate categories since most people's memory span breaks down somewhere around 7 or 8 categories (Miller, 1956; Anderson, 1990). One theoretical explanation offered for this limitation on human working memory is that the material must be on one's *articulatory loop*, i.e., one has to be able to rehearse the material to maintain it in the working memory (Baddeley, 1986; Vallar & Baddeley, 1982). The cognitive overload created by the use of too many dimensions applies to the framework proposed by Triandis (1984) as well. Another related weakness of both these frameworks is that the numerous categories do not lend themselves to be integrated in an overarching theory of cross-cultural adjustment.

It should be noted that individualism and collectivism was one of the dimension in the framework proposed by Triandis (1984), and it is plausible that he did so because the theory was in its early stage of development. A closer analysis of the 21 dimensions of variation across cultures also shows that many of them can be covered under the theory of individualism and collectivism. Similarly, Brislin et al. (1986) also utilized individualism and collectivism as one of the themes, though they labeled it as "Importance of the Group and the Importance of the Individual". Also, many of the themes covered in the culture general assimilator, e.g., "the Ingroup–Outgroup Distinction" and "Hierarchies Among People" can be covered by the more fully developed theory of individualism and collectivism. Therefore, it seems reasonable to develop materials that are theoretically meaningful, use fewer themes than that used by Brislin and colleagues, and proposed by Triandis (1984), and provide an overarching theory to prepare for cross-cultural adjustment.

Individualism and collectivism also allows capturing the four universal dimensions of social behavior found empirically across cultures (Triandis, 1977; Adomopolous, 1984), i.e., association–dissociation, superordination–subordination, intimacy–formality, and overt versus covert, that Triandis (1984) recommended using in

culture assimilators. Association and dissociation can be captured quite succinctly by the difference in orientation to ingroups versus outgroups between individualists and collectivists, which will be discussed under the heading of prioritization of goals. Intimacy and formality can be captured by the independent and interdependent concepts of self of individualists and collectivists. Superordination and subordination is reflected in the vertical and horizontal dimensions, whereas overt versus covert, which was also referred to as the tight versus loose cultures by Triandis (1984), can be covered under the norm versus attitude-driven behavioral difference between collectivists and individualists. This is not to imply that the new framework of individualism and collectivism totally captures the concepts presented earlier in the literature. What we see is a process of theoretical evolution in which we find that the earlier mid-ranged concepts presented by Triandis (1984) and Brislin (1986) are subsumed under individualism and collectivism, which are more comprehensive in nature.

### *2.3. Toward theory-based assimilators*

To develop a theory-based assimilator, a parsimonious culture theory is needed that can meaningfully explain many aspects of cultural differences. Many culture theories have been discussed in the literature. Hofstede (1980) presented four constructs, i.e., Power Distance, Masculinity, Uncertainty Avoidance, and Individualism that could be used to categorize cultures. Triandis and colleagues (Triandis, 1990, 1995a) have developed a theory of individualism and collectivism that can be used both at the cultural and the individual or psychological level. Fiske (1990, 1992) has identified four universal patterns of social behavior, i.e., Communal Sharing, Equality Matching, Market Pricing, and Authority Ranking, that can be used to explain similarities and differences in cultures. Schwartz and colleagues (Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987, 1990) presented a theory of universal structure of value that clusters cultures into different groups and explains their similarities and differences. Discussion of these theories and their relationship with individualism and collectivism can be found elsewhere (Triandis, 1995a; Triandis & Bhawuk, 1997). Considering the depth of research done on individualism and collectivism (Triandis, 1995a; Kim, Triandis, Kagitcibasi, Choi, & Yoon, 1994), it is proposed that this theory can be effectively used to develop a culture assimilator. It should be noted that one of the key values of the culture assimilator technique is not learning the right way but unlearning the wrong behaviors resulting from stereotypes, ethnocentrism, etc., which can be done well by using a theory-based culture assimilator. Trainees are likely to become more receptive to cultural differences and develop a deeper understanding of why such differences exist by using theoretical explanation to unlearn their preconceptions.

## **3. Individualism and collectivism: a theoretical framework**

The constructs of individualism and collectivism drew the attention of researchers, especially social psychologists and intercultural researchers, following the seminal

work of Hofstede (1980). Triandis (1995a) proposed that individualism and collectivism have four universal defining attributes: Independent versus interdependent definitions of the self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), goals independent from in-groups versus goals compatible with in-groups (Triandis, 1990; Schwartz, 1990; Hofstede, 1980), emphasis on attitude versus norms (Bontempo & Rivero, 1992), and emphasis on rationality versus relatedness (Kim, 1994; Kagitcibasi, 1994). He further proposed that individualism and collectivism are of two types, vertical and horizontal, depending on whether people view their selves as “same as” or “different from” others. In vertical collectivism (VC) and individualism (VI), people view their selves as different from the selves of others; India and China provide examples of vertical collectivism, whereas the US and France exemplify vertical individualism. In horizontal collectivism (HC) and individualism (HI), people view their self as the same as that of others; the Israeli Kibbutz and Eskimo cultures provide examples of horizontal collectivism, whereas Sweden and Australia approach horizontal individualism. The measurement and further refinement of these constructs are underway (Triandis, Chen, & Chan, 1998; Triandis & Gelfand, 1998; Triandis & Bhawuk, 1997; Chen, Meindl, & Hunt, 1997; Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk, & Gelfand, 1995).

Triandis (1995a) discussed how vertical and horizontal individualism and collectivism patterns fit conceptually with other culture theories, however, he did not develop a framework delineating how the four defining attributes fit with each other. Earlier, Schwartz (1990) had criticized the direction that research in individualism and collectivism had taken, and suggested that the research might have been more productive if these concepts were refined into finer dimensions. It could be argued that the research in vertical and horizontal individualism and collectivism, though more refined, still deviates from fine brush analyses of cultural differences. However, if we add the four defining attributes of individualism and collectivism to this typology, we do get the finer dimensions that address Schwartz’s (1990) criticism. In this section, an attempt is made to develop a theoretical framework that integrates the four defining attributes, thus extending Triandis’s (1995a) work. First, relationships among the four defining attributes of individualism and collectivism are discussed, which is represented schematically in Fig. 1. This is followed by an application of these constructs to the development of a culture assimilator for cross-cultural training, further assisting in understanding the concepts and their relationship with each other.

The first defining attribute focuses on the concept of self, which is basic to our understanding of human psychology. Cross-cultural researchers have known that people view themselves differently in different cultures for a long time, and concept of self has been the focus of anthropological as well as psychological and sociological research (Rosenberger, 1992). However, the generalization that in some cultures people view themselves as having an independent concept of self, whereas in other cultures people view themselves as having an interdependent concept of self is something that fits well with the concepts of individualism and collectivism (Triandis, 1995a, 1995b; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Individualists’ concept of self does not include other people, i.e., the self is independent of others, whereas

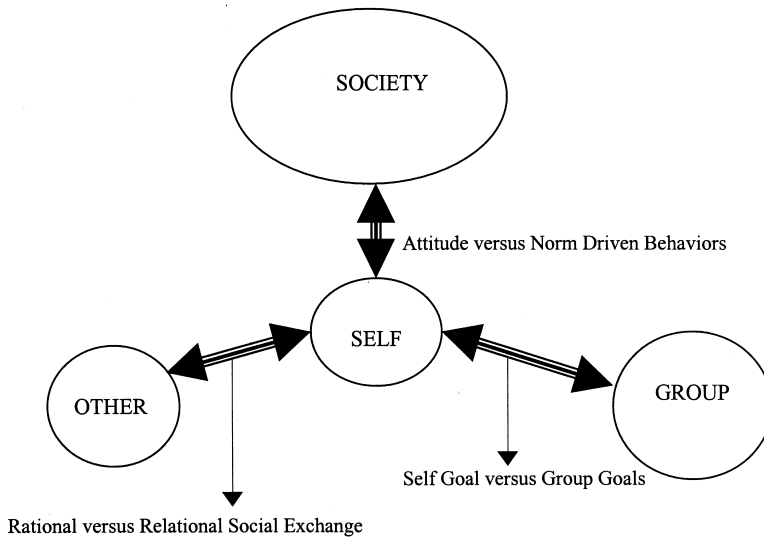


Fig. 1. Relationship between the four defining attributes of individualism and collectivism.

collectivists' concept of self includes other people, namely, members of family, friends, and people from the work place. People in the Western world (e.g., the US, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, etc.) have an independent concept of self, and they feel a more pronounced social distance between themselves and others, including the immediate family. People in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and so forth have an interdependent concept of self, and social distance between an individual and his or her parents, spouse, siblings, children, friends, neighbors, supervisor, subordinate, and so forth is small. It is posited here that concept of self plays a central role in the definition of individualism and collectivism.

The boundary of self is different for independent versus interdependent self; independent self is sharply defined, whereas interdependent self has a less rigid boundary (Beattie, 1980). Collectivist cultures have a holistic view of the world, and the self is thought to be of the same substance as other things in nature, and cannot be separated from the rest of nature (Galtung, 1981). Therefore, the relationship between the self and other people or elements in nature is much closer, and people feel much interdependence. On the other hand, individualist cultures usually hold a Cartesian worldview, in which the self is independent of other elements of nature, people, and situations (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). An individualistic person, therefore, takes more control over elements of nature or situations around himself or herself, and feels more responsible for his or her behaviors. The social and behavioral implications of having different concepts of self are significant, and are developed in the next section.

Concept of self can be viewed as *digital* or *analogue*, digital for individualists and analogue for collectivists. When individualists think of themselves and others, they are clear that their self only includes themselves — “This is me, but that is not me.



My mother is not a part of me. My child is not a part of me. They are separate from me". There is no overlap between their selves and others. In other words, their view of themselves is digital. On the other hand, when collectivists think of people in their family (e.g., parents, spouse, children, siblings, and so forth), they feel these people are a part of their selves. For example, one's thinking may proceed like this: "My father is a part of me, not completely me, but somewhat a part of me. My child is a bigger part of me compared to my father, not completely me, but, yes, a good part of me; and so forth". The same feeling holds in case of other relatives, and even friends. Thus, they have an analogue self. Of course, the biological self is digital for individualists as well as collectivists. It is the socially constructed self that is digital or analogue.

The second defining attribute focuses on the relationship between self and groups of people. Depending on how people view themselves, they develop different types of affinity to groups. For example, those with the independent concept of self develop ties with other people to satisfy their self needs, and may not give importance to the need of other people, i.e., everybody takes care of his or her own needs. However, those with interdependent concept of self develop ties with other people to satisfy the needs of the self as well as the members of the collective included in the self. Haruki, Shigehisa, Nedate, and Ogawa (1984) provided some insight in how this is developed through socialization. They found that both American and Japanese students were motivated to learn when they were rewarded for learning. However, even when the teacher was rewarded, the Japanese students were motivated to learn, but not the Americans. The authors explained this phenomenon by suggesting that the Japanese children are socialized to observe and respond to others' feelings early on. So a mother may say "I am happy" or "I am sad" to provide positive or negative reinforcement rather than directly saying "You are right" or "You are wrong". Thus, difference in concept of self leads to difference in how people relate to other people, which in turn influences goal selection and prioritization, both in work and social contexts.

Collectivism requires the subordination of individual goals to the goals of a collective (Triandis, Leung, Villareal, & Clark, 1985; Triandis, 1989), whereas individualism encourages people to pursue the goals that are dear to them, and even change their ingroups to achieve those goals. Divorce results many times, for individualists, because people are not willing to compromise their careers, whereas collectivists often sacrifice career opportunities to take care of their family needs (ingroup goals), and derive satisfaction in doing so.

One reason for this difference between individualists and collectivists lies in their definition of an ingroup or outgroup (Triandis, 1984; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucas, 1988; Earley, 1993). When a certain group of people is accepted as trustworthy, collectivists cooperate with these people, are even willing to make self-sacrifices to be part of this group, and are less likely to indulge in social loafing (Earle, 1989). However, they are likely to indulge in exploitative exchange with people who are in their outgroups (Triandis et al., 1988). Individualists on the other hand do not make such strong distinctions between ingroups and outgroups. Another reason for making this distinction is the collectivists' perception of a

common fate with their family, kin, friends, and coworkers (Triandis et al., 1990; Hui & Triandis, 1986). The reason for giving priority to the ingroup goals could be the narrowness of the perceived boundary between the individual and the others or smaller social distance between the self and others.

The interaction between self and groups has important implication for reward allocation. Han and Park (1995) found that the allocentric Koreans favored ingroups over outgroups more than the idiocentric ones. They also found that in reward allocation situations, allocentrics preferred the equitable (i.e., to each according to his or her contribution) division of rewards for outgroup members with whom they expected to have no interaction in future, but not so for ingroup members with whom they expected to interact more frequently. Equality was preferred for ingroup members. The idiocentrics or individualists, on the other hand, preferred equitable division for both ingroups and outgroups. The social and behavioral implications of this attribute are developed in the next section.

The third defining attribute focuses on how the self is viewed vis-à-vis the larger society, or how the self interacts with the society. Those with independent concept of self do what they like to do, or what they think is good for them, i.e., they pursue their individual desires, attitudes, values, and beliefs. Since this meets the need of most of the people in a culture where most people have an independent concept of self, the individualistic society values people doing their own things. However, people with interdependent concept of self inherit many relationships and learn to live with these interdependencies. Part of managing the interdependencies is to develop goals that meet the need of more than one's own self. In the process of taking care of the needs of one's ingroup members, a social mechanism evolves in collectivist cultures that is driven by norms. Thus, for those with interdependent concept of self it is much easier cognitively to resort to methods that have been tried in the past for interacting with people at large. Hence, the difference in following own attitude versus norms of the society becomes a salient difference between individualist and collectivist cultures.

Bontempo and Rivero (1992) carried out a meta-analysis to examine the role of the concept of self in the attitude-behavior link. They found that collectivists prefer to follow norms, whereas individualists prefer to follow their personal attitudes, beliefs, and values. Others have also found this in their research. For example, comparing Americans and Chinese, Hsu (1981) concluded that individualists are independent-minded, inner-directed, and resentful of conformity, whereas collectivists believe in interdependence and are inclined to conform. According to him, in China, conformity tends to govern all interpersonal relations and has social and cultural approval. In a recent study, it was found that age is an important variable for collectivists; being older seemed to satisfy many Japanese businessmen's uncertainty about the expatriate women managers' competence or authority (Taylor & Napier, 1996).

One reason for the collectivists' desire to conform results from their need to pay attention to what their extended family, friends, colleagues, and neighbors have to say about what they do and how they do it. A sense of duty guides them towards social norms both in the workplace and interpersonal relationships. Individualists,

on the other hand, are more concerned about their personal attitudes and values. They care much less than collectivists about what their family members have to say, let alone the extended family, friends, or neighbors. Often, in individualist cultures there are fewer norms about social and workplace behaviors, whereas in collectivist cultures there are many clear norms. It should be noted that it is not true that individualist cultures do not have norms, or that collectivist cultures do not have people doing what they like to do. Granted that there are exceptions, in individualistic cultures there are fewer norms and those that exist are not severely imposed, whereas in collectivist cultures not only norms are tightly monitored and imposed but also anti-normative behaviors are often hidden from public eyes.

The fourth defining attribute focuses on the interpersonal relationships or the nature of social exchange between self and others. When the self is viewed as independent, interpersonal relationships are developed to meet the need of the self to maximize the benefits to the self. Thus, social exchange is based on the principle of equal exchange, and people form new relationships to meet their changing needs based on cost benefit analysis. Thus, individualists are rational in their social exchange. On the other hand, those with an interdependent concept of self and relationships that are inherited, are likely to view their relationships as long-term in nature and, therefore, unlikely to break a relationship even if it is not cost effective. Thus, collectivists value relationships for their own sake and nurture them with unequal social exchanges over a long period of time.

Clark and Mills (1979) discussed the difference between exchange and communal relationships. In an exchange relationship, people give something (a gift or a service) to another person with the expectation that the other person will return a gift or service of equal value in the near future. The characteristics of this type of relationship are “equal value” and “short time frame”. People keep a mental record of exchange of benefits and try to maintain a balanced account, in an accounting sense.

In a communal relationship, people do not keep an account of the exchanges taking place between them; one person may give a gift of much higher value than the other person and the two people may still maintain their relationship. In other words, it is the relationship that is valued and not the exchanges that go on between people when they are in communal relationships. For example, Foster (1967) found that in a Mexican peasant village, which is likely to be collectivist, usually there was a series of exchanges between two people in which what was given never quite matched what was received. Thus, the exchange went on for a long-time unless the series was broken by some unavoidable situation. Mills and Clark (1982) suggested that in this type of relationship people feel an “equality of affect” (i.e., when one feels up the other also feels up, and when one feels down the other also feels down). It is similar to the sense of common fate found among collectivists that Triandis et al. (1990) described, or to what appeared as collectivists’ having a feeling of involvement in other’s lives (Hui & Triandis, 1986).

Thus, the four defining attributes provide a framework to understand cultural differences in self and how it relates to groups, society at-large, and interpersonal and

intergroup relationships. In the following section, the template for using the four defining attributes and the vertical and horizontal typology to develop an Individualism and Collectivism Assimilator (ICA) is presented.

#### 4. Development of ICA

When developing an assimilator theoretically, a researcher studies anthropological literature that discusses the target culture (Triandis, 1994). Also, published material in the humanities and social sciences that deal with the target culture is relevant, and current magazines and newspapers are also considered besides the scholarly journals to identify incidents of cross-cultural misunderstandings. Triandis (1984) also suggested that it is more efficient if a bicultural person conversant with both the cultures develops a culture-specific assimilator. Following his recommendation, it would seem efficient for a bicultural person, i.e., an individualist (or collectivist) with considerable experience living in a collectivist (or individualist) culture, also conversant with the theory of individualism and collectivism, to develop such an assimilator.

During cross-cultural training, issues concerning a wide range of social life (e.g., work, home, marketplace, family, etc.) should be focused on since there is evidence that often managers return home prematurely because of difficulties experienced on the home front (“Focus: Cross-cultural training”, 1994). In view of this, matrices (see Tables 1–5) of behavioral situations at work and outside of the workplace (i.e., social contexts) that can be explained by using the four defining attributes and the vertical and horizontal dimensions are proposed. Critical incidents capturing the themes proposed in this paper can be useful in learning the theory of individualism and collectivism and using it to predict and explain cultural differences.

Table 1  
Contexts for critical incidents using concept of self

Behavioral settings	Individualist culture	Collectivist culture
<i>Work-related contexts</i>		
Relationship with nature	Control nature	Accept nature
1. Missing a deadline	Negative consequence	Acceptable
2. Failure to follow schedule	Negative consequence	Acceptable
3. Valued skills	Technical	Interpersonal (e.g., <i>Simpatico</i> )
4. Being direct and forthright	Preferred	Avoided
5. Hiring a friend's relative	Not acceptable	Acceptable
<i>Social contexts</i>		
6. Sharing material resources	Not necessary	Necessary
7. Sharing professional skills	Not necessary	Necessary
8. Not visiting an old friend	Acceptable	Not acceptable
9. A friend's friend is a friend	Not applicable	Applicable

#### 4.1. *Concept of self*

The difference in the conception of self between individualists and collectivists lends itself to the construction of many critical incidents for both work and social situations (see Table 1). For example, a behavior like missing a deadline is not taken as a serious failure of the individual, but is more a result of many unforeseen circumstances beyond the control of the individual (Theme 1, Table 1). Similarly, failure to follow a schedule is not held against a person in a collectivist culture, whereas in an individualist culture it reflects badly on the individual (Theme 2, Table 1). One does not need to give up planning or pursuing deadlines, but one needs to be gentle and polite about the pursuit of goals and their deadlines, and one needs to be sensitive to the close interdependence collectivists feel with others, nature, and situations. On the other hand, collectivists working in individualist cultures should be reminded to pay attention to the process of goal setting and individual accountability toward achievement of the set goals.

Some culture-specific, or emic, aspects of concept of self like being *simpatico* among Hispanics (Triandis Marin, Lisansky, & Betancourt, 1984) and *Pakikisama* among Filipinos (Church, 1987) offer meaningful explanation for various work related and social behaviors. Among the Latinos, there is the concept of being *simpatico* which means being pleasant and interpersonally sensitive. In other collectivist cultures too, smooth interpersonal relations are valued and people make an effort to be agreeable, even in demanding situations. For example, in the Philippines (Church, 1987), subordinates view characteristics like being understanding, being concerned for employee welfare, being kind and helpful, having a pleasant and courteous disposition (the Filipino word used to describe these qualities is *pakikisama*) positively. *Pakikisama* and *simpatico* result from the collectivists' sense of interdependence and their need to keep harmony among people with whom they interact closely, and reflect the general feeling of relatedness with others. These concepts provide excellent examples of how this defining attribute can be applied to both workplace and interpersonal relationships (Themes 3 and 4, Table 1).

The interdependent concept of self is reflected in many other social behaviors. For example, resource sharing behavior among collectivists is a reflection of this concept. Resource sharing, both material and non-material, was identified as an attribute of collectivists in one of the earliest studies on individualism and collectivism (Hui & Triandis, 1986). Resources are shared not only with the immediate and extended family, but also with friends and neighbors. Professional services are also given for free to people who are on one's primary network. Thus, a number of critical incidents can be developed to demonstrate how individualists and collectivists may misunderstand each other, both in the workplace and in social settings, when it comes to resource sharing (Themes 5, 6 and 7, Table 1).

Collectivists have their relationships spun around their kinship and their primary network consisting of the nuclear family, the extended family, and the locality (e.g., village, town, and so forth) where they live or where they have originated from. On the other hand, individualists have very few people on their primary network, usually

only those with whom they have a direct work or family relationship. An important difference between individualists and collectivists is that collectivists inherit their relationships, whereas individualists have to build their relationships by themselves, individually. Unlike collectivists, among individualists specific interests are the basis for friendship (Hsu, 1971), and therefore, friendship is bound to shift with much higher frequency (Themes 8 and 9, Table 1).

In summary, independent and interdependent concepts of selves can be effectively used to capture many social behaviors, both in the work place and in interpersonal relationships. This concept helps us understand how, *simpatico* or *pakikisama*, long-term friendship, resource sharing, and kinship influence behaviors in the workplace, which are different between individualist and collectivist cultures. It also helps us understand implications of material and non-material resource sharing, nature of friendship (inclusiveness and continuity), and role of kinship in daily social behaviors.

#### 4.2. Prioritization of goals

The second defining attribute allows capturing the conflict between individual and group members both in the workplace and in social settings (see Table 2). For example, in the workplace, this concept explains quite well why some American (individualist) managers may not come to work during a deer hunt season despite pressing need to meet organizational goals (Themes 1 and 2), how an individualist may be surprised to see unequitable reward distribution in some cultures (Theme 3), an individualists may try to take a free-ride in a group (Theme 4), and a collectivist may favor a relative in selection and promotion (Theme 5). Similarly, in the social setting this concept explains many cultural differences, e.g., an African Chief may use equity or equality rules for reward allocation (Theme 6), an Indian (collectivist) manager may compromise his or her career to meet family demands (Themes 7 and

Table 2  
Contexts for critical incidents using concept of goal prioritization

Behavioral settings	Individualist culture	Collectivist culture
<i>Work related contexts</i>		
1. Work versus pleasure	Sacrifice work	Sacrifice pleasure
2. Individual gain versus group responsibility	Individual gain	Group responsibility
3. Reward allocation	Equity rule	Equality rule
4. Social loafing	Likely in groups	Less likely in groups
5. Selection & Promotion	Merit-based	Favors ingroup
<i>Social contexts</i>		
6. Reward allocation for ingroup versus outgroup	Always equity rule	Equality versus equity
7. Career versus family	Career	Family
8. Separation from family	Not acceptable	Acceptable
9. Pleasure versus ingroup	Pleasure	Sacrifice pleasure for ingroup

Table 3  
Contexts for critical incidents using motivation for behaviors

Behavioral settings	Individualist culture	Collectivist culture
<i>Work-related contexts</i>		
1. Work place behaviors	Less normative	Formal norms
2. Interacting with superiors	Less normative	Formal norms
3. Work orientation	Task focused	More social
4. Decision making	Many styles	Procedure oriented
5. Problem solving	Resulted oriented	Procedure oriented
<i>Social contexts</i>		
6. Social gathering (party)	Informal/few norms	Norms are clear
7. What to discuss	Few norms	More norms
8. Gender differences	Less clear	Clear
9. Role differentiation	A lot of variation	Little variation
10. Demographic variable	Not relevant	Relevant

8), and an employee may let go of an opportunity of travel to meet family or ingroup responsibility (Theme 9).

#### 4.3. *Motivation for behavior*

This attribute can cover many normative behaviors that are puzzling in intercultural interactions, and at the same time provide a general causal explanation for the differences, especially between individualist and collectivist cultures (see Table 3). For example, the task versus social orientation to work between individualists and collectivists (Theme 3), orientation to following company procedures in decision making rather than taking a contingency approach (Theme 4), and differences in problem solving, i.e., result versus procedure oriented (Theme 5), can be illustrative of cultural differences in the workplace. Similarly, limitations to what women can do in the society or gender differences (Theme 8), fewer roles for people in collectivist cultures (Theme 9), and the relevance of demographic variables like age in social behaviors (Theme 10), can be useful in preparing people for intercultural interactions in the social contexts.

Many incidents can be developed to tap collectivists' desire to conform to what their extended family, friends, or neighbors have to say about them or their work (Themes 1, 2, 6, and 7, Table 3). This can be contrasted with individualists' concern about their personal attitudes and values, and how they care much less than collectivists about what their family members have to say, let alone the extended family, friends, or neighbors. Therefore, individualists are advised to carefully observe norms when living in collectivist cultures, whereas collectivists are advised not to worry too much about what others may think about their behaviors.

#### 4.4. *Orientation to relationships*

The fourth defining attribute has important implications for intercultural interactions between individualists and collectivists both at the work place and in

Table 4  
Contexts for critical incidents using the concepts of rational and relational orientations

Behavioral settings	Individualist culture	Collectivist culture
<i>Work-related contexts</i>		
1. Laying off employees	Rational	Relational
2. Providing service	Charge fee	Earn credit (unequal exchange)
3. Relationship versus task	Task focused	Relationship focused
4. Work relationships	Short term	Long term
<i>Social contexts</i>		
5. A service from a friend (e.g., taking a ride)	Pay for it (equal exchange)	Return favor (unequal exchange)
6. Visiting an ailing friend	Send flowers & card	Visit personally
7. Fee for a service given to a friend	Charge fee	Do not charge fee
8. Social relationships	Short term	Long term

personal relationships, since collectivists are likely to view most interactions leading toward a long-term relationship, whereas individualists are likely to view even long-term relationships, especially those in the work place, as exchange relationships. Exchange relations are viewed as superficial by the collectivists, hence the inherent conflict in understanding relationships. Since interpersonal relationships are at the foundation of all intercultural interactions, understanding this attribute is critical for effective intercultural interactions and has been used in preparing people for living in other cultures (Bhawuk, 1997).

A number of themes can be easily identified that capture this attribute both in the workplace and in social contexts. For example, an owner in a collectivist culture may be reluctant to lay-off employees (Theme 1), collectivists may not charge a fee to long-time friends (Themes 2 and 7 for the workplace and the social setting, respectively), individualists may complain about a service and threaten to sever a relationship in spite of a long-term relationship (Theme 3), collectivists may expect a long-term relationship in daily interactions (Themes 4 and 8 for the workplace and the social setting, respectively), and misunderstanding resulting from charging a friend for a daily ride (Theme 5) and sending flowers instead of visiting in person (Theme 6).

#### 4.5. *The vertical-horizontal typology*

The vertical and horizontal typology of individualism and collectivism suggests that verticals, as opposed to horizontals, consider their self to be different from those of others in their own culture. This dimension helps explain behaviors that appear to be arrogant or high-handed to westerners (usually horizontal individualists) when living in developing countries (usually vertical collectivists): for example, in the workplace, in a vertical collectivist culture all major decisions may be made by the superior leaving very little that is interesting or important for the subordinates to do (Theme 1, Table 5), a subordinate may be expected to wait for the superior, without complaining, despite having an appointment with the superior (Theme 2, Table 5),



Table 5  
Contexts for critical incidents using the vertical–horizontal typology

Behavioral settings	Horizontal individualism	Vertical collectivism
<i>Work-related contexts</i>		
1. Decision making	Independent	Check with superior
2. Interaction with superior	As equal	As unequal
3. Reward allocation	Equity rule	Status is important
4. Privileges	Equitable	Favors superiors
<i>Social contexts</i>		
5. Social interaction	Informal	Rigid code
6. Language	One for all	Many layers
7. Greetings	One for all	Many levels
8. Social gathering (e.g., party)	Informal	Formality is maintained

and reward allocation or privileges may include status considerations (Themes 3 and 4, Table 5). Hierarchy also plays an important role in interpersonal relationships outside the work place in vertical collectivist cultures (see Table 5); for example, social interactions are more formal (Theme 5), languages have many forms for different situations (Theme 6), forms of greetings vary according to the status of the superior (Theme 7), and parties may not mean the same in an individualist versus a collectivist culture (Theme 8).

The 44 themes presented in the five tables capture critical work and social situations for intercultural interactions, both in the workplace and in the social setting, which can be used as a guide to develop critical incidents. These scenarios are presented to stimulate the interest of researchers rather than as a definitive and final selection of topics. Interested researchers should also look at Triandis (1994) for other interesting contexts that differentiate individualists from collectivists like dealing with emotion, attribution, and major calamity. For some interesting applications of the theory to organizational settings readers are referred to the volume by Earley and Erez (1997), especially the chapter by Triandis and Bhawuk (1997) in that volume.

## 5. Discussion

This paper presented a blueprint for the development of a theory-based culture assimilator using the four defining attributes and the vertical and horizontal typology of individualism and collectivism presented by Triandis (1995a). A framework was also presented to integrate the four defining attributes of individualism and collectivism, further extending the work of Triandis. This addresses one of the major criticisms of research in individualism and collectivism, that this theory offers a broad-brush approach (Schwartz, 1990). Special care has been taken to avoid explaining everything by using individualism and collectivism. Instead, it is suggested that a particular attribute of individualism and collectivism would explain a certain

phenomenon or cultural difference. Ideas contained in the five tables support this approach. Instead of explaining 44 different behaviors by using individualism and collectivism (a broad-brush approach), the four defining attributes and the vertical and horizontal typology are used to explain them. This in itself is a contribution to the cross-cultural training literature in that Triandis, Brislin, and Hui (1988) gave 22 pieces of advice based on individualism and collectivism, which could be argued to be a broad-brush approach. Further, the paper can also help experienced practitioners to build their own critical incidents to be used in cross-cultural training and briefing.

A theory-based assimilator developed following the above guidelines will provide many advantages. For example, the usual structure of critical incidents can be retained, theory can be used for explanation, and a manageable number of concepts can be used for explanation so that the problem of overloading the trainee's working memory is avoided. There are two other major advantages of this assimilator.

First, since all countries include some combination of individualistic and collectivist tendencies, this assimilator will be useful in preparing people to be successful in interactions in a number of countries in the world. For example, Hofstede (1980) found that English speaking countries were high on individualism while Asian and Latin American countries were low on individualism. Therefore, an assimilator grounded in this theory can be used to train people from a number of individualist and collectivist countries to visit a number of collectivist and individualist countries, respectively.

Second, the constructs of individualism and collectivism can be used both at the individual and national or cultural levels, which offers some advantages. Hofstede (1994) suggested that, at the cultural level, individualism and collectivism may well be a bipolar construct, but at the individual level, it may be a multidimensional construct. Triandis, Leung, Villareal, and Clark (1985) also emphasized the distinction between the cultural and psychological levels of individualism and collectivism. At the cultural level, as in Hofstede's analysis (each culture is treated as an observation or subject), they recommended using the terms individualism and collectivism. At the psychological level, they suggested using the terms "allocentrism" and "idiocentrism", corresponding to collectivism and individualism, respectively. Allocentrism and idiocentrism refer to individual differences existing in all cultures (i.e., both allocentrics and idiocentrics can be found in all cultures). This flexibility allows people to use cultural sociotypes while being open to individual differences. Thus, the second advantage of using the theory of individualism and collectivism is that it allows us to include individual differences in analyzing differences in behaviors of host country nationals, thus allowing trainees to build meaningful sociotypes (accurate stereotypes, see Lee, Jussim, & McCauley, 1995; Triandis, 1975) about the people of the host culture.

It is hoped that the development of a theory-based assimilator will stimulate research in cross-cultural training in more than one way. Culture-specific assimilators have not used overarching theories in the past, and it can be expected that, in future, culture theories will be used even in such assimilators for explanation purposes. Behavior modeling training could also profit from the use of such an

assimilator in that behaviors focusing on cultural differences based on these concepts could be organized more efficiently in the minds of the trainees, and help them relate one behavior to another, almost like a set. A definite problem in behavioral training has been the integration of various behaviors, which can be avoided using this approach. Finally, training videos may be the most to profit from such an assimilator, since a coherent program can be delivered in a short training video by using the theoretical approach.

In this paper, individualism and collectivism was proposed as the foundation of a theory-based assimilator. Future research should focus on using other such overarching theories for the purpose of developing culture assimilators. Hofstede's (1980) four dimensions of culture discussed earlier, Schwartz's (1992, 1994) universal structure of values, Trompenaars' (1993) dimensions of universalism versus particularism, achievement versus ascription, and specificity versus diffuseness, and Fiske's (1990, 1992) types of socialities would be candidates for such ventures. Since individualism and collectivism has emerged as a central theory that relates quite well with these other theories, an assimilator based on individualism and collectivism may be a good place to start. However, a comparative evaluation of assimilators based on these different theories may allow the evaluation of the effectiveness of each of these theories in providing cross-cultural training. Also, validating the individualism and collectivism assimilator by collecting data in more than one pair of countries will help in clarifying the concepts themselves, especially the types of collectivism and individualism that are found in different countries. Therefore, it can be expected that research in cross-cultural training using the individualism and collectivism assimilator will also aid to our understanding of the theory itself.

## References

- Adamopolous, J. (1984). The differentiation of social behavior. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 15, 487–508.
- Albert, R. D. (1983a). The intercultural sensitizer or culture assimilator: A cognitive approach. In D. Landis, & R. W. Brislin, *Handbook of intercultural training Issues in training methodology*, vol. 2 (pp. 186–217). New York: Pergamon.
- Albert, R. D. (1983b). *The Hispanic culture assimilator*. Department of Education, University of Minnesota.
- Anderson, J. R. (1990). *Cognitive psychology and its implications* (3rd ed.). New York: W. H. Freeman and Company.
- Baddeley, A. D. (1986). *Working memory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Beattie, J. (1980). Review article: Representations of the self in traditional Africa. *Africa*, 50(3), 313–320.
- Bhawuk, D. P. S. (1995). *The role of culture theory in cross-cultural training: A comparative evaluation of culture-specific, culture general, and theory-based assimilators*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- Bhawuk, D. P. S. (1997). Leadership through relationship management: Using the theory of individualism and collectivism. In R. W. Brislin, & K. Cushner (Eds.), *Improving intercultural interactions: Modules for cross-cultural training programs*, vol. 2. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publishers.
- Bhawuk, D. P. S. (1998). The role of culture theory in cross-cultural training: a multimethod study of culture-specific, culture-general, and culture theory-based assimilators. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 29(5), 630–655.

- Bhawuk, D. P. S., & Brislin, R. W. (1992). Measurement of intercultural sensitivity using the concepts of individualism and collectivism. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 16, 413–436.
- Bhawuk, D. P. S., & Brislin, R. W. (2000). Cross-Cultural Training: A Review. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 49(1), 162–191.
- Black, J. S., & Mendenhall, M. (1990). Cross-cultural training effectiveness: A review and theoretical framework for future research. *American Management Review*, 15, 113–136.
- Bontempo, R., & Rivero, J. C. (1992). *Cultural variation in cognition: The role of self-concept in the attitude behavior link*. Paper presented at the meetings of the American Management Association, Las Vegas, Nevada.
- Brislin, R. W. (1986). A culture general assimilator: Preparation for various types of sojourns. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 10, 215–234.
- Brislin, R. W. (1994). Individualism and collectivism as the source of many specific cultural differences. In R. W. Brislin, & T. Yoshida (Eds.), *Improving intercultural interactions: Modules for cross-cultural training programs* (pp. 71–88). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Brislin, R. W. (1995). The culture general assimilator. In S. M. Fowler (Ed.) *Intercultural sourcebook: Cross-cultural training methods*, vol. 1 (pp. 169–178). Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press.
- Brislin, R. W., Cushner, K., Cherrie, C., & Yong, M. (1986). *Intercultural interactions: A practical guide*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Brislin, R. W., & Yoshida, T. (1994). *Improving intercultural interactions: Modules for cross-cultural training programs*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Chemers, M. M. (1969). Cross-cultural training as a means of improving situational favorableness. *Human Relations*, 22, 531–546.
- Chen, C. C., Meindl, J. R., & Hunt, R. G. (1997). Testing the effects of vertical and horizontal collectivism: A study of reward allocation preferences in China. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 28(1), 44–70.
- Church, T. A. (1987). Personality research in a non-western culture: The Philippines. *Psychological Bulletin*, 102, 272–292.
- Clark, M. S., & Mills, J. (1979). Interpersonal attraction in exchange and communal relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 37, 12–24.
- Cushner, K. (1989). Assessing the impact of a culture-general assimilator. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 13, 125–146.
- Copeland, L., & Griggs, L. (1985). *Going International*. New York: Random House.
- Cushner, K., & Brislin, R. W. (1996). *Intercultural interactions: A practical guide* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Deshpandey, S. P., & Viswesvaran, C. (1992). Is cross-cultural training of expatriate managers effective: A meta analysis. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 16, 295–310.
- Earley, P. C. (1989). Social loafing and collectivism: A comparison of the United States and the People's Republic of China. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 34, 565–581.
- Earley, P. C. (1993). East meets West meets Mideast: Further explorations of collectivistic and individualistic work groups. *Academy of Management Journal*, 36, 271–288.
- Earley, P. C., & Erez, M. (1997) *New perspectives on international industrial/organizational psychology*. New York, NY: The New Lexington Free Press.
- Fiedler, F. E., Mitchell, T. R., & Triandis, H. C. (1971). The culture assimilator: An approach to cross-cultural training. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 55, 95–102.
- Fiske, A. P. (1990). *Structures of social life: The four elementary forms of human relations*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Fiske, A. P. (1992). The four elementary forms of sociality: Framework for a unified theory of social relations. *Psychological Review*, 99, 689–723.
- Flanagan, J. (1954). The critical incident technique. *Psychological Bulletin*, 51, 327–358.
- Focus: Cross-cultural training. (1994). *Workforce Strategies*, 25–29.
- Foster, G. M. (1967). The dyadic contract: A model for the social structure of a Mexican peasant village. In J. M. Potter, M. N. Diaz, & G. M. Foster (Eds.), *Peasant society* (pp. 213–229). Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

- Galtung, J. (1981). Structure, culture, and intellectual style: An essay comparing Saxon, Teutonic, Gallic, and Nipponic approaches. *Social Science Information*, 20, 817–856.
- Gudykunst, W. B., Hammer, M. R., & Wiseman, R. (1977). An analysis of an integrated approach to cross-cultural training. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 1, 99–109.
- Han, G., & Park, B. (1995). Children's choice in conflict: Application of the theory of individualism-collectivism. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 26(3), 298–313.
- Harrison, J. K. (1992). Individual and combined effects of behavior modeling and the culture assimilator in cross-cultural management training. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 77, 952–962.
- Haruki, Y., Shigehisa, T., Nedate, K., Wajima, M., & Ogawa, R. (1984). Effects of alien-reinforcement and its combined type on learning behavior and efficacy in relation to personality. *International Journal of Psychology*, 19, 527–545.
- Hofstede, G. (1980). *Culture's consequence*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Hofstede, G. (1994). Foreword. In U. Kim, H. C. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S.-C. Choi, & G. Yoon (Eds.), *Individualism and collectivism: Theory, methods, and applications* (pp. ix–xiii). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Hsu, F. L. K. (1971). *The challenge of the American dream: The Chinese in the United States*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co.
- Hsu, F. L. K. (1981). *Americans and Chinese: Passage to difference* (3rd ed.). Honolulu HI: University of Hawaii.
- Hui, C. H., & Triandis, H. C. (1986). Individualism–collectivism: A study of cross cultural researchers. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 17, 225–248.
- Ito, K., & Triandis, H. C. (1989). *Culture assimilator for Japanese visiting the United States*. Department of Psychology, University of Illinois.
- Kagitcibasi, C. (1994). A critical appraisal of individualism and collectivism: Toward a new formulation. In U. Kim, H. C. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S. Choi, & G. Yoon (Eds.), *Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and applications* (pp. 52–65). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kim, U. (1994). Individualism and collectivism: Conceptual clarification and elaboration. In U. Kim, H. C. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S. Choi, & G. Yoon (Eds.), *Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and applications* (pp. 19–40). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kim, U., Triandis, H. C., Kagitcibasi, C., Choi, S., Yoon, G. (Eds.) (1994). *Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and applications*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Landis, D., & Bhagat, R. (Eds.) (1996). *Handbook of intercultural training*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Landis, D., Brislin, R. W., & Hulgus, J. (1985). Attribution training versus contact in acculturative learning: A laboratory study. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 15, 466–482.
- Landis, D., & Miller, A. (1973). *The army culture assimilator: Interaction with black soldiers*. Philadelphia: Center for Social Development.
- Lee, Y.-T., Jussim, L. J., & McCauley, C. R. (1995). *Stereotype accuracy*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Malpass, R. S., & Salancik, G. R. (1977). Linear and branching formats in culture assimilator training. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 1, 76–87.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, 98, 224–253.
- McIlveen-Yarbro, C. L. (1988). *An assessment of the ability of the culture-general assimilator to create sensitivity to multiculturalism in an educational setting*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Houston.
- Miller, G. A. (1956). The magical number seven plus or minus two: Some limits on our capacity for processing information. *Psychological Review*, 63, 81–92.
- Mills, J., & Clark, M. S. (1982). Exchange and communal relationships. In L. Wheeler (Ed.), *Review of personality and social psychology*, vol. 3 (pp. 121–144). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- O'Brien, G. E., Fiedler, F. E., & Hewett, T. (1970). The effects of programmed culture training upon the performance of volunteer medical teams in Central America. *Human Relations*, 24, 209–231.
- Rosenberger, N. R. (Ed.) (1992). *Japanese sense of self*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Schwartz, S. H. (1990). Individualism–collectivism: Critique and proposed refinements. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 21, 139–157.
- Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries. In M. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology*, vol. 25 (pp. 1–66). New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Schwartz, S. H. (1994). Beyond individualism and collectivism: New cultural dimensions of values. In U. Kim, H.C. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S. Choi, & G. Yoon (Eds.), *Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and applications*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Schwartz, S. H., & Bilsky, W. (1987). Toward a universal psychological structure of human values. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 53, 550–562.
- Schwartz, S. H., & Bilsky, W. (1990). Toward a theory of the universal content and structure of values: Extensions and cross-cultural replications. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 58, 878–891.
- Singelis, T. M., Triandis, H. C., Bhawuk, D. P. S., & Gelfand, M. (1995). Horizontal and vertical dimensions of individualism and collectivism: A theoretical and measurement refinement. *Cross-Cultural Research*, 29, 240–275.
- Taylor, S., Napier, N. (1996). Working in Japan: Lessons from women expatriates. *Sloan Management Review*, 37, 76–84.
- Tolbert, A. S. S. (1990). *Venezuelan culture assimilator: Incidents designed for training US professionals conducting business in Venezuela*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota.
- Triandis, H. C. (1975). Culture training, cognitive complexity, and interpersonal attitudes. In R. W. Brislin, S. Bochner, & W. Lonner (Eds.), *Cross-cultural perspectives on learning* (pp. 39–77). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Triandis, H. C. (1977). Theoretical framework for evaluation of cross-cultural training effectiveness. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 1, 19–45.
- Triandis, H. C. (1984). A theoretical framework for the more efficient construction of culture assimilators. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 8, 301–330.
- Triandis, H. C. (1989). The self and social behavior in differing cultural contexts. *Psychological Review*, 96, 506–520.
- Triandis, H. C. (1990). Cross-cultural studies of individualism and collectivism. In J. Bremen (Ed.), *Nebraska symposium on motivation, 1989* (pp. 41–133). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Triandis, H. C. (1994). *Culture and social behavior*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Triandis, H. C. (1995a). *Individualism and collectivism*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Triandis, H. C. (1995b). Culture specific assimilators. In S. M. Fowler (Ed.), *Intercultural sourcebook: Cross-cultural training methods*, vol. 1 (pp. 179–186). Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press.
- Triandis, H. C., & Bhawuk, D. P. S. (1997). Culture theory and the meaning of relatedness. In P. C. Earley, & M. Erez (Eds.), *New perspectives on international industrial/organizational psychology* (pp. 13–52). New York, NY: The New Lexington Free Press.
- Triandis, H. C., Bontempo, R., Villareal, M. J., Asai, M., & Lucas, N. (1988). Individualism and collectivism: Cross-cultural perspectives on self-ingroup relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 54, 323–338.
- Triandis, H. C., Brislin, R. W., & Hui, C. H. (1988). Cross-cultural training across the individualism and collectivism divide. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 12, 269–289.
- Triandis, H. C., Chen, X. P., & Chan, D. K.-S. (1998). Scenarios for the measurement of collectivism and individualism. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 29, 275–289.
- Triandis, H. C., & Gelfand, M. J. (1998). Converging measurement of horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74, 118–128.
- Triandis, H. C., Leung, K., Villareal, M., & Clark, F. L. (1985). Allocentric vs. idiocentric tendencies: Convergent and discriminant validation. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 19, 395–415.
- Triandis, H. C., Marin, G., Lisansky, J., & Betancourt, H. (1984). *Simpatia* as a cultural script of Hispanics. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 59, 1006–1020.
- Triandis, H. C., McCusker, C., & Hui, C. H. (1990). Multimethod probes of individualism and collectivism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 59, 1006–1020.
- Trompenaars, A. (1993). *Riding the waves of culture*. London: Economist Books.

- Tung, R. (1981). Selecting and training of personnel for overseas assignments. *Columbia Journal of World Business*, 16, 68–78.
- Vallar, G., & Baddeley, A. D. (1982). Short-term forgetting and the articulatory loop. *Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 34, 53–60.
- Vink, C. D. (1989). *Development of an intercultural sensitizer training program for Americans going to China*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Temple University.
- Wagner, J. A. (1995). Studies of Individualism-collectivism: Effects on competition in groups. *Academy of Management Journal*, 38, 152–172.
- Weldon, D. E., Carlston, D. E., Rissman, A. K., Slobodin, L., & Triandis, H. C. (1975). A laboratory test of effects of culture assimilator training. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 32, 300–310.
- Wheeler, L., Reis, H. T., & Bond, M. H. (1989). Collectivism-individualism in everyday social life: The middle kingdom and the melting pot. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 57, 79–86.
- Worchel, S., & Mitchell, T. R. (1972). An evaluation of the effectiveness of the culture assimilator in Thailand and Greece. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 56, 472–479.