

We or I ?
Collectivism-Individualism in Chinese and American Values

by

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ABSTRACT

According to both previous research and common belief, Chinese values represent a more collectivist orientation while American values demonstrate a more individualistic orientation. This study attempts to find out whether this assumption is still accurate in recent times, given the profound social changes that have taken place in China. Drawing data from the World Values Survey (1995-1997), this study examines four aspects of collectivist and individualistic orientations in China and America: socialization, work, social relationships, and motivation. While confirming some of my hypotheses and contradicting others, the findings suggest that there are significant indications of value changes in China. Specifically, there is a strong indication of a more individualistic orientation in Chinese values regarding socialization and social relationships than in comparable American values. Furthermore, this study provides some informed conjecture about and explanation of the findings concerning the four aspects of values I examine, as well as suggestions for subsequent research.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

There is a long sociological tradition of contrasting individual and collective value systems. For example, Emile Durkheim ([1893] 1964) used the terms *organic solidarity* to describe an individual focus, in which temporary relations are formed among dissimilar others in complex societies. He also used the term *mechanical solidarity* to describe a collective focus, in which permanent relations are formed among similar others in traditional societies. Similarly, Ferdinand Tönnies ([1887] 1963) coined the term *Gesellschaft* to describe a more individually-oriented structure characteristic of urban societies, in contrast to *Gemeinschaft*, a more collectively-oriented structure operating in small villages.

This tradition has continued in past decades. Since the early 1980s, the idea of contrasting societies on the basis of differences in collectivism-individualism has increased in popularity, in large part because of the highly influential work of Geert Hofstede. In the late 1960's and early 1970's, Hofstede conducted a study of values on comparable populations of employees of one transnational corporation with subsidiaries in 40 countries. This study resulted in his widely cited book, *Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work-related Values* (1980), in which he identified the collectivism-individualism dimension as one means to distinguish among national cultures. He defined collectivism and individualism as follows:

Individualism stands for a preference for a loosely knit social framework in society wherein individuals are supposed to take care of themselves and their immediate families only. Its opposite,

Collectivism, stands for a preference for a tightly knit social framework in which individuals can expect their relatives, clan, or other in-group to look after them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty. The fundamental issue addressed by this dimension is the degree of interdependence a society maintains among individuals. It relates to people's self-concept: 'I' or 'we'. (Hofstede, 1980: 83)

In *Culture's Consequences*, Hofstede found that two regions with Chinese cultural ancestry, Hong Kong and Taiwan, scored high on collectivism and low on individualism. Because Mainland China was undergoing a series of economic crises and political turmoil at the time when the study was conducted, no transnational corporations were permitted entry into the rigidly state-controlled economy. Therefore, Mainland China was not included in his study.

However, his findings did kindle interest among researchers from China and elsewhere to engage in further study of Chinese culture and values in light of the collectivist tradition and orientation (Tu, 1985; Liu, 1987; Bond, 1991; Pan, Chaffee, Chu & Ju 1994). Many successive studies conducted in Mainland China (Tu, 1985; Liu, 1987; Pan et al. 1994) corroborated Hofstede's findings: an extreme form of collectivism is personified by the Chinese value system. Traditional Chinese culture values group cohesiveness and social order (Bond, 1991; Hsu, 1981). Under the Confucian doctrine, traditional Chinese culture emphasizes people's existence *in relationship to others*. People are born into a group and cannot prosper alone. To a large extent, the success of an individual depends upon the harmony and strength of the group (Bond, 1991).

In a very different vein, Hofstede discovered that Western countries generally scored high on individualism and low on collectivism. American values, in particular,

were found to manifest an extreme form of individualism. These findings corroborated the results of numerous earlier studies (Tocqueville, [1835] 1969; Lipset, 1963; Williams, 1970; Lukes, 1973; Sampson, 1977). From the original founding of their nation, Americans have been enjoined to value “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” and to think of themselves as separate and independent individuals, isolated from others (Tocqueville, [1835] 1969). Modern American cultural icons continue to articulate this belief in individualism (Sampson, 1977). Common to many of the discussions of distinctive American values is the perception that Americans value independence, personal freedom and individual autonomy, and admire those who achieve through their own efforts (Rokeach & Ball-Rokeach, 1989). Every American is exhorted to create a personal, independent, and unique self (Sampson, 1977).

Since Hofstede’s study, comparative studies between Chinese and Americans have placed emphasis on examining value differences in terms of their different approaches to the collectivism-individualism dimension (Leung & Iwawaki, 1988). To a large extent, these studies have encouraged the creation of stereotypical collectivist and conservative “Eastern values” and similarly stereotypical individualistic and non-traditional “Western values”. However, is this “black and white” portrait of Chinese and American values accurate?

I begin this study without assuming that it is. I maintain that any given society, however individualistic and modern it might seem in a relative sense, retains some collectivist and traditional value elements, and vice versa. Furthermore, traditional and modern forms are not always in conflict, nor are they mutually exclusive systems. In fact, modern forms may support and even strengthen traditional forms (Gusfield, 1967).

It is therefore important to adopt an unbiased approach in examining the interplay between the two forms of value orientation.

Over twenty years have elapsed since Hofstede's study (1980). Significant changes have taken place in China. For example, since economic and political reforms began in 1979, three distinct and competing value forces have been playing an active role in redefining Chinese values: traditional Chinese cultural orthodoxy (mainly Confucianism), Communist ideology (Marxism and Maoism), and Western influences (Pan et al, 1994: 25). It has been a period of declining Communist dominance in ideology, reviving traditional cultural elements, and the opening of China to Western influences (Whyte, 1989). Given these dramatic changes in China, one may well wonder to what extent traditional collectivist values still hold. How closely does Chinese society today hew to Confucian teachings?

The central question in this study is how much do traditional collectivist values remain in contemporary China after the political and economic reforms and the "cultural invasion" from the Western mass media? My approach is also comparative. I am comparing how different and/or similar Chinese and American cultural values are today in terms of their respective collectivist and individualistic orientations, when examined in historical perspective.

Methodologically, this study aims at studying general value patterns through the analysis of individual responses to the World Values Survey (1995-1997), a massive cross-culture survey of people's views of self, life, family, work, politics, religion and general ideas (Inglehart, 1997). I have chosen questions that are most relevant to the

collectivism-individualism dimension and compare the answers given by Chinese and American respondents.

Through this comparative value study, I would like to contribute my understanding to one of the defining debates of sociology -- the nature of the relationship between individual and society (Brym & Fox 1989: 4). Peabody (1985: 136) proposed that one way to investigate the relationship between individual and society is to analyze value differences between nations. Kluckhohn (1962: 317) also argued that all cultures reflect somewhat distinct answers to essentially the same questions posed by human biology and by the generalities of the human situation. Thus, cross-national analysis of value differences provides a valuable and revealing contribution to our understanding of the individual's relationship to society.

In addition, I believe this study is of practical significance. As Hofstede (1980: 9) argued, a better understanding of "invisible" cultural differences is one of the main contributions the social sciences can make to practical policy makers in governments, organizations and institutions – and to ordinary citizens. From an individual perspective, the ability to understand cultural differences and exercise influence in cross-cultural interpersonal networks is now regarded as an essential competency for "global citizens" (Pan et al, 1994: 11-13). Cross-cultural interactions will be more effective if people have strong cultural awareness and know how to deal with people with different values and cultural backgrounds.

China and America, the two nations in my study, enjoy special significance in comparative value studies. America, an advanced capitalist society and the world largest economy, is for many the prototype of "the West", and China, one of the world's earliest

civilizations and the fastest growing developing nation, is often referred to as representative of “the East”. A comparative value study of these two countries enhances our knowledge about where the two cultures and social systems converge and diverge. As the world is growing increasingly interdependent, knowledge and understanding of other cultures become vital to success in both competition and cooperation. Therefore, it is my hope that this study will foster mutual understanding between the two cultures which would benefit both in the long run.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides an overview of the researches that have inspired the present study and contributed to the formulation of the research problems to be examined. The chapter is composed of five parts.

Part 1 introduces the theoretical basis that has generated my interest as well as laid the foundation for the present study. I also present the general goal of this study: to provide an understanding of individuals' relationship to society. Part 2 introduces an empirical study that has provided practical and operational guidance for my study. I briefly review Hofstede's cross-cultural study and the dimensions for comparative studies he has identified, one of which constitutes the core element of my examination: collectivism and individualism. Part 3 provides a theoretical conceptualization of collectivism and individualism as contrasting cultural and value orientations. Each aspect of the two orientations is compared in parallel structure. Part 4 introduces the interest of the study: two national value systems that historically are representative of the collectivism and individualism dimensions. I discuss the backgrounds of collectivism in Chinese values and those of individualism in American values. I also introduce the notion of value change, as one of the points of examination for this study. Part 5 lays out four particular aspects of the value system on which my study bases its comparison: primary socialization values, work values, Social Relationship Values, and motivation values. The two value systems are compared in each of these four aspects, and four hypotheses for empirical testing are developed accordingly.

The sequence of the five parts resembles the process through which I developed my research problem. I aim to present a natural flow of my thinking process when conceptualizing the proposed study, while laying out the theoretical foundations for my arguments.

PART 1: INDIVIDUAL'S RELATIONSHIP TO GROUP

As one of the defining debates to distinguish sociology as a separate discipline, the nature of the relationship between the individual and society has been a concentration of academic debate for decades. There are different conceptualizations of the same problem. Classical examples include Durkheim's studies of suicide (1951) and the division of labor ([1893] 1964), Marx's theory of alienation (1964), Mead's study of "the self" in society (1934), and Robert E. Park's study of collective behavior and social control (1967). Considerable attention has been devoted to the problem of how to maintain *both* social order and individual autonomy in society.

According to Emile Durkheim (Coser, 1971: 132), human beings are creatures whose desires are unlimited. These desires can only be held in check by external controls, that is, by social control. A condition of normlessness (anomie) occurs when individual desires are no longer regulated by common norms. Consequently, societies may be characterized by greater or lesser degrees of normative regulation, reflecting closer or weaker ties of individuals to society.

Durkheim discusses individuals' ties to the group in *The Division of Labor in Society* ([1893] 1964). Prior to the industrial revolution, "because of the unitary character and constitution of the group" (Hedley, 1992: 108), individuality was

minimized. However, technologically improved means of transportation and communication lead to increasing differentiation in society, prompted by population growth, urbanization and increased moral density (Durkheim, 1964: 256-263). As a result, the basis for social integration, that is, individual cohesion within society, changed from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity (Hedley, 1992: 110). Specifically, mechanical solidarity represents a collective focus in which permanent relations form among similar others in traditional societies, while organic solidarity represents an individual focus in which temporary relations form in complex societies among dissimilar others. This shift results in profound changes in the structure of social relationships and an increasing emphasis on individuality.

The different forms of society that are congruent with more collectivist and more individualistic self-concepts were recognized independently by early sociologists. One of the best known is Tönnies, who coined the terms (1963) *Gemeinschaft* (low individualism) in opposition to *Gesellschaft* (high individualism). These terms describe two types of social entities concerning individuals' relationships to society. *Gemeinschaft* describes the community-focused relationships of small villages. It results from mutual sympathy, habit, and common beliefs and is "willed" for the benefit of *all* members in small communities. On the other hand, *Gesellschaft* describes the more association-based relationships of urban societies, intended by their constituents to facilitate achieving specific ends (Heberle, 1968: 100). Among the key factors for the transition from a predominantly *Gemeinschaft* to a predominantly *Gesellschaft* social order are increasing commercialization, the rise of the modern state, and the progress of science (Heberle, 1968; Blumberg and Winch, 1972).

Peabody (1985: 136) proposed that one way to investigate the relationship between individual and society is to analyze value differences between nations. Kluckhohn (1962: 317) also argued that all cultures reflect somewhat distinct answers to essentially the same questions posed by human biology and by the generalities of the human situation. Thus, cross-national analysis of value differences provides a valuable and revealing contribution to our understanding of this issue – the individual's relationship to society.

PART 2: HOFSTEDE'S EMPIRICAL STUDY

This part introduces an empirical study that has provided practical and operational guidance for my study. Through a brief review of Hofstede's cross-cultural study, I present the collectivism-individualism that he identified as the core element of my comparative value study.

In recent decades, the idea of contrasting societies on the basis of differences in collectivism-individualism has gained increasing scholarly attention, in large part because of the highly influential study of Geert Hofstede. In the late 1960's and early 1970's, Hofstede gained access to two attitude surveys conducted by a large, American-owned multinational firm, including comparable samples of employees in all the forty countries where this firm was represented. Hofstede's approach was to analyze the data in such a way that he was able to make comparisons among countries and provide us with possible ways of classifying the cultural differences and similarities he found among these forty nations.

In his widely cited book *Culture's Consequences--International Differences in Work-Related Values*, Hofstede (1980) differentiated country-level individualism from three other multi-dimensional concepts: “power distance”, “masculinity”, and “uncertainty avoidance”. The specific questions used to assess individualism focused on the workplace, contrasting the extent to which employees valued personal choice and initiative to the extent they valued job security and external conditions (physical conditions in the workplace). Hofstede also reviewed the implications of these job-relevant values for societies at large.

Although certainly not the first social scientist to focus explicitly on culture, Hofstede’s model was important because it organized cultural differences into overarching patterns, which facilitated comparative research and inspired a rapidly expanding body of cultural and cross-cultural research. The present study focuses on the “collectivism-individualism” dimension identified by Hofstede.

PART 3: COLLECTIVISM-INDIVIDUALISM DIMENSION

In this part, I provide a theoretical overview of collectivism and individualism in terms of their implications for value orientations, as a theoretical framework to understand and compare the two sets of national values.

Collectivism

The core element of collectivism is the assumption that groups bind and mutually obligate individuals. From this core, there are a number of consequences or implications.

Although sometimes seen as simple opposites, it is probably more accurate to conceptualize collectivism and individualism as worldviews that differ in the issues they consider significant (Kwan & Singelis, 1998). According to Schwartz (1990), collectivist societies are communal, characterized by diffuse, mutual obligations and expectations based on ascribed status. In these societies, social units with a common fate, common goals, and common values are centralized; the personal is simply a component of the social, making the in-group the key unit of analysis (Triandis, 1995). This description focuses on collectivism as a social way of being, oriented toward in-groups and away from out-groups (Oyserman & Markus, 1993). Because in-groups include family, clan, ethnic, religious, and other intimate groupings, Hui (1988) and Triandis (1995) have proposed that collectivism is a diverse construct, joining together culturally disparate foci on different kinds and levels of reference groups.

Given these definitions, we can easily discern plausible consequences of collectivism along the following dimensions: self-concept, well-being, and relationality. With regard to the self, collectivism implies that group membership is a central aspect of identity (Hofstede, 1980; Hsu, 1983; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). It also implies that valued personal traits reflect the goals of collectivism, such as sacrifice for the common good and maintaining harmonious relationships with close others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Oyserman, 1993, Triandis, 1995).

With regard to well-being, collectivism implies that life satisfaction derives from successfully carrying out social roles and obligations and avoiding failures in these domains (Kwan & Singelis, 1998; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). It also implies that

restraint in emotional expression, rather than open and direct expression of personal feelings, is valued as a means of ensuring in-group harmony.

Last, with regard to relationality, definitions of collectivism imply that important group memberships are ascribed and fixed. They are permanent roles to which people must accommodate themselves. Relationships within groups are generalized and pervasive (Triandis, 1995; Morris & Leung, 2000).

Individualism

The core element of individualism is the assumption that individuals are independent of one another. From this core, again a number of plausible implications of individualism can be highlighted. Hofstede (1980: 214) defines individualism as a focus on rights over duties, a concern for oneself and immediate family, an emphasis on personal autonomy and self-fulfillment, and the basing of one's identity on one's personal accomplishments. In a similar vein, Waterman (1984) defines individualism as a focus on personal responsibility and freedom of choice, living up to one's potential, and respecting the integrity of others, while Schwartz (1990) defines individualistic societies as fundamentally contractual, consisting of narrow primary groups and negotiated social relations, with specific obligations and expectations focused on achieving status. All these definitions conceptualize individualism as a worldview that centralizes the individual—personal goals, personal uniqueness, and personal control, while peripheralizing the social (Hsu, 1983; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Sampson, 1977; Triandis, 1995).

Parallel to my discussion of collectivism, I also discuss plausible consequences of individualism in the following three aspects: self-concept, well-being, and relationality. First, with regard to self-concept, individualism implies feeling good about oneself, being concerned with personal success, and having many unique or distinctive personal attitudes and opinions (Oyserman & Markus, 1993; Triandis, 1995). Second, with regard to well-being, individualism implies that open emotional expression and attainment of one's personal goals are important sources of personal satisfaction (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Last, relationality implies that relationships and group memberships are impermanent, specific, and nonintensive (Shweder & Bourne, 1982).

PART 4: CHINESE & AMERICAN VALUES

This part provides a detailed discussion of Chinese and American values, the two national value systems that are representative of the collectivism and individualism dimensions respectively. I also introduce the notion of value change, as one of the points of examination for this study.

To define "culture" with precision is at least a daunting task and at worst an impossible one (Pan, Chaffee, Chu & Ju, 1994). But some core elements of culture can be identified. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952: 157) conclude that a culture is revealed by the commonalities in beliefs, value orientations, behavior patterns, symbols of communication, community relationships and norms that are shared by most of the members. "Self" or individual occupies the central position, perceiving and participating in relationships with other "cultural elements" (Chu, 1989). Each culture has distinct value systems and orientations. In Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's (1961) terms, a value

system is a set of principles that is “patterned” in a distinct configuration, which distinguishes one value system from another. Identifying and locating the “core values” in each culture is essential in comparing the differences between Chinese and American cultures.

Chinese Values & Collectivism

A core value of traditional Chinese culture is collectivism. Chinese culture is widely considered to be built upon a value system crystallized in Confucianism, a traditional value system revealed through elaborate definitions, regulations, and moral and ethical principles regarding individuals’ roles and their relationship to the group (Liu, 1987). Under such influence, traditional Chinese culture values group cohesiveness and social order (Bond, 1991; Hsu, 1981).

Various factors have contributed to the dominance of Confucian ideology in the Chinese value system. Most important was the fact that Confucianism was promoted to a supreme status as a virtuous normative belief system by the Chinese imperial state (Chirot, 1992). Since the fourteenth century, Confucian thought has become the standard against which all behavior in China is evaluated (Tu, 1985). At the heart of the Confucian system lies a linear hierarchy that governs different social structures (Liu, 1987). This hierarchy is delineated by clearly defined roles, responsibilities, and customs that regulate interactions among occupants of designated positions at various levels (Pan, Chaffee, Chu & Ju, 1994). Consequently Confucianism, to a large extent, is a highly ordered empirical manifestation of collectivism.

This collectivist orientation was further embedded in Chinese values by the Communist regime. One of the outcomes brought about by the Communist revolution in the mid-twentieth century was the ideological emphasis on power, control, solidarity and community (Eisenstadt, 1979: 230). According to Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), the supreme leader of Communist China for 27 years, individualism and liberalism are manifest in the selfishness and aversion to discipline characteristic of the petty bourgeoisie (Ho, 1978: 395). Mao's anti-individualistic, pro-collectivistic ethos was deeply rooted in Chinese tradition (Ho, 1978: 396), and reinforced the collectivist orientation in the Chinese value system.

Guided by the Confucian belief system and Communist ideology, the Chinese people have developed a most pervasive collectivist characterization of "selflessness" (Hall & Ames, 1998: 23). For example, Hsu (1971) points out that the Western concept of "personality", a separate entity distinct from society and culture, does not exist in the Chinese tradition. The Chinese use the word "ren (jen)" for "man" in order to describe a "human constant", which includes the person himself, plus "his intimate societal and cultural environment which makes his existence meaningful" (Hsu, 1971: 28). Munro (1979) argues that

Selflessness ... is one of the oldest values in China, present in various forms in Taoism and Buddhism, but especially in Confucianism. The selfless person is always willing to subordinate his own interests, or that of some small group (like a village) to which he belongs, to the interest of a larger social group. (Munro, 1979: 40)

In a similar vein, Lord (1990) noted that all through their long history, the Chinese have prized personal sacrifice above individuality. As an example, she describes the cultivation of the quality of ren (to endure), which is presented as a cardinal virtue.

The Western notion of the individual as a self-contained, independent, pioneering spirit (Sampson, 1977) presents the concept of a person which has within it a value structure. In contrast, according to Hsu (1981: 10), the Chinese view of a person is more “situation-centered” and therefore inclined to be “socially and psychologically dependent on others, for this situation-centered individual is tied closer to his world and his fellow men”. Barlow and Lowe (1987) relate this theme to ancient Confucian teaching which sets the standards for harmonious relationships as not distinguishing oneself from one’s social context and social relationships.

Another important concept for understanding Chinese collectivist values is “face”, a literal translation of the Chinese Lian (lien) and Mianzi (Mien-tzu). This concept is deeply embedded in an individual’s relations within a social system (Granovetter, 1985). Basically, “face” describes the “proper” relationships within one’s social environment, which is as essential to a person (and his or her family) as the front of his/her head. The importance of face is the consequence of living in a society that is very conscious of social contexts (Ho, 1976: 879). “Lian”, in particular, refers to both personal prestige as recognized by society and “a social sanction for enforcing moral standards” (Hu, 1944: 45). Individuals are controlled by a need for not losing face. Face is lost when individuals, either through their actions or those of people closely related to them, fail to meet essential requirements placed upon them by virtue of the social position they occupy (Ho, 1976: 867). Consequently, the connotations associated with the concept “face” are closely associated with the collectivist orientation of Chinese culture and values.

American Values & Individualism

American values manifest an extreme form of individualism (Tocqueville, [1835] 1969; Lipset, 1963; Williams, 1970; Lukes, 1973; Sampson, 1977). Built upon the basis of Western tradition, the American value system accentuates an individualistic orientation, especially due to the absence of a feudal tradition and the American Revolution and its consequences (Peabody, 1985: 162).

“Rugged individualism” has been an American hallmark at least since Tocqueville’s ([1835] 1969) classic analysis of America that linked individualism with individual rights and freedom, equal opportunity, and limited government (Lukes, 1973). Other scholars have also associated American individualism with the Puritans, the founding fathers, the birth of a market economy, and the vast American frontier (Curry & Valois, 1991).

From the founding of their country, Americans have been enjoined to value “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” and to think of themselves as separate and independent individuals, apart from others. In Tocqueville’s ([1835] 1969: 508) words, “Such folk owe no man anything and hardly expect anything from anybody. They form the habit of thinking of themselves in isolation and imagine that their whole destiny is in their own hands.” Each individual has value as a human being, and there is a tendency not to recognize qualitative differences between people that provide a categorical basis for deference (Bryce, 1891: 618). Derived from this central aspect are a number of characteristics such as competition, status uncertainty (the non-recognition of ascribed

social status helps to initiate status striving) (Lipset, 1963), “other-directedness” (Riesman et al., 1953), informality, and rejection of authority (Lipset, 1963).

Modern American cultural icons, such as Abraham Maslow (1970), continue to articulate this belief in individualism. Personal privacy, individual rights, and personal freedoms are celebrated; personal pleasure and autonomy are valued; and every American is exhorted to create a personal, private, and unique self (Sampson, 1977). Americans celebrate individualism as a uniquely American characteristic, an integral part of their culture.

The American stress on the individual as a concrete point of reference begins at a very early age when American children are encouraged to be autonomous (Stewart, 1972: 70). A consequence of individual autonomy is that the concept of self does not usually merge with the concept of group (Stewart, 1972: 72), i.e., any group ranging from small to large (e.g., nation) is a collection of individuals. People maintain a separate sense of individuality, which requires being given opportunities to express their opinion and to take part in group decisions. Individual achievement encompasses two separate meanings: individual responsibility for achievement, and individual rights to a minimum of interference in this undertaking (Peabody, 1985).

The central element in examining values involves the concept of the self, since values are learned and internalized by members of a society for their orientations to and adaptations in a social world (Williams, 1970). The concept of an individual self is an integral aspect of American culture (Stewart, 1972), to such an extent that Lasch (1979) has called it “the culture of narcissism”.

Value Change

In comparing the two historically different value systems of China and America, I also realize that ideologies and societal norms undergo constant change. In China's case, since the economic and political reforms began in 1979, three distinct and competing influences are operating in contemporary Chinese society: traditional Chinese cultural orthodoxy (mainly Confucianism), Marxism and Maoism, and Western influences (Pan et al, 1994: 25). It has been a period of declining Communist dominance in ideology, revived traditional cultural elements, and the opening of China to Western influences (Whyte, 1989). Therefore, it would be remiss of me to discuss Chinese values solely in terms of their traditional context. I should also pay attention to the interplay between contributing factors of value change.

On the other hand, value change in America has been somewhat more gradual and less radical in nature. In the 1980s, however, there was a dominant theme calling for "traditional values", some of which are similar to traditional Chinese values: family obligations, traditional male-female role differentiations, and more of an emphasis on community (Pan et al., 1994). However, individualistic ideals such as freedom, independence and equality remain central to any American construction of political and social issues (Pan et al., 1994: 28).

Part 5: COMPARING VALUES

There are many different ways of comparing national value differences. Over the last decades, researchers from all over the world have identified numerous aspects by which national values can be compared, such as primary socialization values (Bond, 1991; Ho & Kang, 1984; Triandis, 1995), work values (Hofstede, 1980 & 1997; Lincoln & Kalleberg, 1990; Ouchi, 1981), social relationship values (Hofstede, 1980 & 1997; Etzioni, 1975; Fu & Yukl, 2000) and motivation values (Hofstede, 1980 & 1997). These four aspects contain important and distinguishing elements of different values. As a result, these aspects have been given a great deal of research attention and there are abundant research findings to draw from. These value aspects are also included in my data set. Therefore, I choose these four aspects to compare and examine the collectivism-individualism orientation of Chinese and American values.

In the following paragraphs, I review the existing literature and discuss each of these sets of values in comparative terms and develop testable hypotheses.

Socialization Values

Primary socialization, the process by which children are educated on the attitudes, values and behaviors of a society, exists in every culture and distinguishes one value system from another. Due to the influence of cultural traditions and social development, characteristics valued by parents in one society may not be valued in another (Xie & Hulthren, 1994). In addition, ecological factors that are closely linked to a particular

value in one culture may not be associated with that value in another (Andes & Xiao, 1999). Socialization values are therefore an important indicator in the analysis of national value differences.

Although some studies have examined primary socialization values and their predictors from a comparative perspective, the focus has been on the relationships between social systems and primary socialization values within given societies (Pearlin & Kohn, 1966; Barry et al., 1976; Ellis and Petersen, 1992; Ester, Halman & De More, 1993). Only a few studies have examined the level of collectivism-individualism as a contrasting factor of different socialization values (Bond, 1991; Ho & Kang, 1984; Triandis, 1995). These particular studies have provided us with valuable insight into understanding the values differences between China and America.

Triandis (1995) suggests that in collectivist cultures, individuals are expected to subordinate their personal goals to the goals of various in-group, such as the family. However, in an individualistic culture (Triandis, 1995), it is generally considered acceptable for individuals to place personal goals ahead of the group's goals. Consequently, in accordance with this general value orientation, parents in collectivist cultures are more likely to encourage children to be obedient and to conform to the needs of the group.

In a collectivist family, children learn to take their bearings from others when it comes to opinion. Personal opinions do not exist (Hofstede, 1997: 77). On the contrary, in an individualist family, children are expected and encouraged to develop their opinions independently, and a child who reflects only the opinions of others is considered to have a weak character (Hofstede, 1997: 79).

Ho and Kang (1984) propose that Chinese parents have been more concerned with children's submissiveness and obedience to parents than their American counterparts. Also, less emphasis on children's obedience and more concentration on independence have been observed among American parents (Bond, 1991; Ho & Kang, 1984).

Based on these previous research findings on primary socialization values, I propose Hypothesis 1:

Hypothesis 1

Chinese and Americans emphasize different values in primary socialization. In particular, Chinese parents will more likely encourage values reflecting collectivism, such as obedience to parents, while American parents are more likely than Chinese parents to emphasize values reflecting individualism, such as learning to be independent.

Work Values

Many studies have shown that work values are also reflective of national culture (Hofstede, 1980 & 1997; Lincoln & Kalleberg, 1990; Ouchi, 1981; Whyte, 1956).

Researchers have developed different measures to analyze work related values, the most common of which are approaches involving the analysis of job satisfaction, job perceptions, and personal goals and beliefs. For example, in Hofstede's study (1980), he used "personal goals" questions to measure work-related values. Personal goals questions ask respondents "how important" they consider each of a list of aspects of the

work situation, such as high earnings, job challenge, individual initiative, job respect, and good physical working conditions (Hofstede, 1980: 66). Hofstede proposed that in an international survey, these questions would help in highlighting differences in mentality among countries (1980: 67). This type of question has also been used in many research studies in America in the 1950s and 1960s, mostly for testing theoretical models of job satisfaction (Hofstede, 1980: 68).

In his analysis of these personal goals questions, Hofstede divided countries into two major categories according to the different aspects of work that workers valued. He found that workers from individualistic cultural backgrounds stress the individual's independence from the organization, while workers from collectivist cultural backgrounds stress the individual's inter dependence and connection with the organization to which they belong.

In a similar vein, other researchers have also discussed the distinction in work-related values between individualistic and collectivist cultures. Dore (1973) and Lincoln and McBride (1987) proposed that the collectivism-individualism division creates two systems of employment – an internal labor market and an external labor market. An empirical example of an internal labor market can be found in many East Asian business organizations. This system involves more internal recruitment and promotion of personnel within organizations, rather than reliance on external labor markets. Typically, young employees start at a relatively low position in an organization and proceed to advance within a highly calibrated hierarchical system over the course of their careers (Hedley, 1992: 255). Workers in this type of system become more committed to their

employing organizations than to their specialized role skills. Hofstede (1980: 218) notes that internal labor markets are predominant in more collectivist cultures.

In contrast, in the West, workers most often gain employment on a competitive basis through an external labor market (Hedley, 1992: 256). Employees in this type of system are more strongly attached to the profession or occupation in which they were trained, than to the organization that employs them. They advance in their careers through expanding their professional horizons with different employers (Hedley, 1992: 266). External labor markets predominate in individualistic cultures (Hofstede, 1980: 218).

At the collectivist pole, employees have more “moral involvement” (Etzioni, 1975) with their employer, i.e., the relationship between the individual and his/her group is seen in moral terms. An individual’s prestige, order, duty and security are provided by the organization in which he/she is a member (Hofstede, 1980: 235). Consequently, workers value the aspects of work that relate them to the organization and the aspects that accentuate their identity within the group. Their “personal goals” reflect a more “local” mentality (Hofstede, 1980: 220).

At the individualistic pole, employees have a more “calculative involvement” (Etzioni, 1975) with their employing organization. They act as “economic men” (Hofstede, 1997: 63), as individuals with their own needs and interests. Poor performance on the part of an employee or a better pay offer from another employer are legitimate and socially accepted reasons for terminating work relationships (Hofstede, 1997: 64). Workers stress their independence from the organization and value work from

which they can get a personal sense of accomplishment. Their “personal goals” reflect a more “cosmopolitan” mentality (Hofstede, 1980: 219).

Based on these research findings, and Hofstede’s study (1980) in particular, I propose Hypothesis 2:

Hypothesis 2

Chinese and Americans value different aspects of work. Chinese workers value aspects of work that associate them with the organization and accentuate their identity within the group, such as being respected by others for the job they have, while American workers stress their independence from the organization and value work from which they can get a personal sense of accomplishment, such as the opportunity to use their initiative.

Social Relationship Values

Studies have also shown that social relationships at the workplace are reflective of national culture (Etzioni, 1975; Hofstede, 1980 & 1997; Fu & Yukl, 2000; Lincoln & Kalleberg, 1990; Ouchi, 1981). For example, Hofstede’s research demonstrates that collectively held values and societal norms determine to a large extent the political and organizational solutions that are feasible within any given national culture (Hofstede 1980: 373). In some cases, these norms may be formalized as societal laws, limiting the use of power to influence the decisions and actions of others (Fu & Yukl, 2000). These societal norms specify acceptable forms of interpersonal relationships in organizations

and have led to the development and patterned maintenance of consonant institutions (Hofstede 1980: 26).

At a micro level, deep cultural undercurrents shape our lives in subtle but highly consistent ways (Hall, 1981: 98). Managers who grow up in a culture are likely to internalize the dominant cultural values, and these values influence overall corporate values and social relationships in the work environment where they are major decision makers. Organizational policies and requirements for members, especially activities such as recruitment, training, payment, evaluation, promotion, and retirement, to a great extent reflect the collectivism-individualism orientations of different cultures (Hofstede, 1980: 373).

In most collectivist cultures, directly confronting another person is considered rude and undesirable. As Hofstede (1997: 74) states, “in a situation of intense and continuous social contact the maintenance of harmony with one’s social environment becomes a key virtue which extends to many spheres in social life”. In the particular case of China, social relationships at the workplace are also influenced by Confucian ideology: “harmony should always be maintained and direct confrontations avoided” (Hall & Ames, 1998: 110). “Wu Lun”, an emphasis on harmonious and stable hierarchy and complementarity of roles (Pan et al, 1994: 55), plays an important role in defining the nature of the relationships between superiors and subordinates.

On the other hand, in individualistic cultures, speaking one’s mind is a virtue. Telling the truth about how one feels is perceived to be characteristic of a sincere and honest person. Confrontation can be salutary; a clash of opinions is believed to lead to a higher truth (Hofstede, 1997: 59-63).

As discussed in the previous section, in more collectivist climates, employees have a “moral” involvement with their organizations. Subordinates become dependent on power figures (Hofstede, 1997: 55). The relationship between superiors and subordinates in collectivist business organizations is more pervasive and generalized, resembling a family relationship with mutual obligations of protection in exchange for loyalty (Hofstede, 1997: 64). This relationship prevails over all working tasks (Hofstede, 1997: 65).

At the individualistic pole, the relationship between employers and employees is more specific and contractually limited. It is based on a formal contract between buyers and sellers of labor (Hofstede, 1997: 65), such that subordinates are less dependent on powerful others (Hofstede, 1997: 55). Unlike the emphasis placed on superior-subordinate relationship in a collectivist climate, the nature of the task prevails over relationships at the individualistic pole (Hofstede, 1997: 65).

Based on these research findings, I propose Hypothesis 3:

Hypothesis 3

Chinese and American workers hold different approaches regarding superior-subordinate relationships. For Chinese, the relationship between superior and subordinate is more pervasive and generalized; relationships prevail over tasks. For Americans, the superior-subordinate relationship is more specific and contractually limited; tasks prevail over relationships.

Motivation Values

Hofstede's study (1980) also suggests that the level of collectivism-individualism in a value system influences people's ideas regarding the motivation to work. In a more collectivist climate, individual initiative is socially frowned upon. Managers endorse "traditional" points of view and do not support employee initiative. On the contrary, in a more individualistic climate, individual initiative is socially encouraged. Managers endorse "modern" points of view and stimulate employee initiative at work (Hofstede, 1980: 230).

Other researchers (Ho and Chiu, 1994; Fijineman, 1996; Triandis et al., 1985; Yamaguchi et al., 1995) discuss such distinctions from an individual perspective. They argue that in contrast to collectivism, individualism is associated with self-reliance and work toward the fulfillment of individual needs and interests. Those high in individualism strive for personal excellence and status (Ho and Chiu, 1994; Fijineman, 1996). Individuals take responsibility for their own actions. Individualists find their sense of worth and value through self-actualization or self-realization in order to develop to their fullest (Triandis et al., 1985; Yamaguchi et al., 1995). In his more recent study, Hofstede (1997: 73) also proposes that the ultimate goal of individualist societies is self-actualization by every individual, reflecting the emphasis on individual incentives in the motivation for success and personal development.

The differences in attitudes toward work motivation are also reflected by how people perceive resource distribution. Leung (1989) reviewed several empirical studies concerned with the way resources are distributed. He concluded that, in general, in equal

status situations equality is preferred in collectivist culture and equity in individualist cultures. Because equal distribution is associated with solidarity, harmony, and cohesion, it fits with the values of people in collectivist cultures. In contrast, because equity is compatible with productivity, competition and self-gain, it complements the values of people in individualist cultures (Leung, 1989).

From these research studies, I propose Hypothesis 4:

Hypothesis 4

Chinese and Americans are differently motivated to work. Americans are more motivated by individual incentives than Chinese. Americans are also more likely to support the view of higher reward for greater individual effort.

SUMMARY

In summary, this chapter describes the process through which the research problems of the proposed study are formulated. It contains a brief review of relevant literature, as well as theoretical propositions for empirical study. Table 2.1 presents a summary of these propositions.

Table 2.1 Description of Four Hypotheses

H'S	VALUES	DESCRIPTION
H1	Primary Socialization	Chinese and Americans emphasize different values in primary socialization. In particular, Chinese parents will more likely encourage values reflecting collectivism, such as obedience to parents, while American parents are more likely than Chinese parents to emphasize values reflecting individualism, such as learning to be independent.
H2	Work	Chinese and Americans value different aspects of work. Chinese workers value aspects of work that associate them with the organization and accentuate their identity within the group, such as being respected by others for the job they have, while American workers stress their independence from the organization and value work from which they can get a personal sense of accomplishment, such as the opportunity to use their initiative.
H3	Social Relationship	Chinese and American workers hold different approaches regarding superior-subordinate relationships. For Chinese, the relationship between superior and subordinate is more pervasive and generalized; relationships prevail over tasks. For Americans, the superior-subordinate relationship is more specific and contractually limited; tasks prevail over relationships.
H4	Motivation	Chinese and Americans are differently motivated to work. Americans are more motivated by individual incentives than Chinese. Americans are also more likely to support the view of higher reward for greater individual effort.

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the methodology of the proposed study and is composed of four parts: 1) Data and sampling, 2) Measures, 3) Method of analysis, and 4) Methodological difficulties. The first section provides relevant information on data collection and sampling procedures. The second section provides descriptive details of the independent and control variables. This section also includes discussion of survey questions that are used as measures of the dependent variables in the study. The third section introduces the statistical methods used to analyze each hypothesis and the rationale for the choice of these analytical methods. The fourth section outlines some of the methodological difficulties associated with cross-cultural research.

DATA & SAMPLING

Data for this study come from the Chinese sample and the American sample in the World Values Survey (WVS) (Inglehart 1995-1997). The principal investigating team was the World Values Study Group, with the fieldwork in most cases supported by agencies within the participating country. The first WVS survey was conducted between 1980 and 1984, followed by the second one between 1990 and 1993, and the third between 1995 and 1997. Consequently these series of surveys provide both longitudinal and cross-sectional comparisons of national values.

The 1995-1997 survey that this study uses presents a cross-national comparison of values and norms in over fifty countries on a wide variety of topics, such as the meaning and purpose of life, attitudes toward religion, politics, family and work, social relationships, views on the world economy and politics, and various contemporary social issues. Demographic and background information include family income, number of people residing in the home, size of locality, home ownership, region of residence, occupation of the head of the household, and respondents' age, gender, occupation, education, religion, religiosity, political party and union membership, country of origin and ethnicity.

The survey was carried out through face-to-face interviews, with a sampling universe consisting of all adult citizens aged eighteen and over (Inglehart, 1995-1997). In most countries, stratified multi-stage random sampling was used, with the samples being selected in two stages. First, a stratified random selection of sampling locations was made, ensuring that all regions were represented according to their population and size. Second, a random sample of individuals was drawn from each selected region (Inglehart, 1997: 7).

For the Chinese sample, Gallop-China (Beijing) conducted the survey in the fall of 1995 in collaboration with the World Values Study Group. The Chinese survey used stratified multi-stage random sampling, first stratifying provinces according to three levels of economic development, with several provinces being randomly selected within each of these strata. The sample, unlike the usual sampling design, is ninety percent urban and largely excludes the illiterate population. The total sample size is 1,500.

For the American sample, the Gallup Organization (Princeton) conducted the survey in the fall of 1995. All responses come from a representative sample of the adult population in the forty-eight continental United States. The total sample size is 1,542.

MEASURES

Independent Variable

The independent variable is country. The major goal of this study is to examine national value differences. Thus, country variable (selecting only China and America) is the independent variable for all analytic models.

Control Variables

The control variables are education, gender and age, all of which are background variables that were measured in the same way in both countries. These measures are outlined as follows:

Education

The respondents were asked to state the highest education they had attained (students were asked to state the highest level they expect to complete). Nine education levels range from “No formal education”(coded 1) to “University level education with degree”(coded 9). Higher scores indicate higher levels of education attainment.

Gender & Age

Two additional variables that require no explanation are gender (1 = male and 2 = female) and age (in years).

Table 3.1 and 3.2 present the control variables for both China and America. The continuous variables (age and education) are presented with their mean, range and standard deviation, and the categorical variable (gender) is presented with its percentage distribution.

Table 3.1 Description of Continuous Control Variables

Variables	Country	N	Mean	Min.	Max.	Std. Dev.
<i>Age</i>	CHINA	1500	38.73	18.00	87.00	13.90
	AMERICA	1518	48.31	18.00	91.00	17.91
<i>Education</i>	CHINA	1496	4.46	1.00	9.00	2.20
	AMERICA	1537	6.27	1.00	9.00	2.24

Table 3.2 Description of Categorical Control Variable

		CHINA		AMERICA	
		N	%	N	%
<i>Gender</i>	Male	799	53.27	766	49.68
	Female	701	46.73	776	50.32
	TOTAL	1500	100.00	1542	100.00

These tables reveal that the samples in the two countries have distinctively different distributions of age, education and gender. Consequently, I have included these three variables in all my analytic models to control for their effects on the dependent variables. In so doing, I hope to be able to report real, instead of spurious relationships between the independent and dependent variables.

Dependent Variables (DV)

For the purpose of testing my four hypotheses, I selected seven questions that measure the collectivism-individualism dimension. Through the analysis of either one or two questions, I provide results that speak to each of my four hypotheses.

DV-1 (Socialization Values)

Here is a list of qualities which children can be encouraged to learn at home. Which, if any, do you consider to be especially important?

	<i>Important</i>	<i>Not Mentioned</i>
<i>DV-1a</i> Independence	1	2
<i>DV-1b</i> Obedience	1	2

These two items measure an individual's values gained through primary socialization. The respondents were given a list of eleven items pertaining to child socialization orientations and were asked to choose the most important qualities that a child should be encouraged to learn at home. Independence is the value item that measures an individualistic orientation to primary socialization, whereas Obedience measures a collectivist orientation.

DV-2 (Work Values)

Here are some aspects of a job that people say are important. Please look at them and tell me which ones you personally think are important in a job:

	<i>Mentioned</i>	<i>Not Mentioned</i>
DV-2a <i>An opportunity to use initiative</i>	1	2
DV-2b <i>A job respected by people in general</i>	1	2

These two items measure an individual's work values. Respondents were given a list of eleven items outlining different aspects of a job and were asked to choose the items that they considered important. "An opportunity to use initiative" measures an individualistic orientation to work values, whereas "a job respected by people in general" measures a collectivist orientation to work.

DV-3 (Social Relationship Values)

People have different ideas about following instructions at work. Some say that one should follow instructions of one's superiors even when one does not fully agree with them. Others say that one should follow one's superior's instructions only when one is convinced that they are right. With which opinion do you agree?

DV-3

- 1 *Should follow instructions*
- 2 *Depends*
- 3 *Must be convinced first*
- 9 *Don't know*

This question measures people's attitudes about relationships toward superiors at work. Respondents who chose "should follow instructions" show a preference for relationships over tasks, reflecting a collectivist orientation, while respondents who chose "must be convinced first" show an emphasis on tasks over relationships, reflecting a more individualistic approach. Respondents who answered "depends" indicate a neutral value orientation. The answer "don't know" was excluded from the analysis.

DV-4 (Motivation Values)

Imagine two secretaries, of the same age, doing practically the same job. One finds out that the other earns \$50 a week more than she does. The better-paid secretary, however, is quicker, more efficient and more reliable at her job. In your opinion, is it fair or not fair that one secretary is paid more than the other?

DV-4a 1 *Fair*
2 *Unfair*
9 *Don't know*

This question measures people's general ideas on the motivation to work. Respondents who think it fair to pay more for higher quality work show greater support for individual incentives and efforts, reflecting an individualistic approach, while respondents who think it unfair do not support individual incentives and efforts, thus reflecting a more collectivist orientation. Respondents answering "don't know" were excluded from the analysis.

Please tell me your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the left, 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right, or you can choose any number in between.

DV-4b

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

*Incomes should be
made more equal*

*There should be greater
incentives for individual effort*

This question also measures work motivation. Higher scores indicate greater emphasis on individual incentives, an individualistic orientation, while lower scores support income equality, a collectivist approach.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

I chose three different models for analyzing measures of the dependent variables, based on their particular characteristics. I used binomial logistic regression models for five of the seven measures (DV-1a, DV-1b, DV-2a, DV-2b, DV-4a). Logistic regression is analogous to linear regression and is preferable when the dependent variable is binary or dichotomous, as is the case for these five measures (DeMaris, 1995: 958). Logistic regression expresses the effect of a predictor variable on a dependent variable in terms of log odds coefficients, which indicate the impact on the odds of a given outcome of each unit of increase in a predictor variable. A positive log odds coefficient (or an odds ratio greater than one) indicates that with each unit increase in the predictor, the likelihood of the outcome is increased; a negative log odds coefficient (or an odds ratio less than one) indicates a decreased likelihood of an outcome with each unit increase in the predictor

(DeMaris, 1995: 956). In addition to reporting the log odds coefficients and their respective levels of significance, I also express the results in terms of the expected probabilities for a more straightforward comparison of the two values.

I used both a multinomial logistic regression model and an ordered logit model to run DV-3, the dependent variable with three response categories (should follow instructions/depends/must be convinced first). Since these three response categories are ordinal indicators, an ordered logit model can be considered for testing this dependent variable (Long, 1997: 115). When the result of the parallel regression assumption test of the ordered logit model is insignificant in proportion to the model Chi-Square test, it indicates that the ordered logit model is sufficient in estimating the difference of response categories. On the other hand, when the value of the parallel regression assumption test is relatively large, it shows that staying with the ordered logit model will likely produce biased or even nonsensical results (Long, 1997: 148). I then present the test results from the multinomial regression model. Again, I report the results with the log odds coefficients and the expected probabilities.

I used a general linear model (GLM) for DV-4b, the continuous dependent variable that has ten response categories ranging from numeric value 1 to 10. The linear regression model is the most commonly used statistical method in the social sciences, and is preferred when the dependent variable is continuous and has been measured for all cases in the sample (Long, 1997: 11). I also report the regression coefficients of the independent and control variables.

In the first step of the analysis for all models, I used a reduced model in which only the independent variable is regressed against the dependent variables. In the second

step, I added the three control variables into the models to examine if the bivariate associations between country and value orientation are sustained in a more rigorous multivariate analysis. In the final step, I included interaction terms between the independent and control variables in the multivariate models to examine complex interaction effects among indicators. However, in order to save space, only the models with statistically significant interaction effects are reported. With this multi-stage test design, I can examine the effects of country difference on each dependent variable, taking into consideration any effects of the control variables.

METHODOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES

Survey interviews have been widely used in studies on values (Rokeach, 1979; Kohn, 1977). However, survey methodology certainly has its weaknesses in the cross-cultural study of value change. As Pan et al. (1994: 36) argue, the validity of any standardized questionnaire item varies in different cultural contexts. Survey questions about generic categories of behavior or feelings may miss culturally meaningful, yet individually different characteristics of underlying values (Pan et al., 1994: 37). Moreover, survey interviews may arouse different cultural reactions to answering questions from strangers (Frey 1970). In China specifically, long-term political censorship has made people wary about expressing their true opinions in public.

Language is another important concern in cross-cultural research, as language is not a neutral vehicle (Hofstede, 1980: 34). Our thinking is affected by the categories and words available in our language; therefore “observers are not led by the same picture of

the universe, unless their linguistic backgrounds are similar or can in some way be calibrated” (Fishman, 1974: 65).

The problems with the use of language in research on culture start before the actual translation of questions. For example, researchers and respondents may hold different normative expectations about the use of languages. In some cultures, being polite is more important than supplying correct information; in other cultures, respondents will never say “no” (Hofstede, 1980: 35). Furthermore, since it is extremely difficult to produce exact equivalences in another language, the quality of translations can also influence research findings.

In summary, it is important to recognize these and other problems associated with cross-cultural research. Surveys of this kind must always be interpreted in methodological context. In the next chapter, I present the detailed test results for each of my hypotheses.

Chapter 4

RESULTS

In this chapter, I present the results for each of the four hypotheses. For each hypothesis, I introduce the specific statistical techniques used for each test and the rationale for choosing them, interpret the tests results into words, and discuss the results' implications on understanding the value differences between Chinese and American cultures. After my detailed discussion of all the tests, I present a summary table of the test results for all hypotheses.

HYPOTHESIS 1

To test Hypothesis 1, I ran binomial logistic regression models for both DV-1a (“Children should learn to be independent”), which measures an individualistic orientation, and DV-1b (“Children should learn to be obedient”), which measures a collectivist orientation. I ran three types of logistic regression models for each measure. Model 1 is a reduced model in which only the independent variable is regressed against the dependent variables. Model 2 contains the independent and three control variables. When there was a statistically significant effect between the independent and control variables, I also present Model 3 with the significant interaction term.

Table 4.1 presents the logistic regression coefficients for the independent and control variables in all models. Positive signs indicate that the reference categories have lower value, while negative signs indicate that the reference categories have higher value.

For example, since China is the reference category, negative coefficients for the independent variable “country” indicate that the respondents from China scored higher than their American counterparts in emphasizing the primary socialization value of “independence”.

Table 4.1 Logistic Regression Coefficient for DV-1a (Socialization value: children should learn to be independent at home)

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Model 1</i> B	<i>Model 2</i> B	<i>Model 3</i> B
Country	-0.1226 ***	-0.1910 ***	-0.1976 ***
Gender	—	-0.0244	-0.0313
Age	—	-0.0072 **	-0.0064 **
Education	—	0.1100 ***	0.1139 ***
Country*Education	—	—	-0.0700 ***
Model Chi-Square	11.3600 ***	74.0200 ***	91.0100 ***

Notes: $N = 3010$

* $P < .05$ ** $P < .01$ *** $P < .001$

China is the reference category in all models

Female is the reference category in all models

Table 4.1 shows that country, the independent variable, has highly significant effects on socialization values (children should learn to be independent at home), when the effects of gender, age, education and the interaction effect between country and education are controlled. Among the background variables, age and education also show

strong effects on the dependent variable. There is also a significant interaction effect between country and education. In other words, education has a different impact on people’s perception of whether children should be encouraged to be independent at home in the two countries, when the effects of age and gender are controlled.

The model Chi-Square value measures the overall fit of the model. Model 3 has the highest model Chi-Square score (ChiSq=91.01; df=5; 3005, P<0.0001). The difference in the model Chi-Square value between Model 3 and the other two models are statistically significant. Model 3, the model with all the control variables and the interaction term, is therefore the best fit of all.

Table 4.2 Expected Probabilities of “It is important for children to learn to be independent at home”

		CHINA	AMERICA
		%	%
Gender	Male	52.8	43.0
	Female	54.3	44.5
Age	20	57.3	47.5
	40	54.1	44.3
	60	50.9	41.2
Education	No formal education	34.0	39.1
	Primary school level	42.7	41.2
	High school level	60.9	45.5
	University level	69.2	47.7
Average		53.6	43.7

Note: Evaluated at average age and education and with the mean of men and women.

Table 4.2 presents the expected probabilities of people's attitudes toward children's independence in the two countries based on Model 3. Contrary to Hypothesis 1, these expected probabilities reveal that on average *more* Chinese (53.6%) than Americans (43.7%) are expected to think it is important for children to learn to be independent.

The results, controlling on education, show the most variation in the two sets of national values. The emphasis on "independence" in children varies greatly among people with different levels of education: the more educated an individual is, the more likely he or she values "independence" in children. However, the effect of education is much more pronounced in China than in America. In China, a university graduate is 35.2% more likely to value "independence" than someone with no formal education. In contrast, in America there is little difference in attitudes toward children's independence by education. A university graduate is only 8.6% more likely to encourage children to be independent than someone with no formal education.

Regarding age, younger people are more likely than older people to promote "independence". In both countries, twenty-year-olds are about 6% more likely than sixty-year-olds to think it is important for children to learn to be independent. Regarding gender, although women are more likely than men to value "independence", this difference is negligible in both countries (the difference being 1.5% for both).

Regarding the other measure for Hypothesis 1 (DV-1b), Table 4.3 shows that country has highly significant effects on socialization value (children should learn to be obedient at home), controlling for the effects of gender, age and education. Among the

background variables, only education has a strong effect on the dependent variable.

There is no significant interaction effect between the independent and control variables.

The model Chi-Square value shows that Model 2 (ChiSq=93.87; df=4,3006; P<0.0001) is the better fit of the two. The difference in model Chi-Square value between the two models is statistically significant (P<0.0001).

Table 4.3 Logistic Regression Coefficient for DV-1b (Socialization value: children should learn to be obedient at home)

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Model 1</i> B	<i>Model 2</i> B
Country	0.1716 ***	0.3171 ***
Gender	—	0.0516
Age	—	-0.0007
Education	—	-0.1550 ***
Model Chi-Square	19.7100 ***	93.8700 ***

Notes: N = 3010

*P<.05 **P<.01 ***P<.001

China is the reference category in all models

Female is the reference category in all models

Table 4.4 presents the expected probabilities of people's attitudes toward whether children should be encouraged to be obedient at home in the two countries based on Model 2. Contrary to Hypothesis 1, on average *more* Americans (39.6%) than Chinese (25.8%) are expected to think it is important for children to learn to be obedient.

Table 4.4 Expected Probabilities of “It is important for children to learn to be obedient at home”

		CHINA	AMERICA
		%	%
Gender	Male	26.8	40.9
	Female	24.9	38.4
Age	20	26.2	40.0
	40	25.9	39.7
	60	25.6	39.4
Education	No formal education	40.7	56.4
	Primary school level	33.5	48.7
	High school level	21.3	33.8
	University level	16.6	27.3
Average		25.8	39.6

Note: Evaluated at average age and education and with the mean of men and women.

Education shows significant impact on people’s attitudes toward “children being obedient” in both countries. The emphasis on “obedience” in children varies greatly among people with different levels of education: the more educated an individual is, the less likely he or she values “obedience” in children. In both countries, a person with no formal education is much more likely to value “obedience” than a university graduate (the difference being 14% among Chinese and 19% among Americans).

Generally, men are more likely than women to value “obedience”. However, this difference is negligible in both countries (the difference being 1-2%). The responses

from different age cohorts are also insignificant in both countries (the difference being less than 1%).

In summary, the results for both tests of Hypothesis 1 contradict it. In fact, Chinese are more likely to value independence than Americans, while Americans are more likely to value obedience than Chinese. Education also shows a consistent effect in both countries: more educated people are more likely to encourage children to be independent, while less educated people are more likely to emphasize obedience in children. Both age and gender reveal little or no effects on socialization values.

HYPOTHESIS 2

To test Hypothesis 2, I ran binomial logistic regression models for both DV-2a (“It is important to have an opportunity to use initiative in a job”), which measures an individualistic orientation, and DV-2b (“It is important to have a job that is respected by people in general”), which measures a collectivist orientation in work values.

Similar to my test of Hypothesis 1, Model 1 is a bivariate model, Model 2 is a multivariate model with the independent and all the control variables, and Model 3 is a multivariate model that also includes significant interaction term(s) between the independent and control variable(s).

Table 4.5 shows that upon controlling for the effects of gender, age and education, country, the independent variable does not have a significant effect on people’s attitudes toward using initiative in a job. The result for Model 1 is spurious, as its significant effect, shown in the bivariate model, disappears after the control variables are added into the model (see Model 2). The introduction of an interaction term between country and

education does not change this result (see Model 3). The only variable that has any effect on the differences in attitude toward using initiative at work is education.

Table 4.5 Logistic Regression Coefficient for DV-2a (Work value: important to have an opportunity to use initiative in a job)

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Model 1</i> B	<i>Model 2</i> B	<i>Model 3</i> B
Country	0.2096 ***	0.0296	0.0300
Gender	—	0.0680	0.0697
Age	—	-0.0022	-0.0024
Education	—	0.2237 ***	0.2227 ***
Country*Education	—	—	0.0184
Model Chi-Square	32.9900 ***	216.3500 ***	217.4400 ***

Notes: N = 3010

*P<.05 **P<.01 ***P<.001

China is the reference category in all models

Female is the reference category in all models

The model Chi-Square values measure the overall fit of each model. Although Model 3 has the highest model Chi-Square score (ChiSq=217.44; df=5; 3005, P<0.0001), the difference between Model 3 and Model 2 is not statistically significant. In addition, the interaction term between country and education is also not significant. Consequently Model 2 is the best fit of all.

Table 4.6 Expected Probabilities of “It is important to use initiative in a job”

		CHINA	AMERICA
		%	%
Gender	Male	46.6	48.0
	Female	43.2	44.7
Age	20	46.2	47.6
	40	45.1	46.5
	60	44.0	45.5
Education	No formal education	23.4	24.5
	Primary school level	32.3	33.7
	High school level	53.9	55.4
	University level	64.7	66.0
Average		44.9	46.4

Note: Evaluated at average age and education and with the mean of men and women.

Table 4.6 presents the expected probabilities of people’s attitudes toward using initiative at work in the two countries based on Model 2. As the Chi-Square test of significance predicted, there is very little country difference. On average, 44.9% of Chinese and 46.4% of Americans think it is important to have an opportunity to use initiative in a job; however, this difference is not statistically significant. The results, controlling on education, show the most pronounced variation in work values. In both countries, the emphasis on using initiative varies greatly among people with different levels of education: the more educated an individual is, the more likely he or she values

using initiative at work. University graduates, in both China and America, are 41% more likely to value using initiative than those with no formal education.

Generally, men are more likely than women to value using initiative. However, this difference is negligible in both countries (the difference being 3%). The responses from different age cohorts are also insignificant in both countries (the difference being 2%).

Table 4.7 Logistic Regression Coefficient for DV-2b (work values: Important to have a job that is respected by people in general)

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Model 1</i> B	<i>Model 2</i> B
Country	-0.3312 ***	-0.3787 ***
Gender	—	-0.1382 **
Age	—	-0.0008
Education	—	0.0470 **
Model Chi-Square	80.9400 ***	103.2400 ***

Notes: N = 3010

*P<.05 **P<.01 ***P<.001

China is the reference category in all models

Female is the reference category in all models

Regarding the other measure for Hypothesis 2 (important to have a job respected by people in general), I also used logistic regression models. Model 1 is a reduced model in which only the independent variable is regressed against the dependent variables. Model 2 is a multivariate logistic model that contains the independent and three control

variables. Table 4.7 shows that country has a highly significant effect on people's attitudes toward having a job that others respect. Among the background variables, both gender and education show strong effects on the dependent variable. There is no statistically significant interaction effect between the independent and three control variables.

The model Chi-Square value shows that Model 2 (ChiSq=103.24; df=5,3005; P<0.0001) is the better fit of the two. The difference in model Chi-Square value between the two models is statistically significant (P<0.0001).

Table 4.8 Expected Probabilities of “It is important to have a job respected by people in general”

		CHINA	AMERICA
		%	%
Gender	Male	53.5	35.0
	Female	60.3	41.6
Age	20	57.4	38.7
	40	57.0	38.3
	60	56.6	37.9
Education	No formal education	51.8	33.5
	Primary school level	54.1	35.6
	High school level	58.8	40.1
	University level	61.0	42.3
Average		56.9	38.2

Note: Evaluated at average age and education and with the mean of men and women

Table 4.8 presents the expected probabilities of people's attitudes toward having a respected job in China and America based on Model 2. On average, more Chinese (56.9%) than Americans (38.2%) are expected to consider it important to have a job respected by others. This result reflects the Chi-Square significance test and corroborates Hypothesis 2b.

Both gender and education show strong impacts on people's attitudes toward job respect. In both China and America, more women than men consider it important to have a job that is respected by others. Chinese women show the highest expected probability (60.3%), followed by Chinese men (53.5%), American women (41.6%), and American men (35.5%). Regarding education, the more education an individual is, the more likely he or she thinks it is important to have a respected job. In both countries, university graduates are approximately 9% more likely to value job respect than people with no formal education.

In summary, the test results for Hypothesis 2a show no country difference in people's attitudes toward using initiative at work. However, the results for Hypothesis 2b confirm that Chinese attach more importance than Americans to being respected by others for their job. Therefore, Hypothesis 2 is only partially supported by the test results of my two indicators. Education also shows a consistent effect on work values in both countries: more educated people are more likely to value both using initiative and having job respect. Gender shows an impact on job respect, while having little effect on using initiative. In both countries, women value job respect more than men do. Age reveals no effects on these particular work values.

HYPOTHESIS 3

The dependent variable I use to examine Hypothesis 3 is an ordinal variable and has three response categories; accordingly, I use both an ordered logit model and a multinomial model to examine its effects.

Table 4.9 presents the comparison of the two models. The two models have almost identical values for the Chi-Square test. The multinomial model (ChiSq=535.31; DF=8, 2907; P<.0001) only improves the Chi-Square test result by 25.36 in comparison to the ordered logit model (ChiSq=509.95; DF=4, 2911; P<.0001). This improvement is considered to be relatively small and insignificant. In addition, the test of Proportional Odds Assumption (Chi-Sq=20.69; DF=4, 2911; P=.0004) of the ordered logit model indicates that there is a statistically significant deviation from the parallel slopes assumption and that a multinomial model improves the significance level in one or more areas of the ordered logit model. However, it is important to note that there are twice as many parameters in the multinomial model than in the order logit model, which increases the chances of finding statistically significant results that may or may not be substantively significant. Moreover, the fewer parameters in the ordered logit model keeps the ratio of N to the parameters decently high, and therefore is more sensitive to the effects of the independent variables. An overall comparison of the two models suggests that the improvement in “fit” provided by the multinomial model is minimal. For all these reasons, I use the ordered logit model for the test of the dependent variable.

The Chi-Square test based on the ordered logit model shows that country has highly significant effects on people’s attitude toward following instructions at work,

when the effects of gender, age and education are controlled. Among the background variables, only age has a statistically significant effect on the dependent variable.

Table 4.9 Chi-Square Significance Test for DV-3 (Social relationship values: superior-subordinate relationships)

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Ordered Logit Model</i> B	<i>Multinomial Model</i> B
Country	338.35 ***	311.89 ***
Gender	1.46	3.58
Age	4.96 *	14.72 **
Education	0.41	10.55 **
Model Chi-Square	509.95 ***	535.31 ***
Parallel Assumption Test	20.69 **	—

Notes: $N = 2915$

* $P < .05$ ** $P < .01$ *** $P < .001$

Table 4.10 presents the expected probabilities of people's attitudes toward following instructions at work in China and America. Contrary to Hypothesis 3, these expected probabilities reveal that Americans are *more* likely than Chinese to follow the instructions of their superiors, even when they do not fully agree with them. Most Americans (66.5%) are expected to follow instructions compared to only 27.5% of Chinese. Over half (58.2%) of Chinese and less than one-third (30.4%) of Americans are

likely to say “it depends” on the situation. Only 3.1% of Americans think that they must be convinced first before following instructions, compared to 14.4% of Chinese.

Table 4.10 Expected Probabilities of “Subordinates following superiors’ instructions even when they don’t agree with them”

	<i>Should follow instructions</i>		<i>Depends</i>		<i>Must be convinced first</i>	
	CHINA %	USA %	CHINA %	USA %	CHINA %	USA %
Male	28.4	67.5	57.8	29.6	13.8	3.0
Female	26.6	65.4	58.5	31.3	14.9	3.2
20-year-olds	25.0	63.5	59.0	33.0	16.0	3.5
40-year-olds	27.1	66.0	58.3	30.8	14.6	3.2
60-year-olds	29.3	68.5	57.4	28.7	13.3	2.8
No formal education	28.5	67.6	57.8	29.5	13.8	3.0
Primary school level	28.0	67.1	57.9	29.9	14.0	3.0
High school level	27.1	66.1	58.3	30.8	14.6	3.2
University education	26.7	65.6	58.5	31.2	14.9	3.2
Average	27.5	66.5	58.2	30.4	14.4	3.1

Note: Evaluated at average age and education and with the mean of men and women.

As the Chi-Square tests indicate, age also has a statistically significant effect on the decision of whether to follow instructions at work. In both China and America, older people are more likely to “follow instructions”, while younger people are more likely to insist on being convinced first.

Regarding gender and education, men are more likely than women to follow instructions, instead of emphasizing the need to be convinced, and highly educated people are more likely to insist on being convinced, rather than simply following instructions. However, these differences are not statistically significant.

In summary, the test results for Hypothesis 3 contradict it. In fact, Chinese are considerably more likely than Americans to support the idea of being convinced before following a superior's instructions (indicating a more individualistic orientation); while Americans are substantially more likely than Chinese to follow instructions regardless of what one thinks (revealing a more collectivist orientation). Age has significant impact on whether one follows instructions: older people are more likely to follow instructions than younger people.

HYPOTHESIS 4

I test Hypothesis 4 with two separate questions from the survey. I ran a binomial logistic regression model for DV-4a ("It is fair to pay more for better quality work"), and a multiple regression model for DV-4b ("There should be greater incentives for individual effort"), which is a continuous variable. Both questions measure people's general ideas on individual motivation to work.

Table 4.11 shows that upon the introduction of the control variables (gender, age and education), the independent variable (country) does not have a statistically significant effect on people's attitudes toward the fairness of paying more for higher quality work. The results for Model 1 and 2 indicate that the relationship between country and the dependent variable is spurious, as its significant effect shown in the bivariate model

disappears after the control variables are added into the model. Even after an interaction term between country and education is included in the analysis (see Model 3), there is still no significant difference between countries. The only variable that has any effect on the perception of fairness is education.

Table 4.11 Logistic Regression Coefficient for DV-4a (Motivation values: fair to pay more for higher quality work)

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Model 1</i> B	<i>Model 2</i> B	<i>Model 3</i> B
Country	0.1821 **	0.0801	0.0997
Gender	—	0.0497	0.0559
Age	—	0.0013	0.0007
Education	—	0.1103 ***	0.1132 ***
Country*Education	—	—	0.0527 *
Model Chi-Square	12.8900 **	35.8400 ***	40.8600 ***

Notes: N = 2895

*P<.05 **P<.01 ***P<.001

China is the reference category in all models

Female is the reference category in all models

The model Chi-Square values measure the overall fit of each model. Model 3 has the highest model Chi-Square score (ChiSq=40.86; df=5; 2890, P<0.0001). The difference in model Chi-Square value between Model 3 and the other two models are statistically significant; therefore, the model with all the control variables and the interaction term is the best fit of all.

Table 4.12 Expected Probabilities of “It is fair to pay more for higher quality work”

		CHINA	AMERICA
		%	%
Gender	Male	83.3	85.9
	Female	81.7	84.5
Age	20	82.3	85.0
	40	82.5	85.2
	60	82.7	85.4
Education	No formal education	78.4	73.6
	Primary school level	80.4	79.5
	High school level	83.9	88.3
	University level	85.5	91.3
Average		82.5	85.2

Note: Evaluated at average age and education and with the mean of men and women

Table 4.12 presents the expected probabilities of people’s attitudes toward whether it is fair to pay more for higher quality work in China and America. As the Chi-Square test of significance indicates, there is very little country difference. On average 82.5% of Chinese and 85.2% of Americans think it is fair to pay more for better work. The effects of gender and age are also minimal on the dependent variable (DV-4a). However, there is substantial difference among people with different levels of education. In both countries, higher educated people place greater emphasis on the fairness of individual incentives. Also, the effects of education are more pronounced for Americans

than for Chinese, reflecting the significant interaction term in the Chi-Square test.

University educated Americans are about 18% more likely than uneducated Americans to say it is fair to pay more for higher quality work, compared to an only 7% difference in these categories for Chinese.

Table 4.13 Coefficients for DV-4b (Motivation value: Greater incentives for individual effort”

	<i>Model 1</i> <i>Simple Regression</i>	<i>Model 2</i> <i>Multiple Regression</i>
<i>IV's</i>		
Country	0.393***	0.292**
Gender	—	0.251*
Age	—	-0.0067*
Education	—	0.100***
<i>R</i> ²	0.005	0.015

Notes: N = 3042

*P<.05 **P<.01 ***P<.001

China is the reference category in all models

Female is the reference category in all models

I ran two models for DV-4b. Model 1 is a simple regression model with only the independent variable. Model 2 adds all the control variables to Model 1 and is a multiple regression model. There is no significant interaction effect between the independent and control variables. The R² of these models reveals that Model 2 (R²=0.015) is the better fit of the two models.

In both models, the country difference is statistically significant. Generally, Americans are more likely than Chinese to support the idea of greater incentives for individual efforts rather than more income equality. In addition, people with higher

education, men, and younger people are more likely to support greater individual incentives.

In summary, whereas the test results for DV-4a show no country difference in people's attitudes toward the fairness of paying more for higher quality work (thus not confirming Hypothesis 4), the results for DV-4b confirm the hypothesis. Consequently, Hypothesis 4 is only partially supported by the test results of my two indicators. Education also shows a consistent effect in both countries: more educated people are more likely to support individual incentives. Both age and gender reveal little effect on one measure of Hypothesis 4 (DV-4a), while both have significant effects on the other measure (DV-4b). Men and younger people are more likely to support greater individual incentives.

SUMMARY

Table 4.14 presents a summary of the test results for my four hypotheses, which are measured by seven separate empirical indicators of the four dependent variables. These test results contradict Hypotheses 1 and 3, while partially supporting Hypotheses 2 and 4. This complex outcome reflects dynamic value changes that are taking place in either or both countries, which I discuss in detail in the following chapter.

Table 4.14 Descriptions and Results of Four Hypotheses

HYPOTHESES	DV	DESCRIPTION	RESULTS
<i>Hypothesis 1</i>	DV-1a	Children should be encouraged to be independent at home	Contradicted
	DV-1b	Children should be encouraged to be obedient at home	Contradicted
<i>Hypothesis 2</i>	DV-2a	Important to have an opportunity to use initiative in a job	Not confirmed
	DV-2b	Important to have a job respected by people in general	Confirmed
<i>Hypothesis 3</i>	DV-3	Should follow instructions of one's superiors, even if one does not fully agree with them	Contradicted
<i>Hypothesis 4</i>	DV-4a	Higher pay for higher quality work	Not confirmed
	DV-4b	Greater incentives for individual effort	Confirmed

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

In the previous chapter, I presented the test results based on the Chinese and American samples of the World Values Survey 1995-1997 (Inglehart). In this chapter, I explore the explanations of my results from three different perspectives. In Part 1, I examine possible effects of sampling differences on the test results. In Part 2, I discuss general factors that could have contributed to changing values among Chinese and Americans. In Part 3, I revisit the four hypotheses and provide hypothetical explanations for each set of values. Last, I provide a brief summary and conclusion.

PART 1: SAMPLING DIFFERENCES

In this part, I hope to find out whether the conclusions I reached in Chapter Four reflect real differences between the two cultural value systems, or whether they are the result of sampling differences. Specifically, I explore differences in urban and rural residence and nativity among the Chinese and American respondents to determine whether these factors may account for the value differences I uncovered. In particular, the Chinese sample is mostly urban-based and all respondents were born and raised in China. In contrast, the American sample is a proportional representation of both urban and rural residents, and also includes people who were born and raised in other countries.

Table 5.1 Comparison of urban residence in the sample and population

% URBAN		
	WVS Sample	National Population
CHINA	90.0%	30.2%
AMERICA	80.6%	76.2%

Source: United Nations "Level of urban population 1995"

Table 5.1 shows that regarding urban/rural sampling, the Chinese sample is disproportionately urban (90% in WVS sample) in relation to the population (30.2%), while in contrast, the American sample is more or less proportional to the population at large. The question I am addressing here is whether the over-sampled urban population in China is responsible for producing the contradictory alternative to both my hypothesis and common theoretical conclusions.

Because urban respondents generally demonstrate a more individualistic, less collectivist orientation than do rural respondents, a greater proportion of urban respondents in the Chinese sample could increase the possibility of finding a higher degree of individualism. Both Tönnies ([1887] 1963) and Durkheim ([1893] 1964) addressed this phenomenon in their works. According to Durkheim ([1893] 1964), one of the major consequences of urbanization is that the basis for social integration, individual cohesion within society, changes from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity (Hedley, 1992: 110). This shift results in profound changes in the structure of social relationships and an increasing emphasis on individualism. Thus, there is a strong theoretical and empirical foundation for the proposition that urban dwellers exhibit a stronger individualistic orientation than do those living in rural areas. For this reason, it

is important to determine whether difference in urban/rural sampling between the two countries contributed to the results I achieved in this study.

Regarding sampling differences in nativity, all respondents in the Chinese sample were born and raised in China, whereas approximately ten percent of the American respondents are immigrants, people who were born and possibly raised outside of America. Among them, some grew up in their native cultures and moved to America at a later age. Others, although they may have moved to America when they were relatively young, they could have grown up in families where their native (collectivist) cultures and values prevailed.

Since there is more homogeneity in nativity among Chinese than American respondents, this difference by itself could affect my findings. In other words, naturalized American respondents may not be as individualistic as respondents actually born in America, and thus exposed to its values for all their lives.

There are varied opinions concerning immigrants' adaptation to American culture. Some researchers suggest that immigrants and their children are adapting to American culture faster than ever and "the power of American culture is such that it influences and 'pre-socializes' immigrants before they arrive" (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996). However, others argue that most immigrants remain rooted in their own cultures, and confine themselves in their own ethnic communities, despite the influence of mainstream American culture (Zhou & Bankston, 1998). In order to exclude the possible effect of immigrants' responses on the total American sample, and to find out whether nativity is a contributing cause of the differences that I found in my study, I also decided to examine the role of nativity sampling differences in this study.

To present a simplified picture of the test results, I quantify the tests of all my hypotheses by assigning a score to each outcome. Specifically, a score of positive one (+1) is assigned to an outcome that confirms a hypothesis; a score of negative one (-1) is assigned to an outcome that contradicts a hypothesis; and a score of zero (0) is assigned to an outcome that neither confirms nor contradicts a hypothesis. Consequently, positive scores provide substantiation for my general proposition that Chinese value a greater degree of collectivism and a lesser degree of individualism than do Americans, while negative scores indicate the exact opposite result. According to this method of quantifying the results, the tests of all seven dependent variables for my four hypotheses add up to a score of negative one (-1), revealing overall that Chinese value individualism more highly than do Americans (see Table 5.2).

In order to find out whether the urban/rural factor is a cause of my results, I duplicated my analysis, this time using *only* respondents from urban areas in both countries. All the testing procedures were identical, except for this restricted sampling criterion.

Table 5.2 shows that the tests using urban-only respondents produce somewhat different results from the tests using all respondents: in fact, there are even more contradictory and unconfirmed results with all-urban respondents than with the original samples. According to my simplified method of quantifying the results, the tests using urban-only respondents add up to a score of (-3). Consequently, this outcome reveals an even more pronounced tendency for Chinese to value individualism more highly than Americans, which more strongly contradicts my original proposition.

Table 5.2 Comparison between tests using all respondents and urban-only respondents

H	DV	DESCRIPTION OF HYPOTHESES	TOTAL SAMPLE	URBAN SAMPLE	COMPARISON
H 1	DV-1a	Americans value children's independence more highly than Chinese	Contradicted (-1)	Contradicted (-1)	Much larger difference
	DV-1b	Chinese value children's obedience more highly than Americans	Contradicted (-1)	Contradicted (-1)	Much larger difference
H 2	DV-2a	Americans value "using initiative in a job" more highly than Chinese	Not confirmed (0)	Contradicted (-1)	Different result
	DV-2b	Chinese value "job respect" more highly than Americans	Confirmed (+1)	Confirmed (+1)	Larger difference
H 3	DV-3	Chinese value "follow superiors' instructions" more highly than Americans	Contradicted (-1)	Contradicted (-1)	Comparable difference
H 4	DV-4a	Americans value "higher pay for higher quality work" more highly than Chinese	Not confirmed (0)	Not confirmed (0)	Comparable difference
	DV-4b	Americans value "greater incentives for individual effort" more highly than Chinese	Confirmed (+1)	Not confirmed(0)	Different result
Summary		Chinese value collectivism more and individualism less than Americans	Contradicted (-1)	Contradicted (-3)	Larger difference

Specifically, the tests for two out of the seven dependent variables lead to different conclusions. First, the test for Dependent Variable 2a (DV-2a), using urban-only samples, reveals that Chinese value “using initiative in a job” more highly than Americans. This result is a drastic change from the test using all respondents which finds that although the difference is not significant, Americans value initiative somewhat more than Chinese. The other change is the test for Dependent Variable 4b (DV-4b). The test using urban-only respondents finds no significant difference between the two value systems regarding “greater incentives for individual effort”, compared to the confirmatory result using all respondents.

Besides these two major changes in the outcome of the test results, the tests for Dependent Variable 1a (DV-1a) and 1b (DV-1b) also indicate larger differences between the two value systems using urban-only samples. Specifically, Chinese in urban areas are even more likely to endorse children’s independence than urban Americans, while in contrast, Americans in urban areas are even more likely to endorse children’s obedience than urban Chinese. Both results indicate larger differences in the *opposite* direction, indicating an even stronger contradiction to Hypothesis 1. However, my re-analysis with regard to Dependent Variable 2b (DV-2b) also revealed a larger *confirming* difference, such that urban Chinese are even more likely to value “having a job respected by others” than their urban American counterparts.

From Table 5.2, including the summary score of all the test results, I conclude that the difference in the urban/rural distribution of the Chinese and American samples does not affect my overall original conclusion. In fact, value differences between the two countries are even more pronounced in urban areas. The majority of the tests support the

conclusion that Chinese value individualism more and collectivism less than do Americans.

In order to examine the possible effect of immigrants on the total response for the American sample, and to find out whether nativity is a potential cause of the value differences I found, I again duplicate my analysis, this time using only people who were actually born in their native country of China or America. All the testing procedures were identical, except for this sampling criterion.

Table 5.3 reveals that whether or not one was born and raised in either China or America does not have significant effects on the value items I examined in my study. With only native-born respondents, none of the tests for the seven Dependent Variables changed significantly. The overall score for the tests remains negative one (-1).

Consequently, the above two sets of tests indicate that sampling differences are not the likely cause of the seemingly contradictory value differences that I discovered in my research. Then what factors are producing these differences?

Table 5.3 Comparison between tests using all respondents and nativity-born respondents

H	DV	DESCRIPTION OF HYPOTHESES	TOTAL SAMPLE	NATIVE SAMPLE	COMPARISON
H 1	DV-1a	Americans value children's independence more highly than Chinese	Contradicted (-1)	Contradicted (-1)	Comparable difference
	DV-1b	Chinese value children's obedience more highly than Americans	Contradicted (-1)	Contradicted (-1)	Comparable difference
H 2	DV-2a	Americans value "using initiative in a job" more highly than Chinese	Not confirmed (0)	Not confirmed (0)	Comparable difference
	DV-2b	Chinese value "job respect" more highly than Americans	Confirmed (+1)	Confirmed (+1)	Comparable difference
H 3	DV-3	Chinese value "follow superiors' instructions" more highly than Americans	Contradicted (-1)	Contradicted (-1)	Comparable difference
H 4	DV-4a	Americans value "higher pay for higher quality work" more highly than Chinese	Not confirmed (0)	Not confirmed (0)	Comparable difference
	DV-4b	Americans value "greater incentives for individual effort" more highly than Chinese	Confirmed (+1)	Confirmed (+1)	Comparable difference
Summary		Chinese value collectivism more and individualism less than Americans	Contradicted (-1)	Contradicted (-1)	Comparable difference

PART 2: CHANGING VALUE DIFFERENCES

As I discussed in detail in Chapter 2, many previous theoretical conceptualizations suggest that Chinese values exhibit a higher degree of collectivism than American values, while American values are higher in individualism than Chinese values. However, the results from my study indicate that Chinese have more individualistic orientations than Americans. Specifically, there is a strong indication of a more individualistic orientation in Chinese values regarding primary socialization and social relationship values than in comparable American values. Do these results suggest a changing trend in values? Have traditional Chinese values changed due to drastic economic, political and social changes in recent decades? Have American values remained constant, or have they too shifted in recent years?

Hofstede (1980 & 1997) argues that there is a strong correlation between economic development and individualism. From his cross-cultural value studies, he found a strong linear relationship ($r = .82$) between national economic development (measured by GDP per capita) and attachment to individualistic values (Hofstede as cited in Hedley, 1992: 360). This finding corroborates earlier research by Tönnies ([1887] 1963) and Durkheim ([1893] 1964), which I discussed in Chapter Two. Perhaps the increasing emphasis on individualism in China is a result of the rapid economic development in recent decades.

Since the end of the 1970's, China has pursued a policy of economic reform and opening up to external markets. As a result, in 1995, China's economy was the seventh largest in the world, with a GDP (Gross Domestic Product) of \$705 billion (see Table

5.4). Between 1980 and 1995, the Chinese economy grew rapidly at an average annual rate of 12%, twice as much as that of America (NEA, 2003). Chinese GDP per capita increased from \$348 in 1990 to \$580 in 1995 (at 1995 exchange rates and constant prices), creating an annual growth rate of 19.7% (compare to the average annual growth rate of 10.7% from 1980 to 1995). Industry is China's largest sector, accounting for 42%-49% of GDP from 1980 to 1995 (WRI, 1998).

Table 5.4 Indicators of economic development in China, 1980-1995

INDICATORS	1980	1990	1995	AVE. ANNUAL GROWTH 1980-95
GDP (billions of US \$)	164	398	705	12.0%
GDP per capita (US \$)	166	348	580	10.7%
Population (million)	987	1,143	1,211	1.2%
Urban population (Percentage %)	24.0%	26.0%	29.0%	1.9%

Source: Asian Development Bank. Asia Least-cost Greenhouse Gas Abatement Strategy: People's Republic of China. Pp. 201 Manila: Asian Development Bank 1998.

The rapid economic development in China since the 1980s has also brought forth changes in technological development, demographic distribution, and social relationships. As contended by Hofstede (1980), Tönnies ([1887] 1963), and Durkheim ([1893] 1964), one of the consequences of rapid economic growth is a greater emphasis on the individual and a lesser concentration on the collectivity. America, along with other Western countries, underwent a similar industrialization process well ahead of

China. Consequently, it is reasonable to conclude that the pace of change for advanced industrial countries is slowing down in this regard, while developing countries are accelerating and catching up. Consequently, owing to the decreasing gap between the economic development of the two countries, Chinese values could have substantially transformed and could even converge with American values in terms of the collectivism-individualism dimension.

In an attempt to address this scenario, I examined previous World Values Survey data. Some of the questions I used in my present study were also asked in the 1990 and 1980 surveys. Consequently, I present a comparison of the responses from these surveys conducted at different times. In doing so, I hope to discern trends in the two value systems, thereby better understanding the differences between these Chinese and American values over time.

I selected questions that remain unchanged for the three waves of the World Values Survey (1980-1984; 1990-1993, 1995-1997). According to this criterion, five out of the original seven Dependent Variables are chosen for comparisons over time. They are children's independence, children's obedience, using initiative in a job, having a job respected, and following superior's instructions. Because China was not included in the 1980-1984 World Values Survey, the trend analysis for the Chinese samples is limited to the comparison between time two (1990) and time three (1995). Table 5.5 presents the comparison of responses to the selected five questions in three waves of World Values Surveys (two waves for China).

Table 5.5 Responses from three waves of World Values Surveys 1980-1990-1995

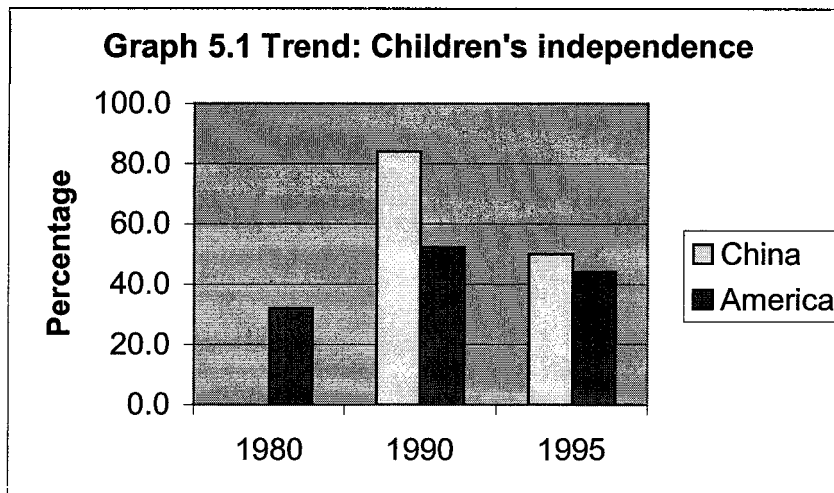
LABEL	DESCRIPTION	COUNTRY	1980	1990	1995
DV-1a	Children's independence	China	--	84.0%	50.1%
		America	32.0%	52.2%	44.0%
DV-1b	Children's obedience	China	--	8.5%	29.3%
		America	27.5%	38.3%	36.8%
DV-2a	Job initiative	China	--	52.0%	40.7%
		America	54.0%	52.4%	51.0%
DV-2b	Job respect	China	--	46.8%	55.6%
		America	45.3%	42.6%	39.2%
DV-3	Follow instructions	China	--	21.2%	28.0%
		America	67.3%	62.0%	66.5%

Note: percentage of positive responses: "yes" or "important".

Generally, over time, American respondents provided relative consistent answers to all five questions. In particular, the responses to "job initiative", "job respect" and "follow instructions" are highly comparable for the three surveys, with a marginal variation of less than 6%. Regarding the questions on socialization values ("children's independence" and "children's obedience"), although there is a slight fluctuation in the responses, the responses are still fairly consistent (with a variation less than 12%). However, the answers from the Chinese respondents produce much more diverse results. For example, there are drastic changes regarding socialization values from 1990 to 1995. Specifically, more people chose "obedience" and fewer people chose "independence" at time two than at time three. In fact, the overall answers to these five questions clearly indicate a tendency toward a more collectivist and less individualistic orientation among

Chinese. However, since it is impossible to reveal trends from only two sets of data, collected five years part, these results are by no means conclusive.

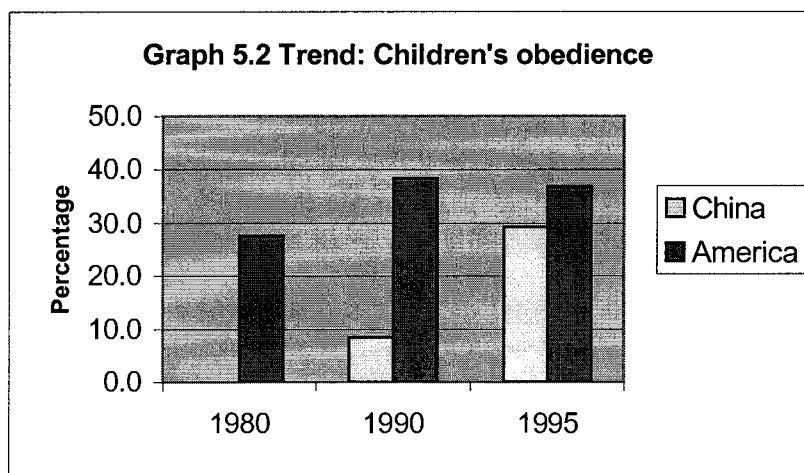
In order to discuss the trends in value change in more detail, I use graphs to illustrate comparisons between the two countries over time. Graph 5.1 presents descriptive statistics on the changing response to the question, “Should children learn to be independent at home?” in the two countries.



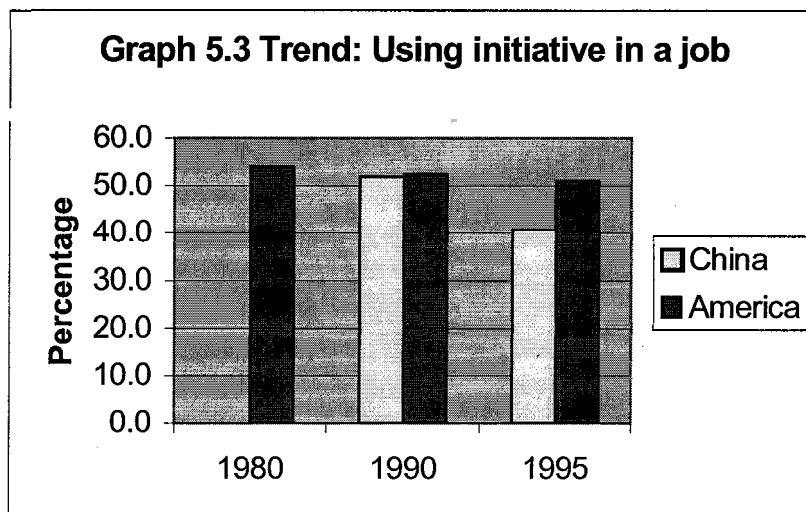
For Americans, the emphasis on children’s independence basically remained steady from 1980 to 1995, showing a slight curvilinear trend. For Chinese, this emphasis decreased greatly from 1990 to 1995. For both countries, fewer people value children’s independence in 1995 than in 1990. The comparison between the two countries shows notable differences in the 1990 survey. These results indicate that Chinese valued children’s independence consistently more than Americans did in both 1990 and 1995, reflecting a more individualistic orientation in China as well as contradicting my original hypothesis. Although it is insufficient to generalize a trend for Chinese values without

data from the 1980 survey, it deserves our further attention as to whether these data represent a significant indication of value change.

Graph 5.2 presents descriptive statistics on the changing response to the question, “Should children learn to be obedient at home?” For Americans, the emphasis on children’s obedience basically remained steady from 1980 to 1995, again showing a slight curvilinear trend. For Chinese, this emphasis increased a great deal from 1990 to 1995. Once more, the comparison between the two countries shows pronounced differences in the 1990 survey. These results indicate that Americans value children’s obedience consistently more than Chinese do in both 1990 and 1995, reflecting a more collectivist orientation in America, which again contradicts my hypothesis. However, it is also notable that the answers from the Chinese respondents regarding children’s obedience, similar to the other value item that measures emphasis on children’s independence, indicate that Chinese have moved toward a more collectivist approach in the last five years for which we have data. However, this result should also be treated as a hypothesis for future study.

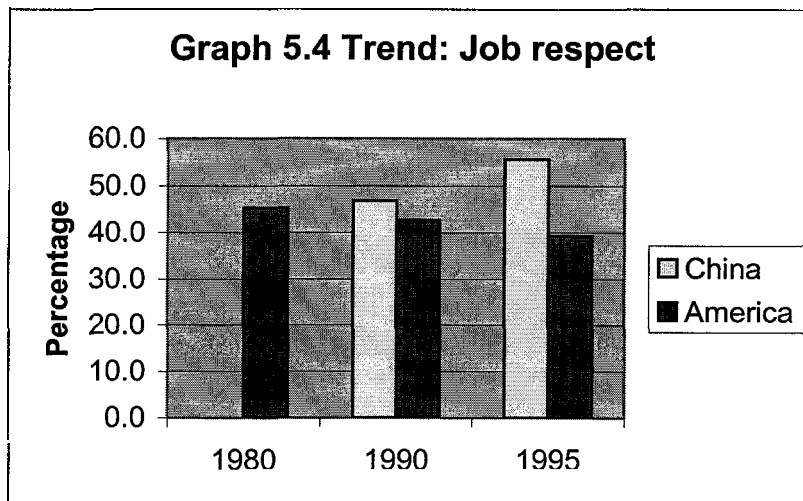


Graph 5.3 presents descriptive statistics on the changing response to the question, “Is it important to use initiative in a job?” The comparison between the two countries shows little difference for the 1990 survey, but a more significant difference for the 1995 data, which confirms my original hypothesis. For Americans, the emphasis on using initiative basically remained constant from 1980 to 1995. However, for Chinese, this emphasis decreased from 1990 to 1995, revealing a lower concentration on individualism.



Graph 5.4 presents data on the changing response to the question, “Is it important to have a job respected by others?” For Chinese, the emphasis on job respect increased almost ten percent from 1990 to 1995; for Americans, it basically remained unchanged from 1980 to 1995. The comparison between the two countries shows little difference for the 1990 survey, but a more significant difference in 1995. These results indicate that Chinese value job respect more than Americans do in both 1990 and 1995, reflecting a more collectivist orientation in China, which confirms my original hypothesis.

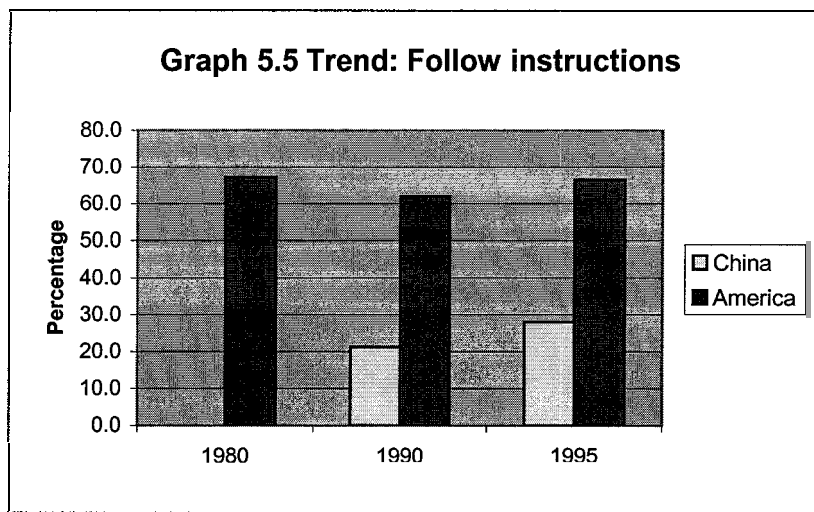
The trend analysis for the two value items that measure work values suggests that work-related values in China have moved toward a more collectivist direction. However, whether or not these data reflect real value change requires further research.



Graph 5.5 presents the changing response to the question, “Should one follow instructions of one’s superiors even if one does not fully agree with them?” For Chinese, more people provided more collectivist-oriented responses in 1995 than 1990. Specifically, more people chose to follow instructions, while fewer people insisted being convinced first. Again, this result contradicts my proposition of value change in China outlined earlier in this chapter.

For Americans, the distribution of the three responses to the question basically stayed unchanged. Close to two-thirds of respondents in all three surveys indicated that they would follow their superiors’ instructions, a consistent indication of a collectivist approach. The two countries are similar in that there is growing preference to a neutral position from 1990 to 1995. Chinese showed a stronger individualistic value tendency

than Americans did in both the 1990 and 1995 surveys, which contradicts my original hypothesis.



The trend analysis using three waves of World Values Survey data has produced some intriguing results. Based on descriptive statistics, the American values showed minimal change regarding the collectivism-individualism orientation over the period from 1980 to 1995. However, there were pronounced changes in the answers provided by the Chinese respondents between 1990 and 1995. The responses to the value items that measure primary socialization, work, and social relationship values clearly indicate a shift toward a more collectivist orientation, which contradicts earlier research that finds a direct relation between economic development and individualism (Hofstede, 1980).

How do I interpret these results?

First, it is impossible to make accurate generalizations from two sets of data collected only five years apart. There are many random possibilities that could have caused the difference such as respondents' ages and education, the selection of the areas where the samples were drawn, and even the survey administration itself (the 1990 WVS

was conducted by the China Statistical Information Center, while the 1995 WVS was conducted by the Gallop Subsidy in Beijing). Furthermore, since some of the demographic variables such as occupation, are coded differently in the two surveys, it is difficult to design statistical models to compare the two data sets more systematically. However, it would make an interesting research in the future to study the trend of Chinese WVS responses, should newer comparable data become available.

Second, some significant social events might also have affected people's responses during the period the surveys were conducted. For example, the 1990 survey was carried out only one year after the 4th June Tiananmen Movement. The memory of this social upheaval that called for more democracy and individual freedom was still fresh and clear in people's minds. It is reasonable to conjecture that this movement and its radical proposals for reform considerably influenced people's state of mind at that point in time. To some extent, the responses to the 1990 World Values Survey could have reflected the direct impact of this movement on Chinese people's value orientations.

Third, significant value change could have taken place on a large scale *before* the 1990 survey, i.e., after the beginning of reform in late 1970's. It is also open to argument as to whether these value changes are linear or curvilinear. Obviously, longitudinal data extending beyond five years would be required to address these questions.

Nevertheless, the value differences between the two countries are reasonably comparable, as measured by the 1990 and 1995 data sets. In fact, the 1990 data produce even more dramatic results contradicting my hypotheses. However, in either case, the conclusions remain the same: Chinese demonstrate more individualistic and less collectivist value orientations than do Americans.

PART 3: THE FOUR HYPOTHESES REVISITED

In this part, I offer a detailed description of each of the four hypotheses that I examined in this study, as it is very difficult to discuss overall value differences and the nuances of value change without also examining the details of these values. In so doing, I hope to provide reasonable explanations for my original findings. At the same time, I also present suggestions for subsequent research.

Socialization Values

In terms of primary socialization values, one of the most noteworthy patterns is the relative support given to the value of independence versus the value of obedience by Chinese and American respondents. Although the between-country differences are large, within each country, independence is valued more than obedience. This result indicates that for both Chinese and American respondents, children's ability to be independent is more desirable than their ability to be obedient.

At the same time, I also found significant differences between Chinese and Americans in their primary socialization values. Surprisingly, Americans, on average, were more likely than Chinese to think that it is important for children to be obedient. Chinese, on the other hand, were more likely than Americans to believe that it is important for children to be independent. This pattern of values does not support common assumptions and past observations. After all, American culture is known for its emphasis on individualism. Independence is one of the most treasured characteristics of the American value system. On the other hand, influenced by Confucian teachings on

social order and harmony, traditional Chinese culture values obedience and conformity. In Chinese families, parents have been traditionally concerned that their children's behavior be culturally appropriate and socially desirable. As a result, Chinese children are taught to listen to their parents and the elderly, and to follow their guidelines without objection (Xiao & Andes, 1999). Why are my findings contrary to these expectations?

Kohn (1977) points out that adults may, to some extent, endorse values in terms of how difficult is to realize them. Adults value traits they feel are important, but at the same time, are difficult to realize in children. Since the primary socialization values examined in this study reflect general attitudes rather than explicit standards for behavior adopted by a respondent in child-rearing activities, it is possible that the respondents chose values for their children that are more challenging or missing, rather than self-evident in their own culture. For example, a comparison of parental responsibilities in China and America may provide some alternative explanation.

In America, children are parents' responsibility until the age of eighteen. After that, parents are no longer financially obligated to support their children. Children usually move out of their parents' house and support themselves. In urban China, however, at least until the middle 1990's, the traditional belief in extended family, the extremely low starting wages of young workers, and especially the lack of housing make it difficult for most adult children to live away from their parents' house (Xie & Hultgren, 1994). Although adult children usually share expenses and household chores, in many cases parents feel obliged to do more than their share in all aspects. It is both economically and physically demanding to feed, to provide for, and to take care of a large

extended family. Consequently, a reasonable response to this situation may be for Chinese parents to desire greater independence in their children.

In addition, the English word “independent” and its Chinese counterpart “du li” are not strictly synonymous. Consequently, my finding could also result from the difference in the connotation of these terms in the two languages. In Chinese, “independence” is not the opposite of “obedience”. It has another layer of meaning: self-sufficiency or self-reliance. To encourage children to be independent also means encouraging them to provide for and support themselves. This is especially true in urban Chinese families with only one child. There is a common perception that children are spoiled and over-cared for under the Family Planning Policy (started in 1979), which limits the number of children in a family to only one in most cases. Under such circumstances, parents are concerned that their children will not be competitive and successful (Nan, 1998; Xie & Hultgren, 1994). In this sense, Chinese respondents’ overwhelming preference for independence may well reflect parents’ concern about their children’s ability to be self-reliant in contemporary China. My comparative analysis using urban-only respondents particularly reflects this mentality among urban Chinese.

However, despite all the factors discussed above which might have affected the test results, my research on primary socialization values still provides significant implications of value change. The relatively high level of endorsement of independence and the correspondingly low level of endorsement of obedience represent a remarkable indication of a less collectivist and more individualistic mentality in both countries, provided we accept the validity of the measure employed in this study. However, it

requires further research to determine whether or not there is a long-term trend toward a more individualist orientation in contemporary China.

Work Values

There are both similarities and differences in work values between Chinese and American respondents. In both China and America, close to half the respondents emphasized the importance of using initiative in a job. This finding seems reasonable for Americans, since personal initiative accords well with the fundamental American characteristics of competition, individual achievement, and self-actualization. However, once again, the results for the Chinese respondents indicate that there may now be a trend toward greater endorsement of individual initiative. Moreover, as my analysis of urban-only respondents reveals, this tendency is even more evident for urban Chinese.

This trend could well have resulted from the drastic political and economic changes in China over the past decades. Since the transition from a planned to a market economy, greater emphasis has been placed on increasing individual responsibility and developing competition mechanisms in the workplace. The 1995 World Values Survey was conducted after all these significant changes had been instituted within the Chinese economic system. The greater emphasis on individual initiative is arguably a demand of this new system. Greater individual initiative is directly associated with higher monetary rewards, more secure employment and better promotion opportunities, which are also features of this new system. With a job that provides opportunity for individual initiative, people can utilize their talent to a fuller extent. Consequently such jobs also offer the possibility of gaining more rewards for better quality work. To some extent, I would

argue that this change in work values reflects an overall shift toward a more market-oriented mentality and value orientation.

On the other hand, my findings also suggest that some of the core values that are characteristic of a collectivist orientation are still evident in contemporary China. Significantly more Chinese than Americans considered it important to have respect for their jobs. The emphasis on “respect by others” substantiates the theories on “in-group identity” and “face” that I reviewed in Chapter Two. In a nutshell, the concept of “*man*” in Chinese culture implies one’s intimate societal and cultural environment which makes one’s existence meaningful (Hsu, 1971: 28). Self is composed of *da wo* (greater self) and *xiao wo* (smaller self) (Hsu, 1985). Chinese are encouraged to emphasize the greater self, which is associated with the well-being of related others (such as family, workplace, and society). The need for respect in the workplace reflects a strong group consciousness. Chinese people are emotionally attached to the self-image they present to the world and consequently achieve some kind of “psychological satisfaction” (Yang, 1945: 67) when they are recognized and respected by others. These results provide continuing evidence of a collectivist mentality.

These intriguing findings on work values reflect the complexity of the value changes taking place in China. My findings describe work values as a coin with two sides: although there are significant indications of a more individualistic orientation in people’s work values (such as “using initiative”), some core values of a collectivist nature remain (such as “job respect”).

Social Relationship Values

My analysis of social relationship values produced contradicting results in terms of the difference between the two value systems. When asked whether one should follow one's superior's instructions, when one does not fully agree with them, American respondents answered "yes" substantially more than did Chinese respondents in both 1990 and 1995.

Chinese have long been considered to endorse self-restraint and respect for authority (Hsu 1981, Li & Yang 1974). In Chinese families, children learn to take their bearings from others when it comes to opinion. Hofstede (1997: 213) also contends that personal opinions do not exist in collectivist culture and the maintenance of harmony with one's social environment is considered a key virtue which extends to many spheres in social life. Every aspect of social relationships is permeated by the Confucian doctrine of "harmony should always be maintained and direct confrontations avoided" (Hall & Ames, 1998: 110). Yet my test results clearly contradict these theories and common sense assumptions. Again, these results suggest a shifting value orientation in contemporary China.

Some scholars have argued that the notion of tradition and the image of the traditional Chinese may be overly simplified and idealized (Lau, 1986). My findings certainly support this contention. There are significant indications that Chinese show a more individualistic value tendency regarding social relationships, which does not coincide with the traditional image. However, it remains a challenge for subsequent

studies to find out whether this result is an indication of deep-seated change regarding social relationship values in contemporary China.

Motivation Values

The hypothesis on motivation was partially confirmed: although there were no significant differences between the two countries in the response to “higher pay for higher quality work”, Americans were more likely than Chinese to support “greater incentives for individual effort”. However, my analysis of urban-only respondents produced insignificant differences on both these measures. What do these findings tell us about Chinese values?

One way to explain these results is to look again at the related changes brought forth by political and economic reform in China over past decades. Prior to this period, the planned economy was the dominant system since the establishment of the communist regime (1949) until the political and economic reforms (1978). Under the planned economy, the state assigned jobs for all urban residents to different State-Owned Enterprises (SOE) (Lau 1997). SOEs provided permanent employment and stable income for workers allocated to them, but allowed virtually no labor mobility. Most employees remained in the same unit until transferred by the state or retirement. In some cases, even retirees’ children were entitled to take up their parents’ jobs. Since the early 1950s, SOEs were not allowed to dismiss workers (Li Weiyi 1991). This fixed employment system gave rise to the “Iron Rice Bowl” (tie fan wan), a term that describes the permanent and immobile nature of state employment. Under the pre-reform wage system, wage revisions were determined by the government centrally, and workers were

assigned to different pay grades depending on their skill level and seniority. There were no measures adopted to tie pay to productivity (Li Weiyi 1991).

However, the political and economic reforms have radically changed the entire labor system. Since the 1980s, wages have become productivity-tied. Labor contracts were introduced on a wide scale in October 1986, and by 1997, they had entirely replaced permanent employment (Li Weiyi 1991). State allocation of jobs has ended, except for a minority of university graduates and demobilized soldiers (Lau 1997). The official press documented calls for “smashing the Iron Rice Bowl” (za po tie fan wan) (Li Weiyi 1991). In 1992, the Chinese Communist Party’s 14th Congress resolved to establish a “socialist market economy” in which there would be “mutual choice between employing units and laborers” and “rational mobility” of labor (Jiang, 1992: 21). State workers’ labor mobility rate increased from virtually zero in 1978 to 3.2 percent in 1994 (Naughton 1997).

All these changing mechanisms have greatly impacted the urban population. The new labor system calls for greater individual responsibility for workers’ involvement in the market economy, and therefore encourages greater motivation for individual effort. Due to the unavailability of data, I am not able to conduct a trend analysis on motivation values. Therefore, my conclusion in this respect must be considered as a potential hypothesis for further study.

Effects of Control Variables

My research also reveals relationships between certain control variables and the collectivism-individualism orientation. Among the demographic variables used in this

study, education has a strong positive correlation with the individualistic orientation. This conclusion is consistent with the findings of other researchers (Alwin, 1989; Kohn, 1977; Wright & Wright, 1976). It reflects the importance of education in the formation of values. It is commonly observed that one of the objectives of education is to teach people to think for themselves; so more years of schooling increase one's ability to engage in independent thinking. Hofstede proposes that education is in itself a powerful source of cultural learning (1997: 17). This argument is especially true in China, since Western ideologies are mostly introduced at later stages of schooling. People with higher levels of education are therefore more likely to be exposed to and influenced by knowledge of other cultures and values.

However, are the effects of education both constant and universal? This would make an interesting question for future research to find out whether the effects of education on collectivism-individualism orientation are significant in other values systems as well as China and America.

SUMMARY

The study of human values is important to the understanding of cultures as well as to the psychological make-up and socialization of individuals (Rokeach 1979; Feather, 1975). On an individual level, a person's value system provides overriding principles that guide his or her attitudes and behavior. These principles prescribe guidelines for desirable and preferable actions. On a societal level, the comparison of value systems of different cultures enables us to understand cultural characteristics and the forces involved in the development of values.

In this study, I have attempted to explain certain aspects of values in China and America. The results of my study reveal both confirmation and contradiction of value change in China and America. The deep roots of national cultures make it likely that collectivist and individualistic differences will survive for a long time (Hofstede, 1997: 77). Indeed, my study shows that core values that are characteristic of certain cultures are still prominent, such as the emphasis on individual incentives for Americans and the valuation of “respect by others” for Chinese.

On the other hand, there are also significant indications of value change, especially in China. With the fast-moving economic and technological changes occurring in today’s world, there is a diminishing gap between some nations’ levels of economic development. According to earlier analyses, these diminishing gaps in turn produce greater similarities in values (Hofstede, 1980: 343-361).

However, as Pan et al. (1994: 235) argue, “cultural development does not proceed in discontinuous leaps”. Rather, cultural and value change is a gradual and evolving process. Yet, development and change also do not proceed uniformly. Significant events such as economic reform in contemporary China can accelerate changes. Therefore, it is important to bear in mind that any process toward a convergence in values can also slow down considerably or even plateau.

Moreover, “traditional” outcomes are not necessarily dictated by tradition. As Parish and Whyte (1978) concluded about tradition and change in a village setting, people are not “concerned about whether their behavior is consistent or inconsistent, advanced or backward, modern or traditional, but about whether it contributes to a life that is secure and satisfying (Parish and Whyte, 1978: 334). ”

In order to compare the Chinese and American value systems, I adapted empirical measures to quantify certain values and then utilized statistical techniques to analyze them. However, human values can be extremely subtle and they certainly involve more than just comparing numbers. Having conducted this quantitative research, I truly realize the need for a more comprehensive in-depth approach. Whereas my quantitative analysis provided statistical measures for me to test general perceptions of national values, a qualitative analysis would allow greater sensitivity to themes pervading these value differences. A combination of these approaches would allow researchers to study complex phenomena using various techniques to control for systematic errors inherent in any single technique (Denzin 1989: 26). In my future research of cultural values, I will likely experiment with such a combined approach.

China's national newspaper, the *China Daily* (1986: 4), reported on a value survey of Chinese youth. Although information about the rigor and methodology was not reported, the results are worth considering. The report stated that 85.2% of the respondents thought that "one should concentrate on oneself and one's family at the same time doing as much as possible for society." This response reflects the constant effort by human beings to strike a balance between "the alienation of the 'privatized' individuals" and "the tyranny of the collectivity" (Hosfede, 1980: 217, as cited in Hedley, 1992: 364). Hopefully, my study has provided some insight into this intriguing dilemma on the relationship of individuals to their society.

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