

SHORT NOTE

Defining relationships: Comparing Canadians, Chinese and Indians

Han Z. Li,¹ Gira Bhatt,² Zhi Zhang,³ Jasrit Pahal¹ and Yanping Cui¹

¹University of Northern British Columbia, Prince George, Canada, ²Kwantlen University College, Vancouver, Canada, and ³Yunnan Normal University, Kunming, China

To examine whether cultural differences exist in defining family, friend, relative, colleague and neighbour, non-student samples were drawn from Canada, China and India. The data generated several unexpected findings. (i) The means of the relationship definitions between the Chinese and Canadians were not significantly different. The means between the Chinese and Indians were significantly different. The means between the Canadians and Indians were significantly different. (ii) Females defined their relationships more interdependently than males in the Indian and Canadian samples but not in the Chinese sample. (iii) Definitions were target specific and the order of closeness differed from group to group. (iv) In the Indian and Chinese samples, participants' age was negatively correlated with closeness in defining friends, indicating that a person's perceived closeness with friends changes over the life span. Results of past research using student samples need to be interpreted with caution.

Key words: cultural psychology, define relationships, individualism-collectivism, qualitative-quantitative approach.

Introduction

Human beings exist in a constellation of relationships (James, 1890; Andersen & Chen, 2002). Culture shapes the way humans delineate these relationships (Allport, 1948) and, in turn, the fashion in which humans define their relationships mirrors their culture. One way to unpack culture is through comparisons of definitions of various relationships. Do Asians perceive their relationships more interdependently than North Americans and vice versa? The present study collected qualitative data in non-student samples from one North American and two Asian cultures. Participants were asked to define five relationships in their own words without the constraint of any predesigned questions. To provide meaningful inter- and intracultural comparisons, quantitative scoring standards were developed based on the responses. Data were then coded and analyzed with the intent that the findings would illuminate and complement results of previous research on student samples.

Due to a lack of literature on relationship definitions, major instruments measuring relationships between the self and others in North American and Asian samples were reviewed, followed by two research questions.

The earliest measurement was developed by Kuhn and McParland (1954) and validated by Bond and Cheung (1983). In this test, participants were asked to complete 20

sentences starting with 'I am'. Drawing a sample of 317 college students from the USA and 306 from India, Dhanwan, Roseman, Naidu, Thapa, and Rettek (1995) used this scale to test the hypothesis that Americans perceive the self more independently than Indians. Their hypothesis was supported by the data in four categories: social identity, interests, ambitions, and self-evaluation. A significant gender difference was found in one category, social identity. Males in both cultures tend to have a stronger social identity than females.

In 1986, Triandis *et al.* (1986) compiled an 11-item instrument. Participants were asked to mark their answers on a 7-point scale from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree' to statements such as 'one should live one's life independently of others as much as possible' and 'one does a better job working alone than working with a group.' Using this instrument, Brockner and Chen (1996) examined differences in individualism-collectivism between a sample of 438 students from the People's Republic of China and 179 students from the USA. Surprisingly, they found no significant difference between the Chinese and Americans.

In 1988, Hui developed a 63-item scale measuring a person's individualistic-collectivistic tendencies in relation to specific targets such as parents and friends. Unexpectedly, Hui (1988) found that Hong Kong Chinese students were significantly more individualistic than American students.

In their 1995 study, Kashima *et al.* used several questionnaires, including the Collectivism Scale by Yamaguchi (1994), Kanjin-shugi scale by Hamaguchi (1985), Allocentrism Scale by Triandis *et al.* (1993), and the Friendship

Correspondence: Han Z. Li, Department of Psychology, University of Northern British Columbia, 3333 University Way, Prince George, B.C. Canada V2N 4Z9, Canada. Email: lih@unbc.ca
Received 5 July 2005; accepted 17 February 2006.

Questionnaire by Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asia, and Lucca (1988). Kashima *et al.* (1995) found that Japanese and Koreans showed a stronger 'collective self' and weaker 'individualistic self' (agency and assertiveness) than Australians and Americans. Women showed stronger emotional relatedness than men.

Misra and Giri (1995) examined gender differences in the independent-interdependent self among 25 male and 25 female Indian university students. They developed a scale of 31 items containing the 'independent self' and the 'interdependent self'. The 'independent self' had two subcategories, 'self/others differential' and 'self knowledge'. The 'interdependent self' also had two subcategories, 'others evaluation' and 'maintaining self/other bonds'. No significant gender difference was found in terms of the mean scores measuring independent and interdependent self.

Rhee, Uleman, and Lee (1996) examined the relationships among several major Individualism-Collectivism (I-C) measures based on data from student samples in three cultures: Koreans, Euro-Americans and Asian-Americans. A series of factor analyses led them to conclude that the subscales were not highly correlated and better measures of I-C were needed. Subsequently, the authors (Uleman, Rhee, Bardoliwalla, Semin, & Toyama, 2000) adapted the Inclusion of Other in the Self (IOS) Scale (Aron, Aron, & Smollan, 1992) to measure the relational self on three dimensions: family, relatives and friends based on data from student samples in five cultural groups: Euro-Americans, Asian-Americans, Dutch, Turks, and Japanese. The IOS Scale has seven Venn diagrams of two same-size circles, one circle indicating the self and the other circle representing other. In the first picture, the two circles are adjacent to each other. From the second picture to the seventh picture, the degree of overlap progresses linearly (Aron *et al.*, 1992). It was found that the order of closeness for Euro-Americans, Dutch and Asian Americans was friends, family and relatives; whereas for the Turks and Japanese the order was family, friends and relatives.

Also using the IOS Scale, Li (2002) examined whether Anglo-Canadians were more independent than Mainland Chinese in perceiving their relationship with family members and friends. The samples were drawn from university students. In Li's study, strong cultural differences were found in self-family connectedness, but not in self-friends connectedness. Chinese were closer to their family members than Canadians, but Canadians were as close to their friends as Chinese. In both samples, gender difference was found in self-friends connectedness, but not in self-family connectedness. In the Canadian sample, females were closer to their friends than males, while in the Chinese sample, males were closer to their friends than females.

In a follow-up study, using a combination of qualitative and quantitative analyses, Li (2003) examined the materialistic and spiritual aspects of self-other boundary in stu-

dent samples drawn from Anglo-Canadians and mainland Chinese. It was found that mainland Chinese were more likely to share material belongings with close-others and less likely to share their thoughts in comparison with Anglo-Canadians. No consistent gender differences were found in either the Chinese or Canadian samples.

Given the diverse instruments and inconsistent findings shown in the above literature review, the present study examined two fundamental issues: Do cultural groups define the relationships differently? Would there be consistent gender differences in their definitions?

Method

Participants

Participants were 220 Anglo-Canadians, 196 Chinese, and 212 Indians. All participants were non-students – adults of all professions. Careful considerations regarding compatibility and generalization were given when the samples were chosen. The Chinese sample was drawn in Kunming, a city not considered in the forefront of economic development such as Beijing and Shanghai, but not as backward as the countryside. Although Kunming has various minority groups, only people of 'Han' (the vast majority of Chinese are 'Hans') were approached to participate in this study, with the hope that the sample would represent the 'Han' people who live in most Chinese cities.

The Canadian sample was drawn in a medium-sized city in the province of British Columbia that is not considered as metropolitan as Vancouver and Toronto. To facilitate the selection process, research assistants approached Caucasians only. Prospective participants were asked whether they spoke English as their first language. If so, they were asked whether they were Anglo-Canadians.

The Indian sample was drawn from Vadodara, a medium-sized city in the North-western province of Gujarat, rather than from the major economic hubs such as Mumbai, Kolkutta, or Delhi. All the Indian participants speak Gujarati. Although India is a conglomeration of regional and linguistic diversity, there is certainly a common cultural thread of norms and values that link all these regions.

Detailed information of participants' gender, age, education level, financial standing, health status, marital status, and job category is presented in Table 1. As shown in Table 1, the numbers of males and females were fairly evenly distributed in the three samples. There were no statistically significant differences among the three means of age (ANOVA, $p > 0.05$). The education level of participants ranged from 'no schooling' to 'university.' One Canadian was illiterate, four Chinese were illiterate, and none of the Indians was illiterate. To participate in this study, the illiterate participants dictated their answers and researchers

Table 1 Demographic variables by culture

Demographics	India		China		Canada	
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%
Gender						
Male	111	52.4	103	52.6	114	51.8
Female	101	47.6	93	47.4	106	48.2
Age (years)						
<30	33	15.5	36	18.3	62	28.1
30–39	88	41.5	69	35.2	47	21.4
40–49	39	18.4	42	21.4	50	22.7
50–59	28	13.2	25	12.8	41	18.6
60 and over	24	11.3	24	12.2	20	9.1
Education						
Illiterate	0	0	4	2.0	1	0.5
Primary	6	2.8	4	2.0	6	2.7
Middle school	43	20.3	34	17.3	36	16.4
High school	84	39.6	62	31.6	87	39.5
University	79	37.3	92	46.9	90	40.9
Financial standing						
Very poor	4	1.9	7	3.6	3	1.4
Poor	39	18.7	21	10.7	15	6.8
Average	58	27.8	110	56.1	59	26.8
Above average	102	48.8	48	24.5	137	62.3
Affluent	6	2.9	10	5.1	6	2.7
Health status						
Excellent	92	43.4	97	49.5	80	36.4
Good	110	51.9	64	32.7	127	57.7
Poor	10	4.7	32	16.3	13	5.9
Marital status						
Single	18	8.5	19	9.7	53	24.1
Married	189	89.2	156	79.6	75	34.1
Living together	0	0	10	5.1	64	29.1
Other	5	2.4	11	5.6	28	12.7
Job						
Professional/Owner	25	12.1	26	13.3	37	16.8
Clerical	66	31.9	38	19.4	62	28.2
Labour	16	7.7	16	8.2	56	25.5
Homemaker	61	29.5	37	18.9	34	15.5
Retired	16	7.7	69	35.2	31	14.1
Other	23	11.1	9	4.6	0	0

wrote the answers for them. On a Likert scale, ‘no schooling’ was scored as 1, ‘primary school’ was 2, ‘middle school’ was 3, ‘high school’ was 4, and ‘university’ was 5. The means of education level were not statistically different among the three groups (ANOVA, $p > 0.05$).

Participants were asked to rank their ‘financial standing in comparison to others’. ‘Very poor’ was scored as 1, ‘poor’ was scored as 2, ‘average’ was scored as 3, ‘above average’ was scored as 4, and ‘affluent’ as 5. The means of ‘financial standing’ were not statistically different among the three groups (ANOVA, $p > 0.05$).

Participants were also asked to rank their health status; ‘excellent’ was scored as 1, ‘good’ as 2, ‘poor’ as 3. The

means for health status were not statistically different among the three groups (ANOVA, $p > 0.05$).

In the job category, more Chinese were retirees than Indians and Canadians, which may be attributed to the fact that the Chinese government has an unofficial retirement age of 48–50 years for female and 55 for male employees.

The questionnaire and translation

The verbatim instructions in the questionnaire were ‘could you describe what closeness means to you in each of the following relationships: family members, relatives, friends, colleagues, neighbours.’ The second author is a native Gujarati who speaks and writes fluent English. She translated the instructions into Gujarati. The third author is a native Chinese who learned her English in England. She translated the instructions from English to Chinese. As the instructions were short and simple, they did not pose any difficulties in the translation process. The first author recruited the second and the third authors for the study. Neither of them had conducted research on the relational self previously. They were not informed of the hypotheses at the time.

The Canadian participants wrote down their answers in English; the Chinese participants in Chinese, and the Indian participants in Gujarati. The second author translated the Gujarati answers into English and another bilingual research assistant translated the English back to Gujarati to check for accuracy. The third author translated the Chinese answers into English and another bilingual research assistant translated the English back to Chinese to check for accuracy.

Scoring standards

Using a scoring system developed from pilot data, the first author and the two scorers (the fourth and fifth authors) went through the responses of the first 15 participants in each of the three cultural groups. The scoring system proved to be a sensitive measure for the answers given by the participants. Therefore, only minor adjustments were required.

If the answer was ‘not close at all’, it was scored as 1. Examples of this category include ‘don’t talk to them’, ‘don’t know them’, ‘we don’t care about each other, as if strangers’, ‘without contact or communication’.

If the answer indicated a minimal relationship, it was scored as 2. Examples of this category include ‘say hello’, ‘don’t know them well’, and ‘seldom talk together’.

If the answer indicated a somewhat close relationship, it was scored as 3. Examples of this category include ‘keep in touch, corresponding, phoning’, ‘socializing somewhat’, ‘sometimes sharing leisure time’, ‘get along’,

‘avoid conflicts, ignore their faults, maintain relationship’.

If the answer indicated a close relationship, it was scored as 4. Examples of this category include ‘to be helpful when needed’, ‘enjoying their company’, ‘spending time together, having fun, laughing, smiling’.

If the answer indicated a very close relationship, it was scored as 5. Examples of this category include ‘help out with your mind, body and wealth’, ‘what they have to say are very near and dear to my heart, they love me very much and vice versa’, ‘be able to converse on any topic’, ‘share my secrets, they know intimate things about me’, ‘die for them’.

The two scorers had no knowledge of this study and the hypotheses at the time. They were instructed to identify any responses which could not be scored or beyond the standards.

Scoring and inter-scorer reliability

Before the scorers began, the first author gave the two scorers a formal training session. They first studied the scoring standards and memorized them, and then explained the scoring standards to each other with examples from the data.

Following the training session, the two scorers independently scored 15% of the data and the inter-scorer reliability was 0.90 (Pearson correlation). There were no significant mean differences between the two scorers. High reliability was expected as the scoring standards were simple and straightforward. They then each scored 50% of the rest of the data. They were asked to make notes of any responses that posed difficulties for scoring. Scoring was completed within 2 weeks. The scorers reported that the

scoring standards were sensitive and captured all the responses.

Results

Means of definitions of the five relationships by cultural group are displayed in Figure 1. In each cultural group, means for males and females are presented separately (Table 2).

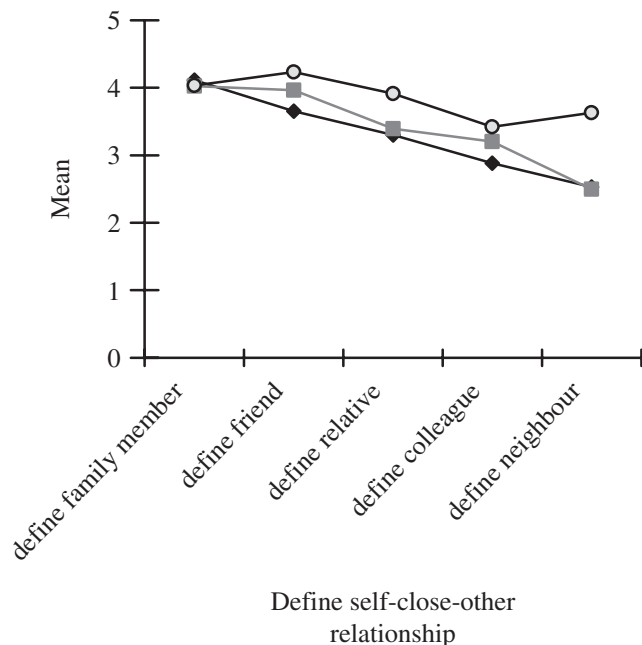


Figure 1 Means of definitions of the five relationships by cultural group. ♦, China; ■, Canada; ○, India.

Table 2 Means for definitions of self-close-other relationships by culture and gender

Types of relationship	Gender	India			China			Canada		
		M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N
Define family member	M	3.99	0.61	100	4.12	0.45	102	3.96	0.76	111
	F	4.07	0.49	94	4.11	0.59	93	4.09	0.67	104
Define friend	M	4.21	0.46	94	3.67	0.51	100	3.92	0.61	104
	F	4.26	0.54	93	3.63	0.65	86	4.00	0.63	97
Define relative	M	3.91	0.56	97	3.25	0.80	97	3.40	0.87	94
	F	3.90	0.66	92	3.36	0.69	90	3.39	0.83	96
Define colleague	M	3.32	0.68	74	2.98	0.45	56	3.28	0.55	95
	F	3.50	0.59	82	2.80	0.62	65	3.11	0.64	84
Define neighbour	M	3.45	0.60	86	2.57	0.65	89	2.42	0.83	95
	F	3.81	0.71	86	2.48	0.68	85	2.58	0.77	98

Relationship type, culture and gender

A mixed-design three-way factorial ANOVA was conducted with Relationship Type (family, friend, relative, colleague and neighbour; within-subject factor), culture (Canada, China and India), and gender (male vs female) as factors. Across the three cultural groups, defining family had the highest mean ($M = 4.08$, $SD = 0.62$), followed by defining friend ($M = 3.95$, $SD = 0.58$), defining relative ($M = 3.56$, $SD = 0.73$), defining colleague ($M = 3.18$, $SD = 0.60$), and defining neighbour ($M = 2.92$, $SD = 0.73$). However, this was qualified by a significant relationship type by culture interaction effect, $F_{4,458} = 283.9$, $p < 0.0001$, $\eta^2 = 0.71$.

Within-culture comparisons among the five relationship types, using Scheffe's test ($\alpha = 0.05$), indicated that in the Chinese group, all five means were significantly different, $p < 0.0001$ for all comparisons. In the Canadian group, the means of defining family and friend were not significantly different; the means of defining relative and colleague were marginally different, $p = 0.03$; the means of the other relationship types were quite significant, $p < 0.0001$. In the Indian group, the means of defining family and relative were not significantly different; the means of defining family and friend were marginally different, $p = 0.03$; the means of defining colleague and neighbour were also marginally different, $p = 0.04$; the means of defining relative and neighbour were significantly different, $p = 0.001$; and the means of the other relationship types were significantly different, $p < 0.0001$.

To examine the relationship by culture interaction further, we conducted a separate culture \times gender ANOVA for each relationship type, followed by Scheffe's test.

Define family member. No statistically significant culture main effect, gender main effect and culture by gender interaction were found.

Define friend. A statistically significant culture main effect was found, $F_{2,568} = 48.59$, $p < 0.0001$, $\eta^2 = 0.15$. No statistically significant gender main effect and culture by gender interaction were found ($p > 0.05$). A Scheffe test showed that the Indian mean was significantly higher than the Canadian and the Chinese means. The mean of the Canadian group was significantly higher than the Chinese group.

Define relative. A statistically significant culture main effect was found, $F_{2,560} = 35.84$, $p < 0.0001$, $\eta^2 = 0.11$, but gender main effect and culture by gender interaction were not found. A Scheffe test showed that the mean of the Indian group was higher than both the Canadians and the Chinese. There was no statistically significant difference between the Chinese and the Canadians.

Define colleague. A statistically significant culture main effect was found, $F_{2,450} = 25.69$, $p < 0.0001$, $\eta^2 = 0.10$. No statistically significant gender main effect was found ($p > 0.05$). A significant culture by gender interaction was found, $F_{2,450} = 4.48$, $p < 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.02$. According to Scheffe's test, the mean of the Indian group was significantly higher than the mean of the Canadian group ($p < 0.005$), and the Chinese group ($p < 0.0001$). The mean of the Canadians was significantly higher than the Chinese ($p < 0.0001$).

Define neighbour. There were statistically significant culture, gender, and culture by gender effects, $F_{2,533} = 142.72$, $p < 0.0001$, $\eta^2 = 0.35$, $F_{1,533} = 5.37$, $p < 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.01$, and $F_{2,533} = 4.30$, $p < 0.05$, $\eta^2 = 0.02$, respectively. A Scheffe test revealed that the mean of the Indian group was significantly higher than both the Canadians ($p < 0.0001$), and the Chinese ($p < 0.0001$). There was no significant difference between the Chinese and the Canadians ($p > 0.05$).

To examine gender differences within each cultural group, separate ANOVAs were performed. The mean of Indian females was significantly higher than Indian males when defining neighbour, $F_{1,170} = 12.78$, $p < 0.0001$. The mean of Canadian females was significantly higher than Canadian males when defining colleague, $F_{1,206} = 4.64$, $p < 0.05$. Chinese males and females did not show any statistically significant difference when defining the five relations.

Correlations between demographic and dependent variables

In the Indian group, the only significant correlation was between a person's age and closeness with friends, $r(187) = -0.23$, $p < 0.001$. As a person ages, he or she tends to define a friend as less close. In the Chinese group, a significant negative correlation was found between age and closeness with friend, $r(186) = -0.17$, $p < 0.01$, and with colleague, $r(121) = -0.33$, $p < 0.0001$ (excluding the 69 retirees). Also, a significant positive correlation was found between age and closeness with neighbour, $r(174) = 0.34$, $p < 0.0001$. As a person ages, he or she tends to define a friend and colleague as less close, but define a neighbour as more close. In the Canadian group, no significant correlation was found ($p > 0.05$).

Discussion

The Chinese are more similar to Canadians than Indians

The Chinese and Canadians perceived similar closeness in three relationships: family, relative, and neighbour. They

differed in two dimensions. Canadians perceived friend and colleague closer than the Chinese. Figure 1 indicates a clear pattern that the Chinese are more similar to Canadians than Indians. This finding seems to be in line with the call to 'rethink Individualism and Collectivism' (Matsumoto, 1999, 2004; Bond, 2002; Oysermann, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002, p. 3).

Closeness is target specific

It was found that definitions were target specific and the order of closeness differed from group to group. An Indian can perceive a family member 'very close' but a neighbour 'not close at all'. On the other hand, an Anglo-Canadian can be 'very close to a friend' but 'not close at all' to a colleague. The hierarchy of closeness differed across the three cultural groups. The Indians defined friends as the closest, followed by family, relative, colleague, and neighbour. The Chinese perceived family member as the closest, followed by friend, relative, colleague and neighbour. The Canadians perceived family member as close as friend, followed by relative, colleague and neighbour. The order of closeness in defining various relations indicates strong cultural differences. For the Indians, the closest is a friend; for the Chinese, it is a family member; for the Canadians, family and friend are equally close.

Gender differences

No difference was found between Chinese males and females in defining the five relationships. One significant gender difference was found in the Indian group. Indian females defined their neighbours closer than Indian males. A small but significant difference was found between Canadian males and females; Canadian females defined a closer relationship with colleague than males.

Demographic variables and relationship definitions

A unique feature of the present study is that all three samples were drawn from the general population, not university students. The logic is that university students may or may not represent other age groups because a person may perceive relationships differently over their life span (Pipp, Shaver, Jennings, Lamborn, & Fischer, 1985; Berzonsky, 1990). Our data indicated that age does matter. In both the Indian and Chinese groups, older people tend to define their friends less close than younger people. In the Chinese group, older people also defined their colleagues less close, but closer to their neighbours. Therefore, results from past research using student samples need to be interpreted with caution.

To conclude, findings of this study corroborate that culture is ever changing. To portray its intricate dynamics, future research should embark on new measures, developed from open-ended questions, in samples drawn from all age groups. To unpack culture, data from rural areas and large cities within each cultural group would make meaningful comparisons.

Acknowledgement

The authors would like to thank Editor Yoshihisa Kashima for constructive comments on an early version of the manuscript.

References

- Allport, G. W. (1948). Forward. In: K. Lewin, ed. *Resolving Social Conflicts: Selected Papers on Group Dynamics*, pp. vii–xiv. New York: Harper.
- Andersen, S. M. & Chen, S. (2002). The relational self: An interpersonal social-cognitive theory. *Psychological Review*, *109*, 619–645.
- Aron, A., Aron, E. N. & Smollan, D. (1992). Inclusion of others in the Self Scale and the structure of interpersonal closeness. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *63*, 596–612.
- Berzonsky, M. D. (1990). Self-construction over the life-span: A process perspective on identity formation. In: G. J. Neimeyer & R. A. Neimeyer, eds. *Advances in Personal Construct Psychology*, Vol. 1, pp. 155–186. Greenwich, CT: JAI.
- Bond, M. H. (2002). Reclaiming the individual from Hofstede's ecological analysis: A 20-year odyssey. *Psychological Bulletin*, *128*, 73–77.
- Bond, M. H. & Cheung, T. S. (1983). College students' spontaneous self-concept: The effect of culture among respondents in Hong Kong, Japan, and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *14*, 153–171.
- Brockner, J. & Chen, Y. R. (1996). The moderating roles of self-esteem and self-construal in reaction to a treat to the self: Evidence from the People's Republic of China and the United States. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *71*, 603–615.
- Dhawan, N., Roseman, I. J., Naidu, R. K., Thapa, K. & Rettek, S. I. (1995). Self-concepts across two cultures: India and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *26*, 606–621.
- Hamaguchi, E. (1985). A contextual model of the Japanese: Toward a methodological innovation in Japan studies. *Journal of Japanese Studies*, *11*, 289–321.
- Hui, H. C. (1988). Measurement of Individualism-collectivism. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *22*, 17–36.
- James, W. (1890). *The Principles of Psychology*, Vol. 1. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Kashima, Y., Yamaguchi, S., Kim, U., Choi, S. C., Gelfand, M. J. & Yuki, M. (1995). Culture, gender, and self: A perspective

- from Individualism-Collectivism research. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69, 925–937.
- Kuhn, M. H. & McParland, T. (1954). An empirical investigation of self-attitudes. *American Sociological Review*, 19, 68–76.
- Li, H. Z. (2002). Culture, gender and self-close-other(s) connectedness in Canadian and Chinese samples. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 32, 93–104.
- Li, H. Z. (2003). Inter- and intra-cultural variations in self–other boundary: A qualitative-quantitative approach. *International Journal of Psychology*, 38, 138–149.
- Matsumoto, D. (1999). Culture and self: An empirical assessment of Markus and Kitayama's theory of independent and interdependent self-construals. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 2, 289–310.
- Matsumoto, D. (2004). The role of individualism-collectivism in future cross-cultural research. *Cross-Cultural Psychology Bulletin*, 38, 10–18.
- Misra, G. & Giri, R. (1995). Is Indian self predominantly interdependent? *Journal of Indian Psychology*, 13, 17–29.
- Oysermann, D., Coon, H. M. & Kemmelmeier, M. (2002). Rethinking individualism and collectivism: Evaluation of theoretical assumptions and meta-analyses. *Psychological Bulletin*, 128, 3–72.
- Pipp, S., Shaver, P., Jennings, S., Lamborn, S. & Fischer, K. W. (1985). Adolescents' theories about the development of their relationships with parents. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 48, 991–1001.
- Rhee, E., Uleman, J. S. & Lee, H. K. (1996). Variations in collectivism and individualism by ingroup and culture: Confirmatory factor analysis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 71, 1037–1054.
- Triandis, H. C., Bontempo, R., Betancourt, H., et al. (1986). The measurement of etic aspects of individualism and collectivism across cultures. *Australian Journals of Psychology*, 38, 257–267.
- Triandis, H. C., Bontempo, R., Villareal, M. J., Asia, M. & Lucca, N. (1988). Individualism and collectivism: Cross-cultural perspectives on self-ingroup relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 54, 323–338.
- Triandis, H. C., McCusker, C., Betancourt, H., et al. (1993). An etic-emic analysis of individualism-collectivism. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 24, 366–383.
- Uleman, J. S., Rhee, E., Bardoliwalla, N., Semin, G. & Toyama, M. (2000). The relational self: Closeness to ingroups depends on who they are, culture, and the type of closeness. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 3, 1–17.
- Yamaguchi, S. (1994). Collectivism among the Japanese: A perspective from the self. In: U. Kim, H. C. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S. C. Choi & G. Yoon, eds. *Individualism and Collectivism*, pp. 175–188. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.