

## Cultural origins of behaviour and cognition—cultural dimensions

### Inquiry questions

- How does culture influence behaviour?
- Are cultures comparable?

### What you will learn in this section

- Hofstede's dimensions of culture
  - Individualism versus collectivism
  - Power distance index (PDI)
  - Gladwell: cockpit culture theory
  - Meeuwesen, van den Brink-Muinen and Hofstede (2009): patient–doctor communication
- Schwartz: theory of basic values
- Individual personality traits and cultural dimensions

This section also links to:

- culture syndromes and the role of culture in treatment (abnormal psychology)
- social responsibility—cooperation (psychology of human relationships)
- doctor–patient relations (health psychology)
- developing identity (developmental psychology)
- HL only: The influence of globalization on individual behaviour

Studying cultures from an outside perspective looking in is taking an **etic approach** to research. That means that cultural practices and beliefs are examined as if from above or outside the culture. This approach allows for cross-cultural study and analysis and is the basis of the research of Hofstede and Schwartz, among others. Typically, anthropologists are interested in **emic research** approaches—they prioritize trying to understand a culture from within. Emic research seeks to understand only culture-specific behaviour such as **cultural syndromes**. An example of emic research is that of Margaret Mead in the 1930s. Mead was interested in how three different cultures defined their gender roles. She was not interested in comparing them against each other, only in understanding the particular uniqueness of each one. Modern cross-cultural psychologists use an etic approach. (See discussion of Mead's study in Unit 8 on developmental psychology.)

Cross-cultural analysis of cultures can be complicated by the fact that cultures are each unique and inherently difficult to compare. In an

attempt to simplify and standardize cross-cultural analysis, **Geert Hofstede** undertook research covering more than 70 countries. He used the 40 largest of these countries to come up with 5 dimensions of culture that can help explain patterns of human behaviour across cultures. By 2010, scores from 76 countries and regions were included.

Hofstede founded the personnel research department for IBM Europe in 1965. He soon undertook his massive study of the values of IBM employees across 40 countries in which IBM had subsidiaries. Hofstede distributed questionnaires to over 117,000 employees, asking about their values and behaviours. In 1973, he completed his initial study and the findings of his research suggested that certain trends emerged in the analysis of his data. He called these trends dimensions and originally identified four: individualism versus collectivism; the power distance index (PDI); masculinity versus femininity; and uncertainty avoidance (Hofstede, 1980). In further research, he added another two dimensions: long-term versus short-term orientation and indulgence versus restraint

### CULTURAL ORIGINS OF BEHAVIOUR AND COGNITION—CULTURAL DIMENSIONS

(Hofstede 1991, 2011). The dimensions Hofstede identified are summarized below.

- **Individualism versus collectivism (1980).** In individualistic cultures, members define their identity according to personal characteristics. Personal identity is understood as a choice while people are viewed as unique; and personal autonomy, competitiveness and self-sufficiency are highly valued. In collectivist cultures, identity is more often connected to a social group, with the characteristics of the group influencing personal identity. Self-sufficiency, competitiveness and personal achievements are not as important as someone's responsibilities and relationship to the group.
- **Power distance index (PDI) (1980).** This dimension is a measure of the extent to which the less-powerful members of a group accept and expect that power will be distributed unevenly. This is very tightly related to how societies understand and tolerate inequality between members. Cultures with high PDI scores are tolerant of inequalities and tend to be hierarchical by nature. Cultures with low PDI scores do not tolerate inequalities without justification and members normally prefer an equal distribution of power and influence.
- **Masculinity versus femininity (1980).** In this dimension, "masculine" values include achievement, autonomy and competitiveness while "feminine" values include caring, cooperation and compassion. Hofstede rated cultures on the extent to which the dominant values of a culture were masculine or feminine—as he defined them.
- **Uncertainty avoidance index (1980).** This dimension measures the extent to which a culture is comfortable with ambiguity and uncertainty. Cultures with a strong (high) ratings on this index exhibit intolerance for ideas and behaviour that are unconventional and they avoid risk-taking behaviour. Weak-rating (low-scoring) cultures show more tolerance for behaviour outside the norm and are more likely to take risks.
- **Long-term versus short-term orientation (1991).** This dimension is based on the idea that cultures do not experience time in the same way. A low score on this dimension shows that a culture honours traditions

and norms while eyeing social change with suspicion—this culture is conservative in nature and looks to the past for guidance. A high score shows a culture that is pragmatic and favours anticipation of future needs as a driving force for change and innovation.

- **Indulgence versus restraint (2010).** This dimension measures the extent to which a culture allows relatively open access to the enjoyment of natural human drives. A high score reflects a culture with open access to indulgence while a low score reflects a more restrained, conservative culture in terms of personal gratification.

### ATL skills: Research



Go to:

<https://www.geert-hofstede.com/national-culture.html>

Pick one national culture and examine its scores for each of the cultural dimensions.

Can you see any correlations between any of the dimensions (for example, does high Individualism correlate with masculinity)?

Choose another country and contrast the two countries' scores on Hofstede's cultural dimensions.

Don't forget to read the "What About" sections for each national culture. These can be found beneath the charts for each national culture's dimensions.

None of the dimensions act in isolation and national cultures are complex. Each dimension is expressed differently in each culture. Triandis (2001) points out that each collectivist or individualist culture is unique. For example, Korean collectivism is not the same as Kenyan or Chinese collectivism. One important way to distinguish between them is the degree to which they tolerate inequality, but there are many other ways—and cultures need to be measured along more than one dimension at a time. Triandis (2001) identified four categories of individualism versus collectivism.

- **Horizontal individualism:** members are unique and mostly of the same status.

- **Vertical individualism:** members are unique but it is possible to distinguish yourself and enjoy a higher status in a social hierarchy.
- **Horizontal collectivism:** members merge themselves with the ingroup and enjoy largely the same status.
- **Vertical collectivism:** members merge themselves with the ingroup and submit themselves to an authority in that ingroup.

In addition, there are correlations between the dimensions. In a sample of 10 European cultures,

**Meenwesen, van den Brink-Muinen and Hofstede (2009)** found that a strong PDI was related to strong scores on collectivism and uncertainty avoidance, and less wealth (GDP); likewise, individualism was related to higher wealth and to weaker scores on PDI and uncertainty avoidance. It is worth noting that this is a small sample of relatively similar national cultures; however, it does show that dimensions of national culture do not exist in isolation from each other and that correlations are commonplace.

### Individualism versus collectivism

Individualism (high score)	All cultures exist on a spectrum between either of these two extremes	Collectivism (low score)
Cultures characterized by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• loose ties between individuals; all individuals are expected to look after themselves, a sense of “I” or of the self is very strong</li> <li>• “others” being classified as individuals, not necessarily as outgroup members (<b>universalism</b>).</li> </ul>		Cultures characterized by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• tight ties between members of strong ingroups; the sense of “we” is stronger than the sense of “I” or self</li> <li>• “others” being members of outgroups, so collectivists are inherently exclusive.</li> </ul>
Nations/cultures (score out of 100)		Nations/cultures (score out of 100)
USA 91		Russia 39
Australia 90		Kenya 25
UK 89		China 20
Germany 67		Ecuador 8

▲ Table 4.2

Source: <https://www.geert-hofstede.com/national-culture.html>

#### See video

10 minutes with Geert Hofstede on individualism versus collectivism

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zQj1VPNP1H1>



#### Research in focus: Berry and Katz (1967)

John Berry is one of the most important cross-cultural researchers in the past 50 years. He conducted an early and very important cross-cultural study on individualism and collectivism across cultures including Scottish people, the

Tenme people of Sierra Leone and the Inuit (he called them Eskimo) people from Baffin Island in Northern Canada. The Tenme and Eskimo people are both subsistence cultures. Berry noted that these subsistence cultures

#### Research in focus (continued)

are different from each other. Eskimo culture is a hunting and fishing society that allows individualism to develop fully among the children, resulting in a highly individualistic low food-accumulating society. The Tenme are rice farmers who harvest one crop a year and must share out the harvest among the group until the next harvest, representing a collectivist high food-accumulating society.

Berry and Katz were interested in research to see if the difference of these two cultures' individualism scores would correlate with their conformity. Berry hypothesized that the Eskimo would conform less often than the collectivist Tenme because the socialization of the Tenme depended on tight social relations and unity of the group to social norms.

The researchers used the Asch paradigm to measure conformity, where a series of lines of varying length are presented to participants. One target line is given on top of a page and eight

lines of varying lengths are printed below the target line. The participants are asked to identify which of the other lines is of equal length to the target line. The participants are then given a “hint” identifying one line (incorrectly) as the line that “most” (Scottish, Tenme or Eskimo) people choose as being the correct one. Findings showed that the Tenme had a highly significant tendency to accept the suggestion of the cultural norm while the Eskimo group almost disregarded it entirely. As one Tenme participant stated, “When Tenme people choose a thing, we must all agree with the decision—this is what we call cooperation” (Berry, Katz 1967, p 417). It was concluded that the different results for the Tenme and Eskimo people are due to the different degree of conformity required by the contrasting social and environmental conditions of their cultures. These findings seem to support Hofstede's belief that the degree of individualism of a culture will affect group member behaviour (in this case, conformity).

#### Individualism and volunteering

The individualism of a culture has been shown in research to impact beliefs, attitudes, identities and behaviours. Researchers Parboteeah, Cullen and Lim collected data on over 38,000 individuals in 21 countries. They found that collectivism (along with religiosity, national wealth, liberal democratic values and education) has a positive relationship with formal volunteering (Parboteeah, Cullen, Lim 2004). Given collectivist characteristics of tight social connections and strong group identities, this seems to align with Hofstede's conception of collectivism.

#### ATL skills: Thinking

Think about your knowledge of social norms and role identity.

Why do you think religiosity and liberal democratic values positively correlate with formal volunteering?

#### Kemmelmeier, Jambor and Letner (2006)

sought to examine the relationship between individualism and voluntary, prosocial behaviour—the reasons for stranger-on-stranger giving.

The researchers differentiate their study from Parboteeah, Cullen and Lim's because they reject the claim that religiosity is a basis for prosocial behaviour. They argue that the dimension of individualism versus collectivism is unrelated to religious giving because giving in religious situations is often not a matter of personal choice but of social obligation (that is, having to pay a tithe).

Data was collected via telephone interviews from 2,553 participants from 40 US states. Researchers found that individualistic cultures were active in voluntary prosocial behaviour for causes they deemed to be in line with individualistic values such as self-determination, self-promotion or self-actualization (Kemmelmeier, Jambor, Letner 2006). Researchers found individualism was positively related to charitable giving and volunteerism and that both were more likely to occur in more individualist states.

An important point to consider about this research is that it focused on levels of giving and volunteering among strangers. **Lyengar et al (1999)** make the point that collectivist cultures

tend to discriminate in favour of their ingroup. As a result, stranger-on-stranger helping may be less common among collectivist cultures than individualist ones. (see discussion of the role of oxytocin as a trigger for ingroup favouritism in Unit 2 on the biological approach to behaviour).

Additional research (**Finkelstein 2010**) examined the influence of culture on volunteer behaviour. Specifically, Finkelstein was interested in identifying if there were different reasons why individualists and collectivists engaged in voluntary, prosocial behaviour.

Finkelstein theorized that people volunteered for two reasons; motivation (to help) and role identity (someone who self-identifies as a volunteer will continue to volunteer to maintain his or her self-image). A study was carried out in which 194 undergraduates at a US university participated in exchange for extra course credit (perhaps there is a touch of irony in that they did not volunteer). Participants were asked to fill out online questionnaires. Interestingly, findings showed that both individualist and collectivist cultures were motivated to volunteer for career-related reasons. However, within individualist cultures career-related reasons were the strongest motivating factor. Collectivism was more closely associated with other-oriented motives and the development of a volunteer role identity (Finkelstein, 2010).

Given the research surrounding volunteerism and giving in individualist and collectivist cultures, it may be that although both culture types engage in voluntary, prosocial behaviour, the reasons why they do so may differ. Collectivist emphasis on the ingroup may make them more likely to give to ingroup members while individualists are more likely to give to strangers if the giving is in line with their individualistic values such as self-determination, self-promotion or self-actualization.

Audience group	N	Individualism	Collectivism	Modernity	Tradition
American younger	182	0.85	0.26	0.83	0.07
American older	134	0.82	0.34	0.8	0.09
Chinese younger	136	0.51	0.43	0.37	0.21
Chinese older	114	0.20	0.36	0.30	0.30

▲ Table 4.3 Means for individualism, collectivism, modernity and tradition in the television advertisements

Source: Hsu and Barker [2013]

### Cultural dimensions and acculturation

If you are studying the HL extension, “The influence of globalization on individual behaviour”, see “How globalization influences behaviour” for more on this topic.

A recent study examining the cultural values promoted in Chinese and US advertising was conducted to test the hypothesis that a value shift from collectivist to individualist values would be evident since China opened its doors to trade in 1979. This is an interesting investigation into the acculturation of societal values related to advertising and consumer culture because of the variation between US and Chinese scores on the individualism versus collectivism dimension (91 and 20 respectively). Since television and its advertisements reflect social values, you would expect that Chinese advertisements would promote collectivist values. This study gives an interesting example of the acculturation process fuelled by globalization and the spread of consumer culture.

**Hsu and Barker (2013)** conducted a content analysis of 566 television advertisements, rating for individualism or collectivism and the prominence of traditional and modern themes. The researchers found that advertisements aimed at younger Chinese viewers scored higher on individualism than collectivism.

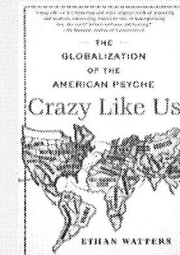
Looking at advertisements as a reflection of culture is important because marketing theory tells us that advertisers must reflect the values of their clients if they wish to create a market for their products. This, in turn, suggests that as China opened its doors to trade it also opened its doors to cultural influence from outside. This research is supported by earlier studies (Lin, 2001; Tsai and Lee, 2006) that suggest the trend in what Lin calls the westernization of Chinese advertisements began over a decade before Hsu and Barker’s study.

### ATL skills: Thinking

This further reading, on the spread of US culture, gives a view of how globalization impacts on societal values and mental health:

*Crazy Like Us: The Globalization of the American Psyche* by Ethan Watters, published by Free Press, New York, USA.

If you have chosen Unit 5 on abnormal psychology as an option, you may also wish to review that unit for the cultural dimensions of disorder prevalence and treatment.



### The PDI

High PDI (high score)	All cultures exist on a spectrum between either of these two extremes	Low PDI (low score)
Cultures characterized by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• strict social hierarchy</li> <li>• acceptance of inequality among members of an ingroup</li> <li>• deference to elders and superiors</li> </ul>		Cultures characterized by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• a relatively flat social structure</li> <li>• low tolerance for inequality among members of an ingroup</li> <li>• willingness to question authority</li> </ul>
Nations/cultures (score out of 100)		Nations/cultures (score out of 100)
Russia 93		USA 40
China 80		Australia 36
Ecuador 78		UK 35
Kenya 70		Germany 35

▲ Table 4.4

Source: <https://www.geert-hofstede.com/national-culture.html>

### See video

10 minutes with Geert Hofstede on power distance

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DqAIdwfyCw>



relationship between children and parents. This is an example of how culture is passed from one generation to the next. Children develop a clear sense of power relationships first in the home, then towards a broader group of older people and finally to the power structures of society itself. A society with low power distance will exhibit this low power distance in the home, in schools, in workplaces and up to the broadest aspects of society.

### How does position on the PDI influence behaviour?

Obedience and authority are social elements learned early in the family and are inherent in the

**Meeuwesen, van den Brink-Muinen and Hofstede (2009)** were interested in whether Hofstede’s dimensions could predict cross-national differences in patient–doctor communication. The researchers collected data from 10 diverse



European countries including the following (shown here with their PDI scores): Estonia (40), Belgium (65), Sweden (31), Poland (68), Romania (90) and Great Britain (35). A total of 307 doctors (general practitioners) and 5,807 patients participated in the study. Participants filled out questionnaires and had their medical communications videotaped and analysed. The researchers found that the higher the nation's PDI score, the less unexpected information was shared and the shorter the consultation. This implies a more one-sided communication with the doctor primarily speaking to the patient. In countries with low PDI scores, doctors conveyed more information to their patients through more flexible communication styles and consultations lasted significantly longer (Meeuwesen, van den Brink-Muinen, Hofstede 2009).

The PDI is also very important to multinational organizations and businesses. Business psychology handles topics such as team dynamics and leadership. Knowing what strategies to use as a manager is very important when managing a multinational team, or teams in different national cultures. International business managers would be well served by reading the literature on power distance.

**Eylon and Au (1999)** researched power distance and empowerment in the workplace and found that the amount of supervision and management required to maximize work performance is culturally dependent. Using 135 participants who were MBA students from a Canadian university, the researchers examined the effects of empowerment on work satisfaction and performance. Participants were divided into high power distance and low power distance groups based on language and country of origin. Overall, the two groups were similar in work experience and demographics. Members of the two groups were then each put through three conditions: empowered, disempowered and a control.

Results showed that all participants were more satisfied when empowered than when not empowered, regardless of score on the PDI. However, differences were seen in work performance. There was no difference in work performance for participants from the low power distance cultures but the high power distance participants did significantly less well in the empowered condition. Eylon and Au's study (1999) therefore suggests that high and low power distance groups react differently to being empowered in the workplace. It seems to follow from these findings that high power distance groups may perform better while disempowered. Disempowered situations are characterized by more structured tasks, where information is more limited and responsibilities are explicit and few.

Similar research was undertaken to examine whether a desire to have a voice in decision-making processes varied across cultures. In the USA, it has long been established that people react poorly when they are not given a voice in decision-making. If this is untrue for other national cultures, it would inform leaders of multinational teams in how best to involve team members in decision-making processes.

Three separate studies were conducted by **Brockner et al in 2001**. All three studies found that there is a tendency for people in low power distance cultures (specifically, the USA and Germany) to respond less favourably (with lower commitment to the organization) to lower levels of voice—participation in decision-making—than people in high power distance cultures (specifically, China, Mexico and Hong Kong). Importantly, Brockner et al (2001) found that it is not the lack of participation in decision-making to which people object. It is when the lack of participation violates cultural norms that people are unhappy. This again points to the need for managers to understand the cultural differences in their teams and team members in order to maximize work satisfaction and performance.

#### Psychology in real life

##### Malcolm Gladwell—a cockpit culture theory of plane crashes

Early in the morning on 6 August 1997, a Korean Air 747 with 254 people on board slammed into a mountainside on the island of Guam, killing 228 people. Almost immediately, the National Transportation Safety Board

(NTSB) began its Aircraft Accident Report. The crew was well trained, very experienced and professional, yet poor communication between the flight crew in the cockpit was identified as a contributing factor in the tragedy. How could a very experienced captain and flight crew get things so wrong?

#### Psychology in real life (continued)

It turns out that this was not an isolated incident. Between 1970 and 1999, Korean Airlines experienced an unusually high crash rate, losing 16 aircraft in a string of unfortunate disasters and giving the company one of the worst flight safety records of any major airline at the time. In fact, the loss rate for Korean Air was 17 times higher than for similar airlines, such as United Airlines in the USA, between 1988 and 1998. What was going on in Korean Air to cause these kinds of systematic failures? Malcolm Gladwell, in his book *Outliers*, points to an unlikely and often invisible culprit—elements of Korean culture itself.

Gladwell focuses on Korea's relatively high PDI score (60) and the resultant communication problems between flight crew. Subsequent research into the culture of the cockpit found that in 17 out of 19 participating cultures, flight crews had a significantly higher PDI score than Hofstede's original research showed for their respective cultures (Merritt, 2000). In other words, the culture of flight crew seemed to exaggerate the original scores found on Hofstede's original PDI. This may be due to the fact that many airlines hire ex-military flight crews. The military, by its very nature, is strictly hierarchical with extreme power distance scores.

Earl Weener, former chief safety engineer for Boeing, makes the point that the cockpit of the 747 is designed for two equals working in close cooperation—there should be no hierarchy in the culture of the cockpit (Gladwell, 2008). A former Delta Airlines employee, David Greenberg, was brought in to improve Korean Air's safety record. He quickly surmised that Korean Air flight crew were, "trapped

in roles dictated by the heavy weight of their country's cultural legacy. They needed an opportunity to step outside those roles when they sat in the cockpit" (Gladwell, 2008, p 246).

Once the connection between power distance and cockpit culture was identified, Greenberg and Korean Air removed Korean Air cockpits from Korean culture and re-normed the culture of the cockpit to reflect a much lower power distance. In this way, they eliminated the hierarchy that prevented flight crews from cooperating effectively.

Since 1999, Korean Air has improved its safety record to be in line with other major carriers. This is a remarkable turnaround that can at least partially be attributed to the re-norming of Korean Air cockpit culture.



▲ Figure 4.5 View of the wreckage from Korean Air flight 801

#### ATL skills: Thinking

Is it ever acceptable to obey without question? As we have seen, the extent to which someone will do this may be culturally dependent.

One subculture within all cultures that shows extremely high PDI scores is in military organizations (and to a lesser extent police forces). These subgroups are normally made up of willing young men and women who have volunteered to be a part of a rigid and hierarchical culture.

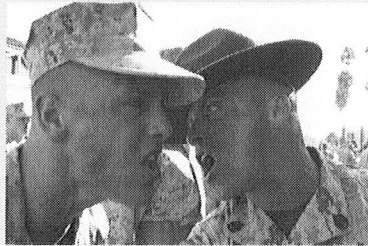
Alfred Tennyson's 1889 poem *The Charge of the Light Brigade*, declared that "Theirs not to make reply, Theirs not to reason why, Theirs but to do and die". Tennyson was writing about the common soldier who was to obey orders no matter what the consequences. Even in western nations, now exhibiting a low PDI score, it was once considered noble and

ATL skills (continued)

courageous to go blindly to your death if ordered to do so by a superior. This drastically different subculture is why the military and police communities are very interesting to social psychologists.

What personality traits do you consider ideal for military service? Do you believe soldiers are born or made?

How are new recruits socialized into the military culture?



Alternative or extended models of cross-cultural studies

Schwartz's theory of basic values

There is more than one model in cross-cultural psychology and it is always worth examining more than one way of explaining behaviour. Schwartz has offered a theory that he considers is an extension of Hofstede's dimensions. This theory features 10 basic values and their overarching higher-order groups.

Openness to change

1. **Self-direction**—personal thought and action; choosing, creating, exploring
2. **Stimulation**—excitement, novelty and challenge in life

Self-enhancement

3. **Hedonism**—pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself
4. **Achievement**—personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards
5. **Power**—social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources

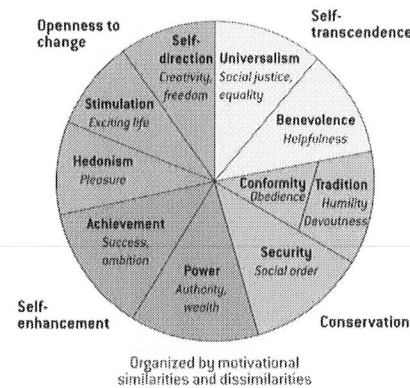
Conservation

6. **Security**—safety, harmony and stability of society, of relationships and of self

7. **Conformity**—restraint of actions, inclinations and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms
  8. **Tradition**—respect, commitment and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide the self
- Self-transcendence**
9. **Benevolence**—preserving and enhancing the welfare of those with whom one is in frequent personal contact (the ingroup)
  10. **Universalism**—understanding, appreciation, tolerance and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature (Schwartz, 2006).

Schwartz's theory of basic values not only claims to describe the basic values of all cultures but explains how they influence and interact with each other.

In an effort to show this visually, Schwartz created a circular chart that shows the relationship of the basic values (see Figure 4.6). For example: security, conformity and tradition have similar motivations and are fundamentally opposed to self-direction and stimulation; similarly, values of universalism and benevolence are offset to power and achievement. Values such as hedonism and stimulation are quite closely related to each other and therefore appear next to each other on the chart.



▲ Figure 4.6 Relationship of the 10 basic values in Schwartz's theory (Schwartz, 2006)

Placement on this matrix is determined by a questionnaire called the Schwartz Value Survey (SVS). The SVS has been taken by over 60,000 respondents in over 60 nations. (Fischer and Schwartz, 2011). The questionnaire measures the 10 basic principles on a scale of importance from -1 to 7. The higher the number, the more important that value is to the participant. The scale is:

- 7 (supreme importance)
- 6 (very important)
- 5, 4 (unlabelled)
- 3 (important)
- 2, 1 (unlabelled)
- 0 (not important)
- -1 (opposed to my values).

ATL skills: Thinking and self-management

There are many websites online where you can take the SVS. Take the survey and see if you can identify what your dominant values are.

Contrast Schwartz's model with Hofstede's dimensions of culture.

Is one model better than the other? What makes you say that?

Personality traits and cultural dimensions



▲ Figure 4.7 Völkertafel—17th-century stereotypes

The birth of the modern nation state in the 17th and 18th centuries led to the need to develop a national and cultural "we" that was different from all of the "others" that existed in other states. Eighteenth-century philosophers spent a lot of time and effort distinguishing between what they called the various "national characters" of Europe. One of the earliest attempts to collate these can be seen in the Völkertafel stereotypes (shown in Figure 4.7 and Table 4.5). This is an obvious early example of stereotyping that resembles what we would today call racism. This list of stereotypes is an important document as it represents an early attempt to define the relationship between cultures and personalities.

This dichotomy remains today. Hofstede and Schwartz do not claim to be describing the personalities within cultures but the characteristics of cultures overall. Studying personality requires the comparison of individuals while studying cultures requires comparing societies. As Hofstede and McCrae state, "individuals are to societies as trees are to forests" (Hofstede and Macrae, 2004, p 65). Studying forests is not like studying trees. Forests are far more complex and require an analysis of an entire ecosystem, not a single organism. You would be guilty of committing an **ecological fallacy** (inferring information about individuals using information from a group to which they belong) if you used dimensions (designed for cultures) to

	Spanish	French	German	Englishman	Swede	Pole	Hungarian	Russian	Turk
<b>Names</b>	Lordly	Careless	Candid	Shapely	Strong and tall	Rustic	Disloyal	Wicked	Inconsistent
<b>Customs</b>	Miraculous	Open minded, talkative	Kind	Good humoured	Gruesome	Wild	Most gruesome	"gungungarsch" (?)	Young devil
<b>Character</b>	Wise	Careful	Sharp minded	Gracful	Persistent	Not paying attention	Even less than a Pole	Non-existent	Strange
<b>Mind</b>	Manly	Childish	Follower	Feminine	Unrecognizable	Mediocre	Sanguinary	Infinitely rough	Tender
<b>Draughts</b>	Literate	Warlike	Secular law (natural science)	Philosophy	Sea related	Foreign languages	Latin	Greek	Wrong political (?)
<b>Science</b>	Honorable	Changeable	Adapting	French	Leather	Long skirts	Colourful	Fury	Feminine
<b>Fashion</b>	Arrogant	Sneaky	Extravagant	Anxious	Superstitious	Boastful	Traitor	Suspicious	Even more treacherous
<b>Bad habits</b>	Honour	War	Drinking	Lust	Dining	Nobility	Riots	Beating people	Themselves
<b>They love</b>	Conspiration	Syphilis	Good	Tuberculosis	Anarsaka	Fractures	Pavlo (?)	Whooping cough	Impotence
<b>Typical diseases</b>	Fertile	Well made	Good	Fertile	Mountains	Forests	Fertile and gold-rich	Icy	Lovely
<b>Their land</b>	Nobly	Maliciously	Invincible	Hero on the sea	Unlaminated	Impetuous	Religious	Burdensome	Sneaky
<b>War virtues</b>	The best	Good	Reverent	Variable	Zealous	Lonely believers	Indifferent	Apostate	Apostate too
<b>Divine service</b>	Monarch	King	Emperor	Changing every day	Free lordship	An elected person	Doesn't matter	A volunteer	Tyrant
<b>Reignred by</b>	Fruits	Wares	Grain	Carule	Ore	Fur	Everything	Bees	Soft things
<b>Plenty of</b>	Gambling	Cheating	Dinking	Working	Eating	Arguing nothing	Sleeping	Sleeping	Be ailing
<b>Amusement</b>	Elephant	Fox	Lion	Horse	Ox	Bear	Wolf	Donkey	Cat
<b>Animal comparison</b>	In a boat	In war	In a monastery	In water	On the earth	In a stable	By the sword	In the snow	By betrayal
<b>Death</b>									

▲ Table 4.5 Völkertafel's stereotypes (17th century)

Source: <http://imgur.com/gallery/ygkhuD>

compare individuals within those cultures. You would be equally guilty for using personality traits to compare cultures. So how can we get around this ecological fallacy?

Hofstede's cultural dimensions are a common way to measure and compare cultures. A widely used model for measuring and comparing personality is the five-factor model of personality (Macrae, John 1992). Hofstede and McCrae (2004) found that mean personality scores from 33 different countries significantly correlated with cultural dimension scores.

Macrae and John's (1992) model consists of the following factors. (This is sometimes referred to as the O-C-E-A-N model).

- 1. Neuroticism**—tendency toward unstable emotions; tendency to frequently experience negative emotions such as anger, frustration, worry and sadness while appearing insensitive to others
- 2. Extraversion**—tendency toward talkativeness, sociability and enjoyment of others; tendency to have a dominant style of behaviour
- 3. Openness** to experience—tendency to appreciate new ideas, values, ideas and behaviours
- 4. Agreeableness**—tendency to agree to go along with others; tendency to avoid asserting your own values, opinions or choices

**5. Conscientiousness**—tendency to be cautious, punctual, hardworking and a rule-follower.

Hofstede and McCrae (2004) found that:

- individualism correlated with extraversion
- uncertainty avoidance correlated with neuroticism and tended to score higher on openness to experience
- high power distance correlated with conscientiousness and extraversion
- masculinity correlated with neuroticism and cultures rating high in masculinity tended to rate themselves more open to experience than feminine cultures.

**ATL skills: Thinking and research**

Can science and psychological research give us accurate, data-based generalizations about individual personality traits within cultures?

Find out Hofstede's dimension scores for your country. Align those dimensions with the personality traits from the five-factor model.

Do you see any relationship between what the data tells you and who you think you are?