Chapter 2
Collectivism and Individualism

2.1 Concepts of Collectivism and Individualism

Although the concepts of collectivism and individualism or themes pertaining to collectivism and individualism were floating in both Western (see Triandis 1995) and Indian literature (see Sinha 1988), it was Hofstede (1980), who established them as the most viable constructs to differentiate cultures. Later, Kim et al. (1994), Triandis (1995) and Hofstede (2001) related them to a variety of phenomena such as social systems, morality, religion, cognitive differentiations, economic development, modernity, social pathology, psychological wellbeing and so on. Most of the industrialized, wealthy and urbanized societies were reported to be individualistic while the traditional, poor and rural societies were found to be collectivistic in orientation. It was conceptualized that collectivism "pertains to societies in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty" while "individualism pertains to societies in which the ties between individuals are loose; everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family" (Hofstede 1991, p. 51). Collectivism and individualism are viewed as "cultural syndromes" that differentiate cultures in terms of beliefs, attitudes, norms, roles, values and behaviours (Triandis 1994, p. 50). Triandis identified four major attributes distinguishing collectivism from individualism. Majority of people in a collectivistic culture identify themselves in terms of their relationships with in-groups, aspire to achieve their in-groups' goals, conform to social norms and react emotionally. On the contrary, individualists consider themselves as "autonomous atoms" having their own personal goals, following their likes and dislikes, and carefully evaluating their gains and losses before acting. Bhawuk (2001) considered the first attribute, self, as the central one driving those having interdependent self to yield to in-group goals, relate with others emotionally and follow social norms with regard to the society at large. On the contrary, autonomous individuals strive to achieve their own individual goals, rationally relate with others calculating their gains and losses and do what they like to do.

J. B.P. Sinha, *Psycho-Social Analysis of the Indian Mindset*,
DOI: 10.1007/978-81-322-1804-3_2, © Springer India 2014

Collectivism and individualism are differentiated in being either vertical or horizontal, signifying hierarchal or egalitarian orientation in social relationships. Vertical cultures have a larger power distance and greater societal inequality than horizontal ones. The USA, for example, is vertically individualistic while Israel is horizontally collectivistic, Norway and Sweden are horizontally individualistic, and India is vertically collectivistic (Triandis and Bhawuk 1997). The cultural-level construct of collectivism–individualism has person-level counterparts in allocentrism–idiocentrism (Triandis 1985), although most studies use the constructs of collectivism–individualism for both cultural- and person-level discourses. Triandis (1995) admitted that there are as many forms of individualism and collectivism as there are cultures and the two may coexist in varying shades in certain cultures. A culture is labelled as individualistic or collectivistic depending on whether most of the people manifest either of the two at most of time and across most of situations (Triandis 1995). Collectivism is also differentiated into *relational* and *group-centred* collectivism. Relational collectivism refers to the network of interpersonal sharing, cooperation and obligations (e.g. relying, trusting and helping family members and friend, depending on a superior and supporting a subordinate). Group-centred collectivism manifests in common membership of a collective or a symbolic group (Brewer and Chen 2007) such as a particular village, caste, religion region, or a political party. Symbolic groups too have been further differentiated as having closer or distant boundaries. Gelfand et al. (2004), for example, distinguished familial from other institutional forms of collectivism at societal levels. Familial collectivism includes only family members and close ones who are considered virtually as family members. Institutional forms reflect generalized trust and interdependence in social transactions. There are also attempts to show the primacy of different levels of individualism and collectivism. According to O'Mara et al. (2007), for example, there is a hierarchy of primacy, where individualism is the most basic as people tend to prioritize their individual interests and goals over groups' goals and interests. The underlying assumption is that people are basically selfish as their concerns for survival and prosperity invariably assume the top priority. They opt to operate through collectives only when they think it to be the most expedient way to serve their interests. There are, however, counter arguments signifying that human survival and prosperity are also contingent on collective efforts. For example, Darwin, who gave the famous dictum that there is an on-going struggle for existence among living beings where the fittest survives, is cited as pronouncing the following in 1874:

> Advancement in the standard of morality will certainly give an immense advantage to one tribe over another. A tribe including many members who, from possessing in a high degree the spirit of patriotism, fidelity, obedience, courage and sympathy, were always ready to aid one another, and to sacrifice themselves for the common good, would be victorious over most other tribes; and this would be natural selection (quoted in Krebs 2011, p. 117).

2.1.1 The Indian Approach to Collectivism and Individualism

The understanding of collectivism and individualism in the Indian mindset has evolved differently. A number of studies (Bhawuk 2004; House et al. 2004; Sinha 1985; Sinha and Verma 1987; Triandis 1995; Triandis and Bhawuk 1997; Verma 1999; Verma and Triandis 1998 among others) confirmed Hofstede (1980) that Indians are by and large collectivists. Subsequent investigations, however, discovered that Indians are both collectivists and individualists depending on the situation (Mishra 1994; Sinha and Tripathi 1994; Tripathi 1988). Subsequent studies (Sinha et al. 2001, 2002) also revealed that collectivism and individualism constitute interchanging means and goals relationships—each facilitating the other. Further explorations traced a continuity of this means–goals relationship to the primordial belief in cosmic collectivism along with the recognition of individual efforts in realizing the major life goals. The rest of the chapter, hence, shows this continuity by first dwelling on ancient conceptualizations followed by their modern manifestations.

2.2 Cosmic Collectivism and Individualistic Striving

2.2.1 Cosmic Collectivism: One in All and All in One

Indians have believed that everything—animate and inanimate—is an expression of the one Supreme Being (*eko aham bahusvaami*) and hence constitutes one ordered and interconnected whole (cosmos). The Upanishads posited a universal spirit, the *Brahman*, and individual souls or selves, the *aatman*. The latter emerges from the former temporarily and merges with it ultimately: "living beings as individualized centres of awareness that are like distinct waves of the endless expanse of an oceanic single principle fundamentally characterized by consciousness" (Sankaracharya cited by Paranjpe 2010, p. 24). This understanding is essential to the existential reality of life. So the *Isha Upanishad* says: "Whoever sees all beings in the soul and the soul in all beings … . What delusion or sorrow is there for one who sees unity?" It means that every *aatman* is essentially the *Brahman*—the cosmos is a collective. One of the two mantras in Chap. 14 of the *Shankhayana Aranyaka* extolled, "I am *Brahman*". The key phrase of the Upanishads is "*tat tvam asi*" (that thou art). That is, you are the *Brahman!* This unity is the core of the cosmic collectivism.

Not only there is intrinsic union between the *aatman*s and *Brahman*, but in the same vein, the lower orders of the beings also have a fraction of the *Brahman* in terms of having an *aatman* of their own. The *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* (1, 3, 22) affirmed:

> This *aatman* is the same in the ant, the same in gnat, the same in the elephant, the same in those three [animal, human, & divine] worlds … the same in the whole universe.

Thus, they are all interconnected, but there exists an order within them depending on their proximity to *Brahman.* Because of their shared entity, even Gods and Goddesses appear in human as well as animal forms. They were said to reside in trees and plants too. There are trees (e.g. *peepal*, or sacred fig) and plants (e.g. basil) that were considered to be pious and worshipped as abodes of Gods and Goddesses or are used in worshipping Gods and Goddesses (see box 2.1). The Hindu trinity—Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh—were believed to assume human appearance whenever they wished or the devotees prayed earnestly and sufficiently. Vishnu, for example, appeared in 10 forms: Three animals: *matsya* (fish), *kurma* (tortoise), *varaaha* (boar), seven humans: *vaamana* (dwarf), *Parasurama* (a sage who was the destroyer of the Kshatriyas), *Rama* and *Krishna* (and also *Buddha* who did not believe in either Self or *Brahman*), and *Kalki* (who is still to appear eventually to destroy the degenerated age, Kali-Yuga), and a man-lion (*Narasimha*). Two Gods, Hanumana (in monkey form) and Ganesh (with an elephant head), are among the most popular ones even today.

Indian mythology is full of instances of Gods and Goddesses who descended on the Earth in order to interact with human beings, and who shared almost all shades of human vices and virtues. Meritorious human beings too acquired divine qualities and a few of them gained access to heaven in their human body. The demarcation between the divine and human was so fuzzy that a human being might claim: "'O Sun of refulgent glory, I am the same person as makes thee what thou art!" (Nehru 1946/2001, p. 91). Furthermore, according to the *Aitareya Upanishad*, those who follow Vedic injunctions and perform sacrifices in appropriate and adequate ways become the God Fire (Agni), Sun (Surya) or Air (Vaayu). On the other hand, those who transgress the Vedic prescriptions are born into a lower order of beings such as birds and reptiles.

Box 2.1. Collectivistic Worldview
Indian sculptures, according to Thomas Mann, are an "all encompassing labyrinth flux of animal, human, and divine … visions of life in the flesh, all jumbled together … suffering and enjoying in thousand shapes, teeming, devouring, and turning into one another (Lannoy 1971/2008, p. 78)."

It was in this frame of the united universe that, according to the *Taittiriya Upanishad,* the human being was conceptualized having five layers, like concentric sheaths of onion, from outer physical to the innermost (pure, conscious) self. They are (a) the body (*annamaya*) created by food, embedding the person into the physical environment; (b) vital breath (*praanamaya*), or bodily functions; (c) sensory functions (*manomaya*) such as attending, perceiving, feeling, etc.; (d) cognitive sheath (*vijnaanamaya*) consisting of ideas and concepts that help one

understand the world; and (e) joyous core (*aanandamaya*), that is *aatman,* the true self (Paranjpe 1998, p. 163). The five sheaths are so enmeshed that cosmic influences spontaneously permeate into the sensory and mental functions and wrap the real self. According to the *Kaushitaki Upanishad,* the body inherits divine entities: *Agni* (fire) in speech, *vaayu* (air) in *praana* (vital breathing), the sun in the eyes, the moon in the mind, the directions in the ears and water in the potency. The constellation of planetary forces directly influences a person. She or he can wear stones and beads, keep *vrat* (fasting and pooja) and perform various rites and rituals, which are believed to enable the person to relate and regulate the inflow of influences from the planetary forces inorder to lead him to live a life of harmony with the physical world and hence enjoy health and happiness.

2.2.2 Individualistic Striving for Self-Realization

While being enmeshed into the collectives of inanimate, animate and divine, human beings still suffer from a sense of separation from *Brahman*, and hence strive to get union with Him—*moksha* (salvation), which is the terminal goal of life. This journey for the union is essentially individualistic in nature. The journey starts with what the human beings are and heads towards what they should become; that is, from biological being to the spiritual one. The *chitta,* the dispositional mind, sits at the core of biological being. It consists of impulses and desires and is unstable, restless and turbulent.[1] However, the *chitta* is also inherently oriented to attain *moksha* (salvation) by passing through a number of major milestones. The milestones are marked as the life goals of *artha* (earning money and acquiring material things), dharma (discharging personal duties and obligations according to the age, gender and caste-based roles) and *kaama* (seeking sensuous including sexual pleasure). Hindus were prescribed to earn money so that, according to the *Arthashastra,* they can achieve other goals or most ideally give *daana* (charity) and collect religious merit. They have to discharge social obligations irrespective of how others reciprocate and allow themselves to indulge in sensuous pleasure before striving for the terminal goal of *moksha.* All these goals have to be realized through individualistic efforts. There is no emphasis, nor even a mention in the Hindu texts, that this progression from biological to spiritual can be a collective endeavour. Even gurus, who had the moral obligation to uplift a mortal soul, were expected only to enlightened the latter's self, which then is expected to start transforming on its own. There was no cultural belief in the transfer of one's good conduct to others or riding on other's good conduct, except in the case of father–son relationship.[2] In other words, collectivism is an existential reality, but individuals must put in efforts to achieve the goals of

[1] *Pratyaahara* and *dhaarana*: Swami Vivekananda on *Rija Yoga*.

[2] *Putra* (son) means "he who protects a man from going to hell" by performing good conduct.

life. In the process they transcend the narrowness of their individual self and expand it to include not only the near and dear ones in the family, but also the larger collectives and in fact for the whole universe. The whole universe becomes the family (*basudhaiva kutumbakam*):

> One begins with concern for oneself and gradually expands one's ego to encompass one's community and ultimately the entire world. Similarly in one of the verses of the *Mahabharata* it is stated that for the sake of the clan one gives up the individual (person), for the sake of the village one gives up the clans, for the sake of the country (*janapada*) one gives up the village, and for the highest good one gives up the earth. Concern for others has been given the highest place and the target is the larger group (Sinha 1998, p. 20).

2.3 New Avatar of Collectivism and Individualism

Despite this backdrop of collectivism and individualism in the Indian mindset, the scientific interest in them was initiated by the seminal work of Hofstede (1980). There were indeed some writings, even before and independent of Hofstede, pertaining to collectivistic themes. Indians, for example, were observed being submerged in their in-groups (Kapp 1963, p. 60). They were found to be so embedded in their in-groups that Marriot (1976) preferred to label them as "dividuals" within collectives rather than individuals separated from each other. Within their in-groups, the self-other boundary was reported to be blurred by "affective reciprocity", "strong mutual caring", "emotional connectedness" and inhibition of "disruptive" feelings and thoughts (Roland 1980). Lapierre (1986) contended: "Every individual in India is always linked to the rest of the social body by a network of incredibly diversified ties, with the result that no one in this gigantic country of 700 and 50 million [now above 1 billion] inhabitants could ever be completely abandoned" (p. 56). This embeddedness led Indians "to emphasize protection and caring [of those below in hierarchy] in their social (and political) relations" (Kakar 1982, p. 272). Further, the "Hindu's experienced self is structured more around *we*, *ours*, and *us* than around *I, mine* or *me*. There is a preference to belong to a collective and to undermine autonomy, initiative, and individualism" (Sinha 1982, p. 153). Sinha (1985) posited that collectives have overwhelming influence on Indians because of the milieu in which they live and function:

> A number of socio-economic factors have created a situation of interdependence in India which makes Indians behave in collective fashion. Within the narrowly demarcated in-groups of nuclear and extended family and friends, the collective behaviours are accompanied by shared needs and values, sensitivity to each other, and desire to maintain reciprocal affectivity. For outsiders, Indians are callous and exploitative. In between the two, there is a twilight zone where Indians maintain varied forms of dyadic social network relationships with a view to safeguard the interest of the in-group(s) as well as their own. These social networks are often nurtured with subtle ingratiation and manipulations. And yet, Indians invest most of their energy in maintaining these in-groups and networks, at times at the cost of public interests (Sinha 1985, p. 115).

These were, however, largely observations of social scientists. Empirical verifications started only after Hofstede (1980) provided an empirical benchmark showing that the Indian culture is moderately collectivistic scoring 48 on the scale ranging from collectivism (1) to individualism (100). He asked a sample of IBM managers from 40 countries what they valued at the workplace. Some of the items were worded to measure individualism while others measured collectivism. The ratings on the collectivistic items were reversed to compute a total of individualism score of each of the respondents. Their scores were averaged to derive a country's score on the collectivism–individualism scale. Some examples individualistic items were as follows:

How important is it for you to:

- do challenging work from which you can get a personal sense of accomplishment (challenge)
- have an opportunity for high earning (earning)
- have good fringe benefits (benefits)
- have an opportunity to advancement to higher level jobs (advancement).

Two examples of collectivistic items were the following:
How important is it for you to:

- work with people who cooperate well with one another (cooperation)
- have a good working relationship with your managers (relationship).

2.3.1 Collectivism, Allocentrism and In-Group Influence

Following Hofstede (1980), Triandis (1983) too found that Indian culture is collectivistic and that Indians are mostly allocentrics. Sinha and Verma (1987) checked whether the Indian culture is indeed collectivistic and whether Indians at their personal level are allocentrics. They had several reservations about the studies conducted by Hofstede and Triandis. IBM managers, for example, are hardly representative of the Indian population. They are high-earning employees of a multinational organization. So, Sinha and Verma sampled 109 adult Indians from diverse backgrounds. They further argued that cultural-level constructs (collectivism–individualism) and their personal level counterparts (allocentrism–idiocentrism) have to be measured independently. They drew the personal level measure from a cross-cultural pool of items created by a team of international psychologists that included the first author too (Triandis et al. 1986). But not all items in the pool were applicable to Indians. So, 14 items, which made sense to Indians, were selected. Two examples of the items measuring idiocentrism were the following:

- As much as possible, one should live one's life independently of others
- I tend to do my own things independently of my family members.

Two examples of allocentric items were the following:

- I like to live close to my good friends
- When my family is not around, I feel lonely.

A new measure was developed for assessing cultural-level collectivism–individualism. The investigators did not ask respondents about what they value or how much importance they attach to doing certain things. They thought that people generally give socially desirable response when they rate the importance of something positive. Indians, for example, claim to value honesty and consider it very important, but in actual practice, they may not remain honest and they might believe that that the most other people (not they themselves) are corrupt. So, the new measure included items measuring beliefs and practices in addition preferences (that are equivalent to values). Further, the investigators did not ask the respondents to rate themselves; rather, to predict "what other people living around them believe, prefer, and practice". This put the respondents in informants' role. This had two advantages. First, they were likely to give a more accurate description of others than they gave about themselves. People generally present themselves in more positive fashion that they really are. They are, on the other hand, likely to be more objective in rating others. For example, those who do not accept that they are corrupt may report that other people around them are corrupt. A second advantage accrues from this objective nature of the ratings. Because they were rating something out there, fewer informants are needed to get a fairly accurate picture of the reality. Self-ratings vary more than the ratings of others. So, a large sample is generally required to draw firm conclusions from self-ratings. The sample for the self-ratings also has to be representative of the population. It is always problematic to get a really representative sample. On the other hand, even a small sample of informants is likely to yield convergent views leading to a fairly accurate account of a reality.

Twenty-six items that were considered to be highly applicable to Indians were selected to constitute the individualism–collectivism scale. The examples collectivistic items were the following:

- Old parents live with their grown-up children
- People do no mind guests and visitors dropping in at odd hours
- People take time off their work to visit ailing friends and relatives.

The respondents were given both—allocentrism–idiocentrism and collectivism–individualism—scales to rate themselves as well as other people around them. The findings revealed that respondents rated themselves as largely allocentrics and perceived other people as mostly collectivists. Personal- and cultural-level collectivism was found to be moderately interrelated, confirming the findings of Hofstede (1980) and Triandis (1983) that Indian culture is by and large collectivistic and Indians at their personal level are mostly allocentrics.

There was another issue that Sinha and Verma (1987) explored. As allocentrics are embedded in their in-groups, they are likely to be influenced by their members (Gelfand et al. 2004). Hence, Sinha and Verma wanted to know which of their collectives had greater impact on Indians' decision making. The members that were

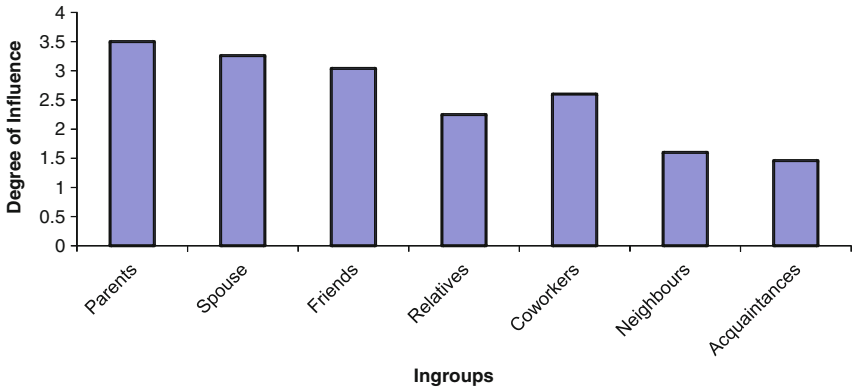


Fig. 2.1 In-groups influences. *Source* Sinha and Verma (1987)

compared were the parents, relatives, spouse, friends, neighbours, co-workers and acquaintances. The decisions on which their influence was assessed pertained to voting in an election, accepting a person as an intimate friend, preference for taking a job, importance given to own or collective's desires and feelings, distribution of lottery money, making social calls and entertaining the members of the collective at busy hours. The average magnitude of collectives' influences is displayed in Fig. 2.1. This figure shows that the parents, spouse and friends exerted the maximum but decreasing order of influence. Co-workers followed them in the order, relatives and neighbours were less influential, and acquaintances were the least influential collectives. Parents' primacy over even that of the spouse in influencing adult Indians to make important decisions is particularly worth noting.

Having established close association between allocentrism and collectives' influence, the investigators further explored two issues: First, whether the collective's influence was more closely related with personal-level allocentrism than with cultural level collectivism? Second, whether the relationships were stronger in the cases of more (such as parents and spouse) than in less (such as relatives and acquaintances) influential collectives? In order to address the issues, collectives' influences were correlated with allocentrism and collectivism, and compared across the in-groups (Fig. 2.2).

Indeed, allocentrism, compared to collectivism, was more closely related with collectives' influence in all groups. That is, respondents' self-perception of personal level collectivism was more strongly associated with collectives' influence. Furthermore, the parents' and friend's influences were the most strongly related with both allocentrism and collectivism. Surprisingly, correlations were relatively low in case of spouse. The influence of acquaintances was the weakest and insignificantly related to either allocentrism or collectivism. Finally, the allocentrics perceived that co-workers and neighbours influenced them more than their relatives. Relatives are generally more dispersed than co-workers and neighbours and, like Japanese, Indians probably believe that "you can live ignoring relatives but not co-workers and neighbours".

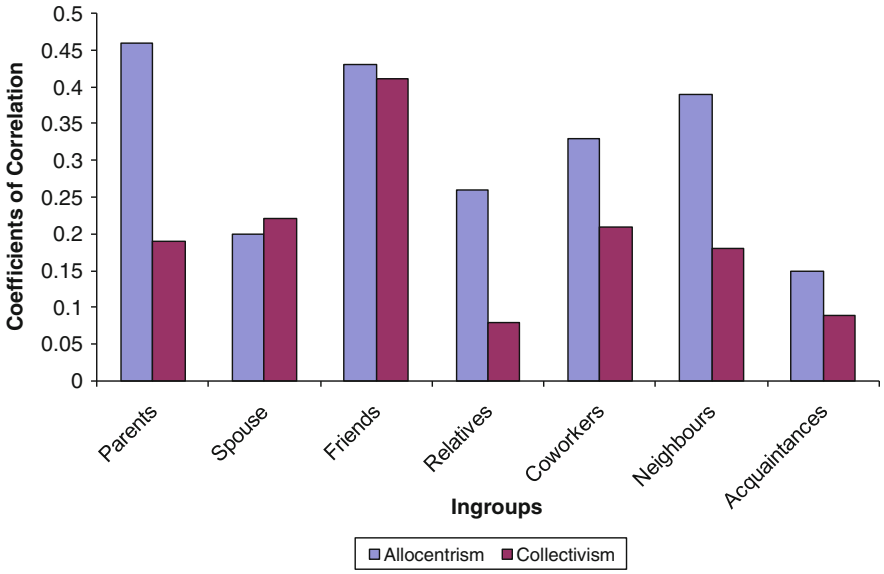


Fig. 2.2 Relationship of in-group influence with allocentrism and collectivism. *Source* Sinha and Verma (1987)

Sinha and Verma (1994) went further to explore whether allocentrism is also related with social support and wellbeing. The issue arose out of an earlier study (Triandis et al. 1988) reporting that allocentrics are less alienated and hence less lonely because they enjoy greater social support than idiocentrics. Social support means that a person has available one or more persons who are willing to listen empathetically, bail out of trouble and help solve a difficult problem. Naturally, the people having greater social support will be less vulnerable to the stresses and strains of life. Social supports acts as a buffer (Cohen and Syme 1985). As a result, such persons have a greater sense of wellbeing. Wellbeing in the Western context generally signifies a mental state characterized by optimism, cheerfulness and playfulness (Tellegen 1979).

The Indian conceptualization of wellbeing, however, is more inclusive. It ties wellbeing with self-realization that corresponds to rising in spiritual merit manifesting in composed mindset and freedom from emotional upheavals. Self-realization, as discussed in Chap. 1, is a process of start living *appropriately* and *adequately* by earning wealth, enjoying sensuous pleasures, discharging social obligations and then transcending them to live on a higher level of spirituality. This developmental sequence requires self-control and a sense of detachment that hedge the person from the frustrations of falling into a vicious trap of unending desires (Bhawuk 2008). There exists evidence to suggest that detached persons experience less stress and cope more effectively with whatever stresses they experience (Pande and Naidu 1992). Therefore, Sinha and Verma (1994) included both sets of the measures of wellbeing (optimism, cheerfulness and playfulness as well as self-control, detachment and freedom from frustrations and anxiety) in their study.

Because collectivism[3] was of focal interest, they planned to measure it in a more comprehensive way than they did in their previous study. In the previous study, it was measured through statements of attitude and opinion that the respondents had to agree or disagree in varying degrees. This time they added three more measures. The second was a "Who Am I" test in which the respondents were asked to express themselves freely. They were required to complete 20 sentences that started with "I …" in Hindi. The sentences were analysed to see the extent to which the respondents identified themselves with their in-groups. Thus, it was a test of their "embedded self"—an indication of their collectivism. The third was a force-choice measure that asked respondents to opt for their own or collectives' preferences. For example, the respondents were asked whether they preferred to:

- spend their leisure hours alone or with friends
- make decisions on their own or go by the opinion of their friends
- entertain or avoid friends dropping in unannounced while they are busy working.

Collectivists were those who preferred friends' over their own considerations. The fourth measure required the respondents to judge "How far they will go by their own versus friends' and relatives' desires, opinions, and behaviour" by making a cross mark on a five-inch graphic scale, the one end of which had "Own" and the other end had either "Friends" or "Relatives". The distance from own end to the cross mark indicated the degree of priority attached to friends' and relatives' desires, opinion and behaviour.

Social support was measured by the scale developed by Sarason et al. (1983) that asked respondents to place themselves in three situations provided to them: (a) having a difficult problem, (b) having a need to express inner thoughts and feelings to someone and (c) falling into a serious trouble. Respondents were to list the initials of persons who could be approached for support, the closeness of their relationship and the extent to which they were available to extend the support. The support persons were listed to be father, mother, spouse, siblings, close and distant relatives. The extent of support was the product of their closeness and availability. Wellbeing was measured by the scale developed by Tellegen (1979) having 24 items pertaining to cheerfulness, optimism and playfulness. The authors added items that tapped self-control, sense of detachment, freedom from frustrations, anxiety and loneliness.

Unlike the respondents in the previous study, the respondents this time rated themselves as more individualists than collectivists. The difference probably was because the respondents in this study consisted of master's level students in the age range of 20–23 while the previous study had adults in the age range of 25–50 years. Demographic factors have been reported to affect collectivism and individualism in a study (Mishra 1994) that showed that younger, urbanized and better educated persons are relatively more individualists than older, rural and less educated Indians. Similarly, the GLOBE study (House et al. 2004) also reported

[3] From now on, collectivism and individualism also stand for allocentrism and idiocentrism (respectively) unless otherwise indicated.

that Indian managers are becoming individualists because they are now younger and face tough competition every day at work where they are pressed more to perform than to build relationships.

Probably because the respondents were more individualists than collectivists, they were not concerned about seeking social support. Sinha and Verma still wondered whether those who were collectivists and had the privilege of high social support experienced a stronger sense of wellbeing. So they selected those respondents who were relatively more collectivists and examined the joint impact of their collectivistic orientation and social support on their wellbeing. Collectivists having greater social support were indeed more optimistic, cheerful, playful and had lesser feelings of frustrations, anxiety and loneliness. This makes sense. Optimists are those who believe that their efforts will bear fruit. Naturally, they are less anxious and frustrated. As they are cheerful, they tend to engage with others and joyfully explore various possibilities. However, collectivists with high social support were not the ones who admitted to have stronger self-control or a greater sense of detachment from material things. Those who perceived themselves as having greater self-control and a sense of detachment were actually indifferent to sharing their leisure time with friends and relatives or consulting them in making decisions. They did not attach greater priority to them over their own desires, opinion or behaviour. Self-control and detachment signify inner transformation that requires turning progressively to one's inside, which is what collectivists do not prefer, believe or practise. They identify with their in-groups, and emphasize maintaining relationships and prioritizing friends' and relatives' desires, opinions and acts. Naturally, self-control and detachment were unrelated to the combined impact of collectivism and social support.

2.3.2 The Coexistence of Opposites

The studies by Sinha and Verma (1987, 1994) were conducted under a Western perspective that assumed a dichotomy in human thought and behaviour. Cultures in the Western perspective were differentiated on the bipolar dimension of collectivism–individualism (Hofstede 1980), although later Hofstede (2001), among others, realized that persons within a culture can be both collectivists and individualists. Triandis (1994), for example, observed the following:

> … the two [allocentrism and idiocentrism] can coexist and are simply emphasized more or less in each culture, depending on the situation. All of us carry both individualist and collectivist tendencies, the difference is that in some cultures the possibility that individualist selves, attitudes, norms, values, and behaviour will be sampled or used is higher than in others (p. 42).

Subsequent studies (Triandis 1995; Triandis and Bhawuk 1997; Verma 1999; Verma and Triandis 1998) indeed confirmed that Indian culture is more collectivistic than individualistic. A study that was conducted by a team of eight Indian scholars (Sinha et al. 1994) at seven distant locations in the country indeed confirmed the dominance of collectivism in the Indian mindset. The main features consisted of

familism, personalized relationship and hierarchical orientation. The features were manifested in the following beliefs, preferences and practices (see Box 2.2):

Box 2.2. A Measure of Indian Collectivism

1. In case of arguments people side with their friends and relatives.
2. People let a common cause suffer for the sake of their family or friends.
3. People ask friends to find jobs for their children.
4. People are concerned about what their own people think of them.
5. People justify their conduct according to time and opportunity.
6. People still acknowledge the differences between high and low caste, between rich and poor.
7. People trust their caste men more than others.
8. People maintain good relationship even at the cost of work.
9. People prefer to remain quiet instead of getting into differences.
10. People speak against their colleagues in a stealthy manner.

The GLOBE study (House et al. 2004), which was conducted in 64 countries, reported that Indian culture had a very high score on collectivism, placing it at third rank from the top (Chhokar 2013). Another cross-cultural study of 10 cultures again confirmed that, compared to people of other cultures, Indians were primarily collectivists as they had the highest score on dependence, second lowest on the value of emotional separation of the family and the third lowest on independence (Triandis et al. 1993). The underlying assumption in all these studies was that of a stable inclination towards the predominance of an "either-or" in a culture. That is, collectivists will be collectivists and individualists will be individualists across most situations. Neither persons nor cultures can be both—collectivists and individualists—in the same situation and at the same time.

A growing uneasiness started cropping up by the 1980s about consistency in Indian thought and behaviour. An increasingly large number of studies reported that Indians were starkly inconsistent, inviting at times comments that they are hypocritical, or have split personalities, or "unresolved dualism" (Kapp 1963, p. 18). Details of inconsistent beliefs, values, norms and practices appear in Chap. 1. Mishra (1994) noted this inconsistency specifically in the domain of collectivism–individualism:

> Individualistic values such as personal happiness, economic gain, and personal benefits can coexist with collectivist values such as salvation, enduring relationships, and altruism among people. The Indian psyche is generally reported to be full of paradoxes and juxtaposition of opposites (p. 236).

Sinha and Tripathi (1994) documented a number of instances of opposites coexisting simultaneously in Indian mythology, ethics, the concept of wellbeing, music, Indian personality, social values, inter-group relationships and so on. Having

laid the foundation that opposites coexist in the Indian psyche and systems, they empirically showed that Indians more often adopt a mix of both collectivistic and individualistic thoughts and behaviour in dealing with important life events. They sampled 22 important life events and goals. Some of them pertained to health care and medical treatment, voting behaviour, choice of a career, living with parents, accommodating guests, serious personal problems, running after success or being helpful, choice of cooperation or competition in important transactions, etc.

Over 86 % of the respondents opted for a response that was a mix of both collectivism and individualism. Among the rest, 12.2 % opted for predominantly individualistic and only 1.2 % for purely collectivistic responses. The mixed response reflected "a position in which the subject [respondent] could have something of both the orientations [collectivism and individualism] at the same time, but the nature of two elements were often conflicting, so that one could not always have both at the same time" (Sinha and Tripathi 1994, p. 133). For example, their first life event raised the issue of how Indians generally decide which doctor to approach for a serious medical treatment. They want to go to the best available. But they also want to consult family members and friends. So, they select a doctor who is the best available in the views of family and friends. That is, group dynamics of the family and friends have a determining role in decisions that are pertinent to the individual. Among group members, the more assertive, senior or powerful members have a greater say in decision making. This helps maintain social cohesiveness. Other collectives too have a role. For example, the doctor being proximately or distantly related (belonging to the same caste, neighbourhood, or being a friend of a friend of a friend, or a relative of a relative of a relative) may be preferred over those who may be a shade better professionally. The expectations in such cases are that the doctor would take greater interest in treating the patient and may even discount his or her fees (Sinha et al. 1993). Thus, both individualistic (best available doctor and discounted fees) and collectivistic considerations (cohesiveness, belief in personalized treatment) enter into the decision. It was this nature of the reality that had led Tripathi (1988) to make the following proposition:

> Indian form of collectivism also contains streaks of strong individualism. The Indian model of man … places strong emphasis on realization of the self, although one is also asked to transcend it in the interest of the larger society. In Indian society, individualism and collectivism act like figure and ground. Depending on the situations, one rises to form the figure while the other recedes into the background (Tripathi 1988, pp 324–325).

2.3.3 Means-End Relationship

The study by Sinha and Tripathi (1994) was an improvement over the one by Sinha and Verma (1994). It showed collectivism–individualism coexisting and changing their salience as a function of the nature of situations. It, however, missed another crucial point, namely, that they may also function as a means–end chain in which one leads to other in an on-going process of making decisions and acting on them. For example, the most frequent self-descriptions in the "Who Am I" test (Sinha and Verma 1994) were, "I want to be self-reliant" (65.50 %), "I want a job"

(59.10 %), "I am dedicated to my education" (59.10 %)—all reflective of individualism. But they were closely followed by the concern, "I do not want to be a burden on my family" (41.80 %), as if their individualistic orientation was driven by a collectivistic concern for the interests of the family. Much later, Sinha (2011, p. 286) reinforced this view when he reported that the importance of self-reliance was indeed part of the collectivistic preference to put it in the service of the family. His sample of Indians aspired to excel in whatever they did, preferred to be rational rather than sentimental, and valued independence of mind, but all these were invested in efforts directed to enhance the wellbeing of the family, for which the respondents were willing to make sacrifices. They believed themselves to be so embedded in their family that their success in life was gauged by the success of the family in improving its socio-economic status in the community. Earlier, Mishra (1994) had reviewed the literature to conclude that "wellbeing of family" was "a dominant concern of Indian people" (p. 237). Family integrity came out to be strongest value in India in the earlier referred 10-nations cross-cultural study (Triandis et al. 1993). Of course, the wellbeing of a family also enables its members to get better education, find and retain a suitable job, earn more money, and most importantly, provide a sanctuary for safety, security and emotional support. Thus, an individualistic endeavours to improve available family resources to further expedite individualistic strivings. Familial collectivism and individualistic endeavours of family members feed on each other.

A closer view of the earlier reported process of selecting the best suited doctor highlights this means–end relationship between collectivism and individualism. Getting the best treatment is an obvious interest for the patient. But managing a discounted fee of the doctor could be another. Getting personalized attention could still be another. An implicit, though most enduring, interest probably could be to maintain cohesiveness among friends and family that would serve as a platform to cater to other individualistic interests and goals in future. The doctor once brought into the network of the extended family, caste or friendship, can also gain by attracting other patients from the network. Thus, a doctor's collectivistic gesture to patients has a built-in individualistic interest to make more money.

The source of this means–end relationship between collectivism and individualism lies in the complex way Indians construe a context and act on it (Sinha et al. 2001, 2002). As indicated in Chap. 1, Indians view their context as consisting of an on-going flow of events of interactive situations and responses to them in a long-term perspective. The aim is to serve their own as well as the interests and goals of their in-groups within the framework of constraints and opportunities. Because Indians are both collectivists and individualists, they would tend to achieve individualistic interests and goals through individualistic and collectivistic interests and goals through collectivistic behaviour. They may do so simultaneously. For example, a boy or a girl would marry a person of his or her choice, live in the joint family even when they are grown up in order to enjoy its support, take a high paying job ideally in the town where his or her family is located, see a specialist doctor who is a family friend and so on. Similarly, villagers would claim maximum amount of relief during a disaster and allocate it according to their needs

and influence in the village; they would participate in the village level functions but would carefully calculate how little they must contribute and how much mileage they can extract; and so on.

However, there are instances where their collectivistic and individualistic interests and goals clash. They have to adopt a strategy to serve both, but sequentially as means and end on the basis of their expectancy of what can work at which time, with whom and at what place. What cannot work is kept as secret intentions that can wait for an opportune time, place and person. Till then, Indians would do what works and helps create a ground to reach their intended goal and serve interests. Thus, they would adopt often a circuitous route to get what they want. Alternatively, they can go ahead and do what they strongly want or should do, but then engage in damage control by doing something that can balance or counteract what they did earlier. They can behave collectively to serve individualistic interests and goals and individualistically to serve collectivistic interests and goals. For example, suppose a young man wants to marry a girl of his choice while his parents have chosen a different girl that they think will suit the family best. He has two options. He may keep pleading with the parents or go on a fast unto death till his parents yield to let him marry the girl of his choice. Pleading and fasting in protest are measures that keep the family milieu collectivistic, but also create a condition in which collectivistic moves are made to serve individualistic interests. If his individualistic interest is stronger than his collectivistic concern, he may go ahead and marry the girl of his choice (individualistic behaviour) but then the two may start behaving like ideal collectivists by being submissive and obedient youngsters of the family, depending on the elders and seeking their emotional support in order to restore the collectivistic ethos in the family milieu. It is also possible, as Sinha and Tripathi (1994) reported, to have a mix of both individualistic and collectivistic elements in his behaviour. For example, the young man will not marry till he and his parents come to a consensus about the girl that he likes and the parents approve. In such cases, the behaviour manifests the mix of both collectivistic and individualistic intentions. Thus, there are five possible ways in which Indians blend their intentions and behaviours in order to serve their collectivistic and individualistic interests and goals:

1. Collectivistic behaviour with collectivistic intention (*CC*).
2. Individualistic behaviour with individualistic intention (*II*).
3. Collectivistic behaviour despite individualistic intention to behave subsequently in individualistic way in order to serve individualistic intention (*CI*).
4. Individualistic behaviour despite collectivistic intention to behave subsequently in collectivistic way in order to serve a collectivistic purpose (*IC*).
5. A mix of collectivistic and individualistic intention and behaviour (*C&I*).

Which of the five options Indians choose in a particular situation depends partly on the relative strength of collectivistic and individualistic interests and goals and partly on contextual demands. Sinha and Tripathi (1994), for example, reported that, although in 17 out of 23 situations Indians opted for a mix of both collectivistic and individualistic elements in their responses, in five, where the interests

and goals were strongly individualistic, they opted more often for individualistic responses. Individualistic interests and goals pertained to deciding important issues of life, serious health problems, voting for meritorious rather than own caste candidates, etc. Sinha et al. (2001) found that family as an institution and family members as an in-group led Indians to behave in a collectivistic way to serve collectivistic interests and goals. On the other hand, compelling personal needs and goals, if juxtaposed on the interests of family or friends, caused only a shift towards individualistic behaviour or intentions, resulting in various combinations of collectivistic and individualistic behaviours and intentions.

The disagreement in the findings of two studies was probably caused by the way the scenarios were constructed. The scenarios as well as the response alternatives of Sinha and his associates were more specific and detailed. This was probably the reason that selecting a doctor evoked a mixed response in the study by Sinha and Tripathi, but an individualistic response in the study by Sinha and his associates.

A follow-up study (Sinha et al. 2002) had 20 scenarios with a person or a collective (e.g. villagers) facing a dilemma of choosing among one of the five alternatives that had a different mix of individualistic or collectivistic intentions/behaviours. Three of the five alternatives had either collectivistic options followed by individualistic behaviour, or vice versa (CI, IC & C&I). One had collectivistic intentions leading to collectivistic behaviour (CC), and another, individualistic intentions resulting in individualistic behaviour (II). Out of 20 scenarios, 10 contrasted personal versus family and friends' interests, four had individual versus collective actions, two had personalized versus contractual relationship, and four tapped gender differences. The main interest was to see the modal (most frequent) combination of intention-response for each of the 20 scenarios clustered in four groups. Appendix 2.1 shows that collectivistic intention that leads to collectivistic behaviour (CC) was the most frequently reported combination, followed closely by the mix of both collectivistic and individualistic intention and behaviour (C&I), and the collectivistic behaviour to serve individualistic interest and goals. Individualistic intention/behaviour to serve either individualistic (II) or collectivistic interest and goals (IC) was only one each. Thus, collectivistic concerns seemed to dominate the mindset, particularly with regard to the family.

Specifically, the most important goal of life for a person was to work for the prosperity and happiness of the family. Retired parents were most likely to be invited to live with their son. Family was to be banked upon if a person had a dilemma to appear at an interview for an attractive job while his or her injured friend needed a blood donation. Similarly, a person had to take care of the family, despite the urgency of preparing for an examination that could have led to an attractive job. Family thus was a provider as well as recipient of support while the members served their individualistic interests (e.g. getting a job) that too were likely to serve the family's interests eventually. Similarly, both individualistic and collectivistic interests were served by sharing marriage expenses between brothers or dinner expenses between friends. Such sharing reinforced family ties. Children's study during exams was much more crucial than guests' convenience, and hence was given the priority, although the latter too was accommodated. Children were

essentially part of the family concern. Selling a computer or practising birth control are individualistic interests, but they too were better served by taking a collectivistic route. Consulting a doctor for a serious medical problem is such an individualistic concern that it was reported to evoke purely individualistic behaviour. This was in disagreement with those by Sinha and Tripathi (1994) and Sinha et al. (1993), who found a mixed effect of both collectivistic and individualistic considerations.

There was a difference between the importance of familial and contractual relationships. Unjustified reprimand by the father did not evoke any retort but one by a boss could not be fully digested. The subordinate did not retort in public, as it might be considered impertinent, but waited for an opportune time to vent his feeling of being hurt. Villagers served in most cases their collectivistic interests through collectivistic behaviour. However, a young boy or girl did not surrender to his or parents' choice of the spouse; nor he or she would not ignore the parents. Rather, they would persuade the parents to let him or her marry the person of his or her choice. But taking a job is a different matter. The young man would take a job at a far-off place from the family, but keep trying to get a similar job near home in order to attend to his collectivistic concern. However, a young unmarried girl would take even an inferior job in the same town to live in the safe sanctuary of the family. Probably, males are more independent than females.

Another purpose of the study was to examine whether places having better infrastructure and affluence are less likely to constrain people to depend on each other, and thereby increase the probability of opting for individualistic means to achieve individualistic goals and interests. The study drew samples from five distant locations, which were varied in having the most to the least adequate infrastructure and affluence: New Delhi in the north (most adequate), Ahmedabad in the west, Bhubaneswar in the east, Tirupati in the south and Samastipur (least adequate) in the north-east parts of the country. Findings are plotted in Fig. 2.3 on the next page.

Compared to a less developed place such as Samastipur, the most developed New Delhi recorded a higher frequency of individualistic behaviours motivated by individualistic intentions (II) and a corresponding decrease in fully collectivistic choice (CC), but the latter still dominated the former. Individualistic intentions to serve collectivistic goals and interests (IC) were conspicuously missing. The most frequent response sequence had a mix of collectivistic and individualistic intentions and behaviours (C&I), vindicating the position taken by Sinha and Tripathi (1994).

2.4 A Reflective Note

Collectivism comes out as a dominant feature of the Indian mindset. People seem to own the cultural heritage of cosmic collectivism that has led to a pervasive belief in the interdependence of everything and everyone in the world. The same cultural heritage also prescribed that people should strive to acquire wealth and enjoy sensuous, including sexual, pleasures, and meet their social obligations before they strive to rise on spiritual scale. Once they are able to do so, their individualistic

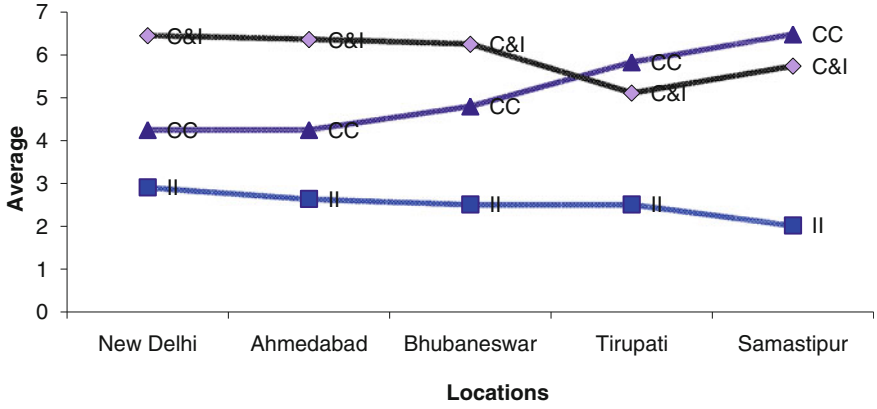


Fig. 2.3 Locational differences in collectivistic–individualistic options. *Source* Sinha et al. 2002, p. 317

"self" seeking wealth and pleasure would naturally expand into a larger and larger altruistic "Self" that would subsume others' small selves. In other words, the existential reality of the pervasive collectivism allows individualism that should lead to the rise of an all-subsuming Self—an ideal that at best can be aspired.

However, majority of people are not able to reach the ideal. They are more likely to get stuck running after wealth, seeking sensuous pleasures, and meeting social obligations, particularly to family and friends. As a result, collectivism becomes primarily family-centric. Individualistic interests and goals have to be pursued keeping the family's interests and concerns in mind. For example, a typical attribute of individualism, self-reliance, is placed in the service of the family's wellbeing and individual's success is believed to reflect the family's success. The status of a person is generally judged by the family he or she belongs to. Most people retain their family surname. In certain parts of the country, people keep father's name as the middle name (e.g. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi). There is also anecdotal evidence from public domains that Indians trust their family members and depend on them most and in many instances they rely only on them. In politics, immediate family members reign over the party despite their inability to do so. In business, sons and daughters occupy top positions irrespective of their business acumen. In films, they promote at any cost their sons and daughters. A similar trend is conspicuous in almost all domains of life.

In a larger collective of a village, villagers, too are reported to be collectivists. They are interdependent in many ways, and strive to attain common goals and interests primarily through collective efforts even at some personal costs. They often rally around their neighbours during an exigency, accompany an ailing person to a city hospital while their farming suffers, and freely volunteer help each other on special occasions (e.g. marriages, death rituals, festivals). Of course, they are mindful of their own interests and gains even during their collective efforts, and engage in feuds and fights that they manage through their family or by forming

smaller groups and cliques. Compared to villages, towns and cities have inhabitants who are less interdependent and hence less collectivistic and more individualistic. Affluent cities with adequate infrastructure do stimulate individualistic orientations, but do not quite replace the need for collectivistic indulgence. Some (e.g. Sahir Ludhianvi, Majrooh Sultanpuri, Firaq Gorakhpuri), for example, are nostalgic about their city or town and take it as part of their identity.

Of the larger collectives, castes, and religion have been deeply entrenched in the Indian societal structure from the ancient time. Initially, they were enmeshed with each other and reflected the core of Indian culture and the mindset. Over time they have evolved as complex and distinct collectives that have served a range of positive to negative purposes. They facilitated movements that built-up as well as fractured the efforts toward national building. They were high jacked by fanatics and trapped in political power game to seek power and privileges, deny social justice to others, and cause conflicts and violence (see Chap. 9). They still serve as natural sanctuaries for many Indians to seek social support and emotional anchorage. For many others, they are the means to serve individual and sectarian interests. And, for the most, they serve both—selfish and altruistic purposes.

2.5 Summary

Indians are both collectivists and individualists, inclined more towards the former than the latter. The cultural milieu is largely collectivistic having its source in the ancient belief that the Supreme *Brahman* expressed in all inanimate and animate including human beings and the divine. Thus, everything in the cosmos is interconnected and interdependent sharing the same elements (*aatman*) that the Supreme *Brahman* has. This, however, does not negate that the major goals of life such as *artha (*earning money and acquiring material affluence), dharma (discharging personal duties and social obligations to others), kaama (seeking physical, including sexual, pleasure) and *moksha* (salvation) have to be achieved through individualistic efforts. However, they are more likely to be achieved through collectivistic ways. Thus, individualism and collectivism coexist in the Indian mindset as part of ongoing interactive and interchanging means–ends relationships. Family and friends are most important considerations for Indians that generally evoke collectivistic responses. Even individualistic efforts are put to their service. Collectives such as villages too tend to address their issues in collectivistic ways. Compelling personal needs and interests such as making a career choice, medical treatments, and marrying a person of one's choice require individualistic initiatives. However, people generally find it more expedient to realize them through collectivistic means, because the latter are found to be more acceptable to others. Decreasing interdependence arising out of better infrastructure and economic affluence stimulates individualism, but do not necessarily cause a total break from collectivism. Among the larger collectives, the most salient and historically rooted are castes and religion serving a host of positive to negative interests and goals of individuals and groups.

Appendix 2.1: Modal Responses Combining Collectivism and Individualism

1. *Personal versus Family and friend's Interests*

1. Situation: A man wants to buy a computer. He does not know anything about the prices and qualities of computers. He goes to a shopkeeper who is personally known to him. What will the shopkeeper do? Modal Response (CI): He will sell at a lower price because he is a friend, expecting that the man will buy more and more and thereby benefit him in the long run.
2. Situation: The parents of a person, who is in service, live in another town. The father has just retired from his job. What will the son do? Modal Response (CC): He will get his parents to his place so that they all can live together.
3. Situation: A person has serious stomach problem. He is searching for a doctor. What will he do? Modal Response (II): He will consult an expert doctor and will get treated by him.
4. Situation: A young man is going to appear at an interview for a job which is quite attractive. He is likely to be selected. On his way, however, he gets the information that one of his friends has met an accident and needs blood immediately. What will he do? Modal Response (C&I): He will appear at the interview but arrange blood from one of his family members.
5. Situation: What should be the most important aim in a person's life? Modal Response (CC): To work for the prosperity and happiness of the family.
6. Situation: One of the two brothers in a joint family is getting his daughter married. How will the expenses be met? Modal Response (C&I): They will jointly meet the expenses so that the other brother can also take similar advantages of the joint family.
7. Situation: A young man has just been married. His parents want to have a grandchild at the earliest, but he and his wife want to delay it. What will they do? Modal Response (CI): They will persuade the parents to let them delay having a child so that they can fully enjoy their marital life.
8. Situation: A distant relative has come over to a person's house with his wife's treatment. The treatment may take days or weeks. The house is small and the children's study may suffer. Their examinations are due shortly. What will the person do? Modal Response (IC): He will arrange their accommodation near the hospital and extend full help in the treatment.

9. Situation: Two friends are taking dinner in an expensive restaurant. How will they pay the bill? Modal Response (C&I): They will share the bill equally.
10. Situation: A young man is preparing for a competitive examination for a top class job. He is hopeful to succeed if he prepares well. Suddenly his father dies. His mother is sick and two younger brothers are going to a college. There is no one else to manage the family business. What will he do? Modal Response (C&I): He will take care of the family and the business, but will also prepare for the examination.

2. *Personalized versus Contractual Relationship*

11. Situation: A newly imported expensive machine in a factory has broken down. The manager reprimands a supervisor in the presence of others, although the latter is not responsible for the breakdown. What will the supervisor do? Modal Response: (CI): He will not say a word in the presence of others; but later on will express his resentment to the manager in private.
12. Situation: A young man has been running around for a job. One evening, while he is watching TV, his father returns from his office, and starts rebuking him for watching TV instead of searching for a job. What will the young man do? Modal Response (CC): He will not say a word, lest his father feels insulted.

3. *Individual versus Collective Action*

13. Situation: A group of people in a community has formed a society for community development. What could be the mostly likely reason? Modal Response: (CC): They intend to develop the community.
14. Situation: An old man in a poor class locality has died. The bereaved family needs money for the rituals. What will the people of the locality do? Modal Response (CC): They will help the family and participate in all rituals from cremation to *shradha* [final ritual], disregarding their own work.
15. Situation: People of a locality have to decide whom to vote in the forthcoming election. Whom will they vote? Modal Response (C&I): To one who deserves on merit and will work for the benefit of the community.
16. Situation: A village has been badly flooded. Government has sent relief to the village. What will the villagers do? Modal Response (CC): They will share the relief according to their needs.

4. *Gender Difference*

17. Situation: A young man wants to marry a girl of his choice while his parents have chosen a different girl for him. What will he do?
    Modal Response: (CI): He will persuade his parents to let him marry the girl of his choice.
18. Situation: A girl wants to marry a boy of her choice while her parents have chosen a different boy for her. What will she do? Modal Response (CI): She will persuade her parents to let her marry the boy of her choice.
19. Situation: A young man has two job offers: An ordinary in his own town where his parents live; and another one, a much better one, in a distant town. Which one will he take? Modal Response (C&I): The one in the distant town, although he will keep looking for an equally good job in his own town.
20. Situation: A young unmarried woman has two job offers: An ordinary in her own town where her parents live; and another one, a much better one, in a distant town. Which one will she take? Modal Response (CC): The one in her own town so that she can live with her parents.

References

Bhawuk, D. P. S. (2001). Evolution of culture assimilators: Toward theory-based assimilators. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 25*(2), 141–163.

Bhawuk, D. P. S. (2004). Individualism and collectivism. In *Encyclopedia of Leadership* (Vol. 2, pp. 706–710). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bhawuk, D. P. S. (2008). Anchoring cognition, emotion, and behaviour in desire: A model from *Bhagavad Gita*. In K. R. Rao, A. C. Paranjpe, & A. K. Dalal (Eds.), *Handbook of Indian psychology*. New Delhi: Cambridge University Press.

Brewer, M. B., & Chen, Ya-Ru. (2007). Where (who) are collectives in collectivism? Toward conceptual clarification of individualism and collectivism. *Psychological Review, 114*, 133–151.

Chhokar, J. S. (2013). *Leadership and Culture in India: The GLOBE Research Project*. Retrieved June 20, 2013, from http://www.fh-fulda.de/fileadmin/Fachbereich_SW/Downloads/Profs/Wolf/Studies/india/india.pdf.

Cohen, S., & Syme, S. L. (1985). *Social support and health*. New York: Academic Press.

Gelfand, M. J., Bhawuk, D. P. S., Nishiii, L. H., & Bechtold, D. J. (2004). Individualism and collectivism. In R. J. House, P. J. Hanges, M. Javidan, P. W. Dorfman, & V. Gupta (Eds.), *Culture, leadership, and organizations: The GLOBE study of 62 societies* (pp. 438–512). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hofstede, G. H. (1980). *Culture's consequences: International differences in work related values*. Beverly Hill: Sage.

Hofstede, G. H. (1991). *Culture and organizations: Software of the mind*. London: McGraw Hill.

Hofstede, G. H. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviours, institutions, and organizations across nations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

House, R. J., Hanges, P. J., Javidan, M. J., Dorfman, P. W., & Gupta, V. (Eds.). (2004). *Culture, leadership and organizations: The GLOBE, study of 62 societies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kakar, S. (1982). *Shamans, mystics, and doctors*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Kapp, W. K. (1963). *Hindu culture, economic development, and economic planning in India*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House.

Kim, U., Triandis, H. C., Kagitcibasi, C., Choi, S. C., & Yoon, G. (Eds.). (1994). *Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and applications*. Thousand Oakes: Sage.

Krebs, D. L. (2011). *The origin of morality*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lannoy, R. (1971/2008). *The speaking tree: A study of Indian culture and society.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Lapierre, D. (1986). *The city of joy*. London: Arrow Books.

Marriott, M. (1976). Hindu transactions: Diversity without dualism. In B. Kapferer (Ed.), *Transaction and meaning* (pp. 109–142). Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues.

Mishra, R. C. (1994). Individualist and collectivist orientations across generations. In U. Kim, H. C. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S. C. Choi & G. Yoon (Eds.), *Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and application* (pp. 225–238). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Nehru, J. (1946/2001). *The discovery of India* (Paperback). New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

O'Mara, E. M., Gaertner, L., & Wayment, H. A. (2007, January). *Motivational primacy among the individual, relational, and collective selves*. Poster presented at the Society of Personality and Social Psychology, Memphis, TN.

Pande, N., & Naidu, R. K. (1992). Anasakti and health: A study of non-attachment. *Psychology and Developing Societies, 4*, 89–104.

Paranjpe, A. C. (1998). *Self and identity in modern psychology and Indian thought*. New York: Plenum.

Paranjpe, A. C. (2010). Theories of self and cognition: Indian psychological perspectives. *Psychology and Developing Societies, 22*(1), 5–48.

Roland, A. (1980). *Towards a psychoanalytic psychology of hierarchical relationships in Hindu India*. Paper presented during the Conference of the Indian Psychoanalytic Society.

Sarason, I. G., Levine, H. M., Basham, R. B., & Sarason, B. R. (1983). Assessing social support: The social support questionnaire. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 44*, 127–139.

Sinha, D. (1988a). Basic values and behavioural dispositions in the context of national development. In U. Kim, H. C. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S. C. Choi, & G. Yoon (Eds.), *Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and application* (pp. 31–55). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Sinha, D. (1998b). Changing perspectives in social psychology in India: A journey towards indigenization. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 1*, 17–32.

Sinha, D., & Tripathi, R. C. (1994). Individualism in a collectivist culture: A case of coexistence of opposites. In U. Kim, H. C. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S. C. Choi, & G. Yoon (Eds.), *Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and application* (pp. 123–136). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Sinha, J. B. P. (1982). The Hindu (Indian) identity. *Dynamic Psychiatry, 15*, 148–160.

Sinha, J. B. P. (1985). Collectivism, social energy, and development. In I. R. Langunes & Y. H. Poortinga (Eds.), *From a different perspective of behaviours across cultures* (pp. 109–119). Lisse, The Netherlands: Swets & Zetlinger.

Sinha, J. B. P., Daftuar, C. N., Gupta, R. K., Mishra, R. C., Jayseetha, R., Jha, S. S., et al. (1994). Regional similarities and differences in people's beliefs, practices, and preferences. *Psychology and Developing Societies, 6*, 131–150.

Sinha, J. B. P., Jha, H., & Mishra, R. (1993). *Cultural context of health and healing*. New Delhi: Project Report, International Development Research Centre.

Sinha, J. B. P., Sinha, T. N., Verma, J., & Sinha, R. B. N. (2001). Collectivism coexisting with individualism: An Indian scenario. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 4*, 133–145.

Sinha, J. B. P., & Verma, J. (1987). Structure of collectivism. In C. Kagitcibasi (Ed.), *Growth and progress in cross-cultural psychology* (pp. 123–129). Lisse, The Netherlands: Swets & Zetlinger.

Sinha, J. B. P., & Verma, J. (1994). Collectivism and socio-economic and psychological well-being. In U. Kim, H. C. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S. C. Choi, & G. Yoon (Eds.), *Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and applications* (pp. 267–275). Thousand Oakes/London/ New Delhi: Sage.

Sinha, J. B. P., Vohra, N., Singhal, S., Sinha, R. B. N., & Ushashree, S. (2002). Normatiuve predictions of collectivist-individualist intentions and behaviour of Indians. *International Journal of Psychology, 37*, 309–319.

Sinha, R. B. N. (2011). Individualism-collectivism and development. In J. Pandey, T. N. Sinha, & A. K. Sinha (Eds.), *Dialogue for development* (pp. 275–293). New Delhi: Concept.

Tellegen, A. (1979). *Well-being subscale*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Triandis, H. C. (1983). *Collectivism versus individualism: A re-conceptualization*. Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois, Mimeographed.

Triandis, H. C. (1985). *Measures of allocentrism-collectivism and idiocentrism-individualism*. Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois, Mimeographed.

Triandis, H. C. (1994). Theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of collectivism-individualism. In U. Kim, H. C. Triandis, C. Kagitcibasi, S. C. Choi, & G. Yoon (Eds.), *Individualism and collectivism: Theory, method, and application* (pp. 41–51). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Triandis, H. C. (1995). *Individualism and collectivism*. Boulder, CO: West View Press.

Triandis, H. C., & Bhawuk, D. P. S. (1997). Culture theory and the meaning of relatedness. In P. Christopher Earley & M. Erez (Eds.), *New perspectives on international industrial/ organizational psychology* (pp. 13–52). San Francisco: The New Lexington Press.

Triandis, H. C., Bontempo, R., Betancourt, H., Bond, M., Leung, K., Benes, A., et al. (1986). The measurement of etic aspects of individualism and collectivism across cultures. *Australian Journal of Psychology, 38*, 257–267.

Triandis, H. C., Bontempo, R., Villareal, M. J., Asai, M., & Lucca, N. (1988). Individualism and collectivism. Cross-cultural perspectives on self-group relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 54*, 3123–3338.

Triandis, H. C., McCusker, C., Betancourt, H., Iwao, S., Leung, K., Salazar, J. M., et al. (1993). An etic-emic analysis of individualism-collectivism. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 24*, 366–383.

Tripathi, R. C. (1988). Aligning development to values in India. In D. Sinha & H. S. R. Kao (Eds.), *Social values and development: Asian perspective*. New Delhi: Sage.

Verma, J. (1999). Collectivism in the cultural perspective: The Indian scene. In J. C. Lasry, J. Adair, & K. Dion (Eds.), *Latest contributions to cross-cultural psychology* (pp. 228–241). Lisse: Swets & Zetlinger.

Verma, J., & Triandis, H. C. (1998, August). *The measurement of collectivism in India.* Paper presented at the Meeting of the International Association of Cross Cultural Psychology, Bellingham, WA.

http://www.springer.com/978-81-322-1803-6

Psycho-Social Analysis of the Indian Mindset
Sinha, J.B.P.
2014, XXI, 244 p. 7 illus., Hardcover
ISBN: 978-81-322-1803-6