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INDIVIDUALISM AND COLLECTIVISM AS CATEGORIES IN DESCRIBING INTERPERSONAL FUNCTIONING

Streszczenie

Artykuł prezentuje wybrane zastosowania pojęć: indywidualizmu i kolektywizmu. Tytułowe terminy stosowane są zazwyczaj w odniesieniu do określenia różnic kulturowych. Wskazując na możliwość spójnego używania pojęć I-K w naukach społecznych, Autorzy przytaczają zastosowania I-K w odniesieniu do procesów rozwoju indywidualnego (np. w szeroko rozumianym rozwoju osobowości i własnego ja) i społecznego (np. w odniesieniu do poczucia zadowolenia z życia). Artykuł nie ma charakteru przeglądowego, ale sygnalizuje obszary funkcjonowania człowieka, które można opisać za pomocą wymiarów I-K (przedstawione zostały one w końcowej tabeli).

Keywords: collectivism, individualism, intercultural differences, groups, relations.

Introduction

For several dozen years the terms individualism and collectivism have been rooted in studies issues of many fields of science. A common understanding of these terms indicates a mixture of egoism coupled with a lack of adjustment and uniqueness (individualism), as well as a mixture of conformism and indecisiveness combined with a lack of personal agency (collectivism). The most common understanding of individualism and collectivism among anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists is that these terms constitute a dimension of cultural changeability¹.

¹ M. Jacyno writes about individualism as a cultural process. He reconstructs main trains of "individualization process, as well as identification of problems, values and institution of individualist culture. Individualist institutions (...) are those which provide conditions, as well as maintain and correct a specific experience of one's self – i.e. the experience of one's own self in the context of freedom and responsibility for our own life". M. Jacyno refers to Beck's definition of individualism,

A turning point in the field of studies connected with collectivism and individualism was the work by Hofstede². Then these two terms juxtaposed in one dimension became a key in describing intercultural differences. The manner in which members of a society referred to their roles, obligations and goals (both in the personal and social dimension) depended on which end of the continuum had a dominant role in this society. This construct allows to investigate and interpret cultural differences while avoiding a trap of stereotypes or common opinions.

This paper is aimed at indicating various applications of the terms individualism and collectivism. These terms presented in one or two separate dimensions may provide a construct or a plane enabling multidimensional characterisation of intrapersonal and interpersonal changeability.

Individualism and collectivism in the light of intercultural differences

The above-mentioned studies by Hofstede laid foundations for typology of cultures. The author based his analysis on a theoretical basis deriving from psychology of individual differences and A. Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Furthermore, on the basis of terms determined by A. Inkeles and D. Levinson³, Hofstede distinguished 4 dimensions of culture⁴:

1. power distance;
2. masculinity vs. femininity;
3. uncertainty avoidance,
4. collectivism vs. individualism.

According to Hofstede, the fourth dimension can be represented by a bipolar continuum. "Collectivism is a state, in which people are members of an internal group or the entire group, who take care of them in exchange for their loyalty. Individualism is a situation in which people take care of themselves and their closest family members"⁵.

If the pattern is adopted which refers to the IC culture and IC orientation type, the individualism-collectivism dimension is no longer an opposition but is composed of two orthogonal factors. It is possible to describe cultures in both dimen-

which states that individualism is mainly a form of socialisation, i.e. a cultural project of "existing in the world". Jacyno, M.: *Kultura indywidualizmu*. Warszawa: PWN 2007.

² In Polish literature a broader description of studies conducted by Hofstede can be found in: Hofstede, G.: *Kultury i organizacje*. Warszawa: Polskie Wydawnictwo Ekonomiczne 2000.

³ *Ibidem*, P. 49–51.

⁴ In the course of his studies, Hofstede added a fifth dimension in the 1990s: long vs. short-term orientation towards goals. Hofstede's model, because it features 5 dimensions (the fifth being defined as "Confucian dynamics"), is called the 5-D model.

⁵ Mikułowski Pomorski, J.: *Komunikacja międzykulturowa. Wprowadzenie*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Akademii Ekonomicznej w Krakowie 1999. P. 111.

sions created by elements of such factors (with the prevalence of features describing a given dimension).

Type the culture	Type of orientation	
	Individualistic	Collectivist
Individualistic	Individualistic (I-I)	Collectivist-individualist (K-I)
Collectivist	Individualistic-Collectivist (I-K)	Collectivist (K-K)

Simultaneously research confirms that there is tremendous internal diversity of societies, which are described as individualistic or collectivistic⁶.

There is common knowledge that there are intercultural differences in numerous fields of psychological functioning, beginning with developmental processes, through health and disease, communication processes and upbringing, and finally also cognitive, social and organizational behaviours⁷. It should be noted, that the formation of orientation individualistic / collectivist uneven in different periods of life and in relation to specific areas of functioning⁸.

Individualism and collectivism constitute categories of a human mentality description or a characteristics of a social system. In psychology the term individualism refers to a person who is characterized by independence from long-lasting groups⁹. It consists in defining oneself in categories of individual features and giving one's own goals a priority over group goals. Collectivism, on the other hand, consists in defining one's own self in categories of relationships with people or groups and giving group goals a priority over individual goals¹⁰. From a purely analytical point of view the diversity of manners according to which individuals are placed in relationships can be described as a juxtaposition of individualism against collectivism¹¹. It does not imply, however, any antagonism between these two

⁶ Voronov, M., Singer, J.A.: A myth of individualism-collectivism. A critical Review. In: Journal of Social Psychology 4, 142 (2002). P. 1–13.

⁷ For example, studies by Domino and Hannah (after: Price, W.F., Crapo, R.: Psychologia w badaniach międzykulturowych. Gdańsk: GWP 2003. P. 95) on attitudes to values of American and Chinese children display differences between the examined groups. Chinese children have revealed: stronger social tendency which characterizes the Chinese as a group, the group establishes the criteria of acceptance or dismissal of certain behaviours (significance of public shame, dishonour or an embarrassing situation for the family), unity of the group as an important goal, larger importance attached to respect for authorities, emphasis on good behaviour, cooperation and obedience, pursuance of social approval, care for group interest.

⁸ Brown, R. J., Hinkle, S., Ely, P. G., Fox-Cardamone, L., Maras, P., Taylor, L. A.: Recognizing group diversity: Individualist-collectivist and autonomous-relational social orientations and their implications for inter-group process. In: British Journal of Social Psychology 31 (1992). P. 327–342.

⁹ Term individualism, after: Manstead, A., Hewstone, M., et al.: Encyklopedia Blackwella. Psychologia społeczna. Warszawa: Jacek Santorski & Co Wydawnictwo 2001. P. 150.

¹⁰ Rathus, S.: Psychologia współczesna. P. 754–756.

¹¹ In subject literature, other names can be found – the juxtaposition of egocentrism against sociocentrism, and independence against interdependence (Shweder & Burne, 1982); indepen-

terms. It is assumed that collectivist behaviour can be shown by members of individualistic cultures, and vice versa¹².

Thus the two extreme attitudes refer to a person-society interdependence. Collectivism refers to social groups which are strong and internally coherent (one's own family group, co-workers group, cultural group), whilst in the case of individualism only one's family can represent a strong group.

Most scientists believe that cultural differences in the IC dimension are based on the difference between the following relations: I – my own group, and I – a strange group. Furthermore, Triandis, Leong, Villareal and Clack¹³ believe that, on the level of individuals, the IC orientation depends on both a situation and a group, and that is why it should be considered as a syndrome of interpersonal functioning and not as an invariable feature. It bears consequences for the application of IC measurements: they are preferable in particular situations to the application of a general measurement referring to all possible contexts. IC measurements developed by Triandis and his collaborators in 1995 were based on a modified understanding of individualism and collectivism, i.e. the so called vertical and horizontal individualism/collectivism. Vertical collectivism means that individuals are members of the same group, however relations within the group are hierarchic. Vertical individualism means that all individuals are autonomous, but they are not equal to one another. Horizontal collectivism means that individuals are members of the same group and are equal to one another. Horizontal individualism means that persons are autonomous and equal to one another¹⁴.

Individualist and collectivist functioning in the light of personality development

It is of crucial importance to consider the construct of self-esteem in the study of psychological mechanisms of collectivist orientation¹⁵. The culture in which we live consists of indicators connected with both individualism and collectivism (for

dence-interdependence (Markus & Kitayama, et al. 1991, after: Manstead A., Hewstone M., et al.: *Encyklopedia Blackwella*. P. 151).

¹² Voronov, M., Singer, J.A.: A myth of individualism-collectivism. A critical Review. In: *Journal of Social Psychology* 4, 142 (2002).

¹³ Matsumoto, D., Juang, L.: *Psychologia międzykulturowa*, Gdańsk: GWP 2007. P. 72.

¹⁴ For instance, a person displays collectivist orientation towards their own family, and individualist orientation towards strangers or people at work. "The fact that a certain culture is conducive to developing collectivist tendencies in relationships with members of one's own group means that some behaviours are desirable in contacts with one's own group and undesirable in contacts with a strange group, and vice versa." Matsumoto, D., Juang, L.: *Psychologia międzykulturowa*. P. 75–76.

¹⁵ For a review: Reykowski, J.: Kolektywizm i indywidualizm jako kategorie opisu zmian społecznych i mentalności. [In:] Gawlikowski, K., Jedlicki, J., Kochanowicz, J. et al. (eds.): *Indywidualizm i kolektywizm*. Warszawa: IFiS PAN 1999. P. 38.

instance through the social and economic system by which it is governed). First and foremost, however, on the social and cultural plane there can be found the factors which influence the way we perceive our own self. Individuals are persons who perceive themselves in categories of personal identity (*I am...* – finishing this sentence, these individuals list features of their personality). Collectivists characterise themselves in categories of groups to which they belong, and they consider their relationships with others a part of their own “self”¹⁶. Individualism, basically understood, is based on the feeling of “I” and the awareness of one’s own continuance. Continuance means being oriented towards norms and bearing responsibility for one’s failure to observe them. Simultaneously, the existence of basic qualities, common for all people is assumed:

- sense of „I”;
- sense of location in time and space;
- sense of responsibility for one’s actions;
- sense of having one’s own free will.

Despite these essential common qualities, each and every person has a basic feeling of his/her own autonomy (we are not identical). Our personal capacities, which are socially and culturally conditioned, influence the realisation of our individual features¹⁷.

Rogers noticed that the way we perceive ourselves is often similar to the way we are perceived by others. For example a dominant cultural group has greater chances for better education and greater personal success than members of ethnical minorities. In the latter case, there is a higher probability of discrimination, and the people in question have lower self-esteem. However, this simple dependency has been questioned by some studies. American studies focusing on the self-image of white and black girls show that as they are getting older there can be observed a growing difference between these two groups with regard to satisfaction with personal appearance. 58% of black girls remain satisfied with their appearance, whilst only 22% of their white peers remain satisfied. How were the results explained? “Parents of black girls teach them that there is nothing wrong in being different from the model dominant in the country. The world treats them badly not because of their individual qualities, but because of their race”. The emphasis put in the western culture on developing one’s self-awareness is largely tantamount with encouraging individuals to focus on their own features and personal goals. On the other hand, humanistic and existential approach in psychological studies assumed that the main object of attention ought to be “an aware experience of being a human and development of one’s own unique potential in a frequently hostile environment”. Thus, a human being was to become “someone” he or she was able to become due to their inborn capabilities. According to humanistic and existential

¹⁶ Rathus, S.: *Psychologia współczesna*. P. 506.

¹⁷ Term individualism, after: Manstead, A., Hewstone, M., et al.: *Encyklopedia Blackwella*. P. 150.

theories, a necessary condition for this kind of development to take place is a non-conditional self-acceptance, which consequently leads to high self-esteem¹⁸.

Another approach to personality and human development results from the sociocultural theory, where the focus of attention is placed on ethnicity and cultural adherence, as well as on social and economic position. Main assumption of this theory is that development is different in individualist and collectivist cultures, and understanding one's own self depends on the degree of acculturation, discrimination and experiencing poverty¹⁹.

Individualism and collectivism in the context of life quality

Defining the term "I" in categories of collectivist or individualist orientation brings implications concerning the feeling of happiness. Understood as a general, non-specific state of satisfaction and good mood, the feeling of happiness depends on what kind of the concept of "I" (independent or interdependent) a specific person presents. Empirical analyses of life quality have become more popular since the studies by A. Campbell²⁰, in which he obtained an evaluation of their life satisfaction from a representative sample of Americans. According to the results of this research, the most important source of life satisfaction was good health and then, according to the order of importance, satisfactory marriage, satisfactory family life, friends, good living conditions, proper job, attractive manner of spending free time, and finally, money. However, taking into account the actual amount of correlation with general life satisfaction, the hierarchy of satisfaction in particular fields looks completely different. The most relevant factor, which made it possible to foresee general psychological well-being in the most accurate way, proved to be the satisfaction with one's family life, and then, according to the order of decreasing importance, satisfaction with one's marriage, financial situation, living conditions, job, friends, health and way of spending free time. Cutler points out the importance of stages in a human life cycle: for people entering the right age to get married, the main source of happiness, and simultaneously trouble, may become their life partner (or his/her absence), and children (or their absence), while for people approaching retirement age the trouble can consist in a decrease in life activity and the feeling of not being needed by anybody²¹.

Studies on life satisfaction from the psychological perspective focused on the one side on finding such personality features which were conducive to life satisfac-

¹⁸ Rathus, S.: *Psychologia współczesna*. P. 507–509.

¹⁹ Rathus, S.: *Psychologia współczesna*. P. 508.

²⁰ Czapiński, J.: *Psychologia szczęścia: przegląd badań i zarys teorii cebulowej*. Warszawa: Pracownia Testów Psychologicznych PTP 1994.

²¹ Czapiński, J.: *Psychologia szczęścia: przegląd badań i zarys teorii cebulowej*. 1994.

tion²², and on the other side they searched for dynamic aspects of psychological well-being. It was found that general satisfaction is to a greater extent influenced by frequent or repetitive moderately positive experiences rather than by accidental experiences of a strongly positive value. These results were coherent with the approach ascribing crucial meaning to the processes of evaluation. More reliable predictors of general satisfaction consist in comparing ourselves with others or our present with our past rather than in the evaluation of objective circumstances²³. It is worth noticing that general evaluation of subjects' satisfaction with their whole life depended on previously asked specific questions regarding spheres of life important to the subjects. Studies on life satisfaction also took into account social context (e.g. higher level of psychological well-being was declared during interviews, and lower when the subjects filled in questionnaires by themselves. However, when the subjects were ones who had undergone some ordeals in their lives, the presence of others negatively affected their answers). A connection between the commitment to a task and a feeling of satisfaction was also investigated. A positive connection was confirmed also in the cases where the examined factor was pursuance of a goal (in particular when the goals to be achieved were important and their achievement did not stand in opposition to the achievement of other aims)²⁴.

According to Tomaszewski²⁵ quality of life is higher when developmental processes of an individual correlate more with the processes of shaping the world. Thus, life richer in experiences is of better quality than a monotonous life. Similarly, a life of which we understand much, in which we are active, creative, and committed, and in which we remain in relationships with others is of a better quality than a life of which we understand little, and in which we remain passive, idle and lonely.

So far, the tradition of using the term life quality in psychology is conducive to coupling this term with making an evaluation of one's own life. Life quality can be perceived as a sum of experiences which happen to us during some period of our life²⁶. Results of studies show that the feeling of happiness is experienced when persons perform cultural tasks connected with independence or interdependence²⁷. The course of acculturation processes has an essential meaning in the perception of life satisfaction. Acculturation, in its basic meaning, can be defined as both a psy-

²² A factor conducive to satisfaction is a tendency to "deform reality in a positive way". It was proved that extrovertism and neurotism correlate stronger with life satisfaction than other types of stable personalities. Manstead, A., Hewstone, M., et al.: *Encyklopedia Blackwella*. P. 747.

²³ Term "quality of life", after: Manstead, A., Hewstone, M., et al.: *Encyklopedia Blackwella*. P. 748.

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁵ Tomaszewski, T.: *Ślady i wzorce*, Warszawa: WSiP 1984.

²⁶ Kowalik, S.: *Psychologiczne wymiary jakości życia*. [In:] Bańka, A., Derbis, R. (eds.): *Mysł psychologiczna w Polsce odrodzonej. Efektywność działań człowieka*. Poznań – Częstochowa: Gemini 1993.

²⁷ Wierzbicka, 1986, after: Matsumoto, D., Juang, L.: *Psychologia międzykulturowa*. P. 381.

A quite specific criticism of studies based on the assumption that there exists the interdependent "I" and the independent "I" in the IC dimensions has been voiced by Matsumoto D.

chological and physical well-being and a socio-cultural adaptation (effectiveness of functioning and obtaining one's own goals in a new environment). Various courses of acculturation processes imply various consequences for the functioning of an individual:

- Integration means cooperation with representatives of the culture of one's origin and representatives of the new culture; work evokes positive emotions; feeling of adequacy, satisfaction, and effectiveness; in the private sphere there exist satisfactory social contacts with representatives of both cultures; feeling of mutual understanding; switching from one cultural system to another without any harm to one's psychological condition;
- Assimilation implies limitation of contacts with representatives of one's own culture, treated as a source of negative feelings and experiences; the main source of satisfaction and positive emotions are relations with members of the group into which one assimilates; pursuance of self-realization and achieving goals in a new environment; adopting the manner of behaviour, dress code and manner of speaking of the group into which one assimilates; aversion towards the culture of one's origin, its negative evaluation, refusal to use one's native language, rejection of one's descent;
- Separation means contacts with the receiving culture at the level of a necessary minimum with the prevalence of negative emotions; satisfactory contacts are mainly those with individuals representing one's native culture;
- Marginalization is a situation in which contacts with both environments are sources of negative emotions; lack of competence to function in both environments; lack of satisfaction with one's work; withdrawal from contacts; destructive behaviours.

Studies on acculturation processes and their connection with psychological well-being show that neither complete assimilation into a dominant culture, nor separation from a dominant culture contribute to better functioning. Such factors as ethnicity, culture, sex, social and economic position make it possible for us to understand general rules governing our behaviour and cognitive processes. "When we omit these factors, we have to do with a core of personality – a potential, whose manner of realization depends on these factors"²⁸.

Concluding remarks

An interesting summary of psychological dimensions of human functioning in the aspects of individualism and collectivism is presented in Table 1 (on the base: source www.nonameuwb.eu: 26.04.2006).

²⁸ Rathus, S.: *Psychologia współczesna*. P. 508.

Table 1. Psychological dimensions of personal and intercultural functioning: individualism and collectivism

individualism	collectivism
Good of the individual over the good group	Good of the group take precedence over individual interests
Family = parents + children or parent + children; nuclear family	Family = people living in the community, multi-generation family
Learning perception of ourselves in terms of "I" clearly distinctive from the "I" of others	Learning view themselves as part of a group of "We", unlike other foreign groups
Persons classified on the basis of individual characteristics	Persons are classified on the basis of individual characteristics
Society in which ties between individuals are far and everyone has in mind mainly himself and his immediate family	The society in which people are the strong cohesive groups (from birth, from beginning), providing care and protection. Group expects unquestioned loyalty
Preferences of individuals in the workplace – time off from work, freedom, challenge – the independence of the worker from the organization	Preferences of individuals at work – training, working conditions, use of skills – organization for an employee
Small power distance – equality in social relations – egalitarianism, partnership, consultation	High power distance – hierarchical, obedience, instructions
High probability that sons will not work as fathers	High probability that the children will work in the profession of fathers
Unlimited expression of thoughts; talking about real feelings, not avoiding confrontation;	Intensive and sustained contacts generate the need to preserve harmony in the social environment, avoiding confrontation, disagreement, and the answers veiled;
Children are encouraged to express their own opinion and views, that are different from group	Children inspired their attitudes and opinions of others, their own individual opinion does not exist
Supporting small children to work towards having your own money	Community of goods in the family, sharing with other family members
Meetings related to verbal communication	The meeting is primarily the presence, without the need to exchange information
Low communication context – requiring express information in a direct	High context communication – enough few words, most information is in the environment or in person;
Blame culture – where the social rules are violated there is a sense of guilt associated with well-developed self-consciousness, the source of guilt, the same offense	Culture of shame – a sense of collective responsibility, a source of shame is revealing of-fense;
Self-esteem – defined in terms of persons per unit	The concept of face – the importance of an appropriate relationship with the social environment, an important and necessary for the individual and the person as the face;

individualism	collectivism
Preference for students to take active participation in their class	Passivity students; reluctance to speak in a larger group
Student is the subject of the learning process	Teacher is the subject of the learning process
Immoral is the best treatment for members of their own group	Immoral to treat members of their own group on the same basis as foreign
Unit and objective treatment of the student, independent of the origin, the magnitude of confrontation and open discussion about the conflict	Maintaining harmony in the school, avoidance of confrontation and conflict, recourse to honor the group by triggering a sense of guilt, contact the teacher and student by the group;
Goals of education - to prepare individuals to live in a society made up of other units, the ability to cope with new situations, a positive attitude to the new;	Goals of education – transfer of skills and attributes necessary for the proper functioning of the group;
Important: how to learn to do something	Pressing on how to do something
Permanent education	Process of education is limited in time
Diploma not only gives a better economic survival but also self-esteem and personal success	The award is an honor for the individual and group members, giving a pass that allows the public acceptability of social advancement to the group with higher status;
Employee treated as an individual with specific, individual needs	Treating an employee as a member of the group
The employee should follow your own good sense The desire to behave according to the worker's own good;	The employee should be subject to the overriding interests even when they are not consistent with their own
Family connections highly inadvisable	Rules for recruitment – candidate's group membership, preferring family connections
The relationship between employer and employee: in terms of commercial transaction	The relationship between the employee and supervisor in moral terms, like family ties
Management as a managing entity; decision to carry forward relates to the individual workers, but not to the groups	Management applies to groups, the creation of ethnically homogeneous groups
Rewarding and evaluating individual performance, bonuses and allowances depend on the performance of the person	Bonuses and incentives assigned to a group
The basic feature of the manager - the ability to assess employee	Public appreciation of other is unacceptable
Universalism – treat all equally	Particularism – rely on the distinction between “them” and “us”
Personal relationships are subordinated to the goal	Personal relationships more important than achieving (goals)
Rich countries – a high gross national product per capita	Poor countries – low gross national product per capita

individualism	collectivism
Limited state role in the economic system	The dominant role of the state in the economic system
An economy based on business units	Economy based on collective interests
Political power is expressed by the electorate votes	Political power is expressed by the interest groups
Stronger preference for: freedom	Stronger preference for: equality
The highest individual satisfaction – self-fulfillment, the greatest threat – dependence on others	The highest satisfaction of individuals – to defend the interests and honor of the group, the greatest threat – ostracism
Rich society, urbanized, industrialized	Poorer societies, agricultural, traditional
Climate: temperate and cold – survival depends on the personal initiative of individuals	Warm climate

The way in which people think, feel and behave can only be understood within a culture they are a part of. A classic example is the existence of a basic attribution mistake, whose processes have a different course in individualist and collectivist societies²⁹. The situation is similar with reference to conformity indicators. A tendency to become a conformist is connected, apart from such factors as: low self-esteem, permanence of opinions, etc., with one's affinity to a collectivist and not to an individualist society³⁰. Recognizing the fact that regularities based on American or western-European psychology are neither as common nor as fundamental as the researchers believed them to be, it is justified to believe that there ought to be conducted analyses of intrapersonal and interpersonal variables taking into account cultural specificity³¹. The results of studies conducted so far on human functioning in the light of individualist and collectivist orientation make it possible to believe that quality of life may also be a construct differentiating individuals.

According to J. Reykowski, it has been proved by research that an activation of social identity is connected with the appearance of tendencies to identify oneself with a group and a group manner of thinking according to the categories of we-they (which is to accept a collectivist perspective). It results in emphasizing our similarities to members of our own group and our differences from members of a strange group, and, in the sphere of allocation decisions, also in making biased differentia-

²⁹ Collectivist cultures, where more emphasis is placed on co-independence, represent a higher tendency to see reasons for behaviours in social roles performed by the observed person and in obligations binding on him or her. People in individualist cultures emphasizing independence of the individual have a tendency to explain other people's behaviour mainly through internal factors such as personality traits, attitudes, and strong will.

³⁰ Bond, Smith, 1996, after: Rathus, S.: *Psychologia współczesna*. P. 708.

³¹ Intercultural differences in the IC dimension are also illustrated, inter alia, by studies focusing on expressing emotions, motives and their types, types of tasks to be performed and amount of effort involved in them, understanding success, significance of aggression, competition vs. cooperation, etc.

tions to the advantage of members of our own group. As processes of individualization and identification are the basis for development of each and every person's identity, it can be presumed that "premises of individualism and collectivism are in each and every of us (...); differences between people regard conditions under which transition from one form of mentality to another occurs (collectivism vs. individualism)³².

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³² Reykowski, J.: Kolektywizm i indywidualizm jako kategorie opisu zmian społecznych i mentalności. In: Gawlikowski, K., Jedlicki, J., Kochanowicz, J., i in (eds.): *Indywidualizm i kolektywizm*. Warszawa: IFiS PAN 1999. P. 38–39.