

Asian Resonance

A Comparative Study of Emotional Intelligence in Context of Individualist and Collectivist Orientations



Anurakti Chaturvedi

Post-Doctoral Fellow,
Deptt. of Psychology,
Lucknow University,
Lucknow

N. Hasnain

Professor,
Deptt. of Psychology,
Amia Millia Islamia,
New Delhi

P. C. Mishra

Professor,
Deptt. of Psychology,
Lucknow University,
Lucknow

Abstract

There are a number of diversifications, similarities and commonness in the cultures all over the world. Every human society has its own particular culture or socio-cultural system and it is embedded in person's way of life. An individual's attitudes, values, ideals and beliefs are greatly influenced by the culture in which he or she lives. Non-the-less, cultural diversity is the biggest challenge of the contemporary world. This is why persons from different culture have different identities, values, personalities and different physical and mental health. Cultures have many dimensions, but Individualism-Collectivism is most researched one. It is a well known fact that Western cultures generally emphasize individualism and East-Asian and Southern cultures typically value collectivism. Therefore, people of different cultures would differ on Emotional- Intelligence. Since gender roles are ascribed as per the cultural norms, males and females were also compared on the dimension of Emotional Intelligence.

Keywords: Collectivist, Individualist, Emotional Intelligence, Norms, Cross - Cultural, Indian Culture

Introduction Culture

Human beings have always been curious to discover how cultural context influences beliefs, customs, ways of life of individuals, from the time they started observing things and they have been recording these impressions since long time. The scientific study of the link between the two started in 19th century and the major part of the knowledge that was accumulated between the 19th century and the mid-1970s was presented in the first edition of Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology, Vol. 6 (1980 to 1981).

But all definitions and concepts about culture and psychology change with ever-changing times. Culture has become less static, more dynamic, and well constructed conception. Psychology has finally realized that culture has a major role to play in the way psychology is shaped, as all humans are ethnocentric.

We all grow up in specific culture and environment and they become our prisms to look at the world. There are a number of similarities, commonness and diversifications in the culture all over the world. Non-the-less, cultural diversity is the biggest challenge of the contemporary world. This is why persons from different cultures have different identities, values, personalities and different physical and mental health. Cultures have many dimensions, but one of the comprehensively researched dimensions is individualism-collectivism.

Individualism-Collectivism

Individualism – collectivism refers to the degree to which a culture encourages, fosters, and facilitates the needs, wishes, desires, and values of an autonomous and unique self over those of a group. Members of individualistic culture see themselves as separate, unique self and autonomous individuals. Members of collectivistic culture, see themselves as fundamentally connected with others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). In individualistic cultures, personal needs and goals take precedence over the needs of others. In collectivistic culture, individual needs are sacrificed to satisfy the group.

People in every culture have both collectivist and individualist tendencies, but the relative emphasis is towards individualism in the West and toward collectivism in the East and South.

Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai and Lucca (1989) arrived at a number of defining attributes of the construct. First, collectivists pay much more attention to some identifiable in-group and behave differently towards members of that group than they do towards out-groups. An in-group is a natural group (i.e. family, friends, co-workers, neighbors, fellow countrymen) that provides individuals with a sense of identity.

The in-group can best be defined by the common fate of members. If there is no food, all the members of the in-group starve together. In different countries, the in-group can be different. In most cultures, the family is the main in group, but in some other cultures, the tribe/ country or work group (e.g. Japan) can be just as important.

Collectivists emphasize hierarchy. Usually the father is the boss and women subordinate to men. This is not nearly as much the case among individualists. Furthermore, harmony and "saving face" are important attributes among collectivists, who favor homogeneous in-groups and insist that no disagreements should be known to out-groups. In individualistic cultures, confrontations within the in-group are acceptable and are supposed to be desirable because they "clear the air" and there is more emotional detachment from the larger in-group.

Vertical relationships, such as parent-child, that are in conflict with horizontal relationships, such as spouse-spouse take priority in collectivist cultures and vice versa in individualistic cultures. Certain values such as achievement, pleasure, and completion are emphasized by individualists more than by collectivists, whereas family integrity, security, obedience, and conformity are valued more by collectivists.

Determinants of Individualism-Collectivism

Homogeneous cultures tend to be collectivist. In homogeneous cultures people can have large areas of agreement concerning what behaviors are expected under what conditions. Norms of behavior are clear, and imposed with great certainty. Norms are also very important when the population is dense, since people have to learn to avoid running into each other. In collectivist countries the rules of good behavior are very well spelled out. People are quite concerned about acting correctly. In collectivist cultures one does what the in-group norms specify.

One is very sensitive to what the group expects. Success is often attributed to the help of others, and failures to one's own lack of effort. In contrast, in individualistic cultures behavior reflects attitudes. People often attribute success to their own intelligence, while failure is seen as the result of the difficulty of the task or bad luck.

The attitudes that collectivist endorse stress interdependence. For example, they agree that children should live with their parents when they get married and that older parents should live with their children until they die. On the other hand, the individualists stress independence from in-group (e.g. I do my own thing and most of my family members do

the same). The individualists often are much less concerned about what others think and do.

When the goals of the in-group and the individual are in conflict (e.g. old parents try to interfere with one's career), the collectivist finds it natural to use the in-group goals, and the individualist to use the personal goals. The values stressed by collectivists are security, obedience, duty, in-group harmony, hierarchy, and personalized relationships. The values stressed by individualists are winning the competition, achievement, freedom, autonomy, and fair exchange.

The worst thing that can happen to a collectivist is to be excluded from the in-group; the worst thing for an individualist is to be dependent on and to have to conform to the in-group. In collectivist cultures people interact very frequently with large groups of in-group members and know a lot of them very well, but they know very little about out-group members. In individualists cultures people have many relationships with a wide circle of people, but they do not know very much about any of them. When there is a clash between vertical (e.g. parent to self) and horizontal (e.g. spouse to self relationships), the collectivist considers it natural that the vertical relationship will have precedence, the individualist that the horizontal will have precedence.

The rights of the individual are important in both cultures, but if they conflict with the perceived well-being of the group, the collectivist finds it entirely natural to ignore them. The individualists gives value to individual rights, and will not sacrifice them for the benefit of a group.

When choosing a mate, collectivists think about "a good job", "chastity," "loyalty" and "togetherness" while individualists think of an "exciting personality," "physical attraction," and the "fun we have together." There are indications, not yet fully supported by research, that the confrontations so important to the individualists increase the frequency of heart attacks.

The narcissistic individualism of many in the United States neglects the public good (Bellah *et al.*, 1985). The poor academic achievement of U.S. students, the drug problem, and delinquency, may be linked to excessive individualism - too much emphasis on having fun. Individualism is good for creativity; collectivism is good in other ways. Each has much to learn from the other.

Theoretical Work on individualism- collectivism

Triandis *et al.*, (1988) suggested that cultural differences on individualism-collectivism differ in self-in-group versus self-out-group relationships. Individualistic cultures tend to have more in-groups. Because numerous in-groups are available to the individual, members are not strongly attached to any single in-group.

Members of these cultures tend to drop out of groups that are too demanding, and their relationships within their groups are marked by a high level of independence or detachment. In collectivistic cultures, depending much more on the effective functioning of groups, a member's commitment to an

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in-group is greater. Collectivists keep stable relationship with their in-groups no matter what the cost and exhibit a high level of interdependence with members of their groups.

Georgas (1989, 1991) used the individualism-collectivism dimension to explain changes in family values in Greece. He found that the current transition of Greece from an agricultural, merchant economic society "is accompanied by the rejection of collectivistic values and the gradual adoption of individualist values".

Hamilton (1991) compared teaching styles in American and Japanese elementary classrooms. American teachers directed their instruction towards individuals during both full class instruction and private study time. Japanese teachers, however, consistently addressed the group as a collective. Even when children working individually, the Japanese teachers checked to make sure all of the children were working on the same task.

Leung (1988) used individualism-collectivism dimension to compare the United States and Hong Kong on conflict avoidance. People rating high on collectivism were more likely to pursue a dispute with a stranger, and Leung concluded that the cultural differences found were consistent with previous conceptualizations of IC.

Miller (1984) examined Chinese and US managerial goals, values, and pay allocation behaviors in 2 pay simulations which were submitted to 179 Chinese and American managers. The findings indicate that Chinese managers hold collectivist values, emphasize economic goals, and allocate pay more equally both across workers in a hypothetical work unit and hierarchically across job levels in a hypothetical work organization. In contrast, US managers have individualistic values, both economic and humanistic goals, and take greater differentiations in pay allocations across workers and job levels. Implications for organizations doing business in China are discussed.

The results of study conducted by Howard, Gardner and Thompson (2007) suggest that an interdependent self-construal may lead to more benevolent use of power, but more use of exploitative uses of power in intergroup conflicts.

In the studies conducted by Lalwani and Shavill (2009) respondents with an independent (vs. interdependent) self-construal showed an increased tendency and readiness to present themselves as skillful and capable and decreased tendency to show themselves as socially sensitive and appropriate and *vice-versa*.

Ma and Allen (2009) proposed a theoretical framework of recruitment exploring how cultural values influence the effectiveness of recruitment practices in different cultural practices. They suggest that cultural values may moderate relationships between recruitment practices and outcomes at all phases. The results of study carried out by Singh and Matsuo (2004) provide evidence that even country specific Web sites reflect cultural values.

Sinha and Tripathi (1994) surveyed 753 university students (42% female) in 7 Indian cities to explore regional differences in operative values. Three clusters of cities were identified. The North, in contrast with the South, manifested strong orientations to meet unjustifiable and inconvenient social obligations and to cultivate personalized relationships.

The central cluster showed pride in family heritage, but without high respect to age or seniority. Items formed a general factor of collectivism, consisting of the themes of familialism, omit comma before and, relationships orientation. Females and subjects low in caste, class, and urban exposure attached greater importance to others than to their own desires, omit comma before and interests. Self-ratings of allocentrism and idiocentrism provided to be unreliable.

Emotional intelligence

Emotional intelligence (EI) and EQ were selected as the most useful- new words or phrases of 1995 by the American Dialect Society (1995, 1999; Brodie, 1996). The impetus for the sustained interest in emotional intelligence began with two articles in academic journals (Mayer, Dipalo & Salovey, 1990; Salovey & Mayer 1990) and follow-up work, much of which was popularized in a best selling book entitled "Emotional Intelligence" (Goleman, 1995). From there, the concept of emotional intelligence made it to the cover of Time magazine (Gibbs, 1995). Since then, "Emotional intelligence" has become a major topic of interest in scientific circles as well as in the lay public since the publication of a best seller by the same name in 1995 (Goleman).

Scholars began to shift their attention from describing and assessing social intelligence to understanding the purpose of interpersonal behavior and the role it plays in effective adaptability (Zirkel, 2000). This line of research helped define human effectiveness from the social perspective as well as strengthened one very important aspect of Wrechsler's definition of general intelligence: "The capacity of the individual to act purposefully" (Wrechsler, 1958). Additionally, this helped position social intelligence as part of general intelligence. Contemporary theorists like Peter Salovey and John Mayer (1990) originally viewed emotional intelligence as part of social intelligence, which suggests that both concepts are related and may, in all likelihood, represent interrelated components of the same construct.

The literature reveals various attempts to combine the emotional and social components of this construct. For example, Gardner (1983) explains that his conceptualization of personal intelligences is based on intrapersonal (emotional) intelligence and interpersonal (social) intelligence. Additionally, Saarni (1990) describes emotional competence as including eight interrelated emotional and social skills. Furthermore, it has been shown that emotional-social intelligence is composed of a number of intrapersonal and interpersonal competencies, skills and facilitators

that combine to determine effective human behavior (Bar-on, 1997, 1998, 2000).

Empirical Work

However, Salovey and Mayer (1990) were among the earliest to suggest the name "Emotional Intelligence" to refer to the ability of a person to deal with his or her emotions. Further, they defined Emotional intelligence as a set of interrelated skills, which comprised of the ability to perceive accurately, appraise and express emotions, the ability to access and/or generate feelings when they facilitate thought; the ability to understand emotions and emotional knowledge and the ability to regulate emotions to promote emotional and intellectual growth.

In an extensive review of Emotional intelligence literature, Ciarrochi, Chan and Caputi (2000) pointed out that in general the various measures of Emotional intelligence cover four distinct areas i.e. perception, regulation, understanding and utilization of emotion. These four dimensional definitions, qualify Emotional intelligence as abilities and, therefore, as one possible facet of intelligence (Mayer & Salovey, 1991; Mayer et al., 2000).

Besides, a study shows that samples have found that Emotional Intelligence and Big Five Personality dimensions are distinct with each other, but age is positively correlated with Emotional intelligence across different job situations. Mayer *et al.* (2000) also showed with a series of studies that Emotional Intelligence increased with age and experience; which qualifies it as ability rather than a personality trait. Law, Wong and Song (2004) hypothesized that Emotional Intelligence is positively associated with life satisfaction and found that parents' ratings of Emotional Intelligence accounted for incremental variance in life satisfaction. Emotional Intelligence is a set of abilities like emotional understanding, regulation and utilization reflecting the capability of a person to manage his or her emotions. According to Goleman (1998), emotional intelligence is learned and can be improved upon through the right efforts.

By way of definition, the concept of Emotional Intelligence is multifaceted in nature including individual skills and insights, regarding intera and inter-personal factors which influence the competency profile of a person (Mayer, Salovey, & Caruso, 2004). Individual differences in Emotional intelligence help explain the wide variation in the professional accomplishments, competencies, and effectiveness of people with similar levels of general intelligence (IQ), experience, and academic credentials. As Goleman, Boyatzis, and McKee (2002) have shown, effective leadership involves dynamics beyond orderliness and rational problem solving. They argued that leaders who resonate positive affect energize those around them resulting in increased work efficiency and productivity.

Contemporary research in this area has shown that an emotionally intelligent person is likely to be skilled in two key areas within one's emotional competence framework, namely "personal competence" (i.e., how one manages the self) and

"social competence" (i.e., how one manages relationships).

The first factor essentially implies self-awareness (of internal states, preferences, resources and inhibitions), self-regulation (of internal states, impulses and resources) and motivation (traits that facilitate accomplishing goals) while the latter construct comprises empathy (the ability to understand others' emotions, and other talents or skills needed to influence, communicate, lead, develop others, manage conflict, promote teamwork, or catalyse change) and social skills, such as expertise in inculcating desirable responses in others (Kierstead, 1999). Emotional intelligence has, therefore, been defined as a spectrum enveloping the ability to sense, understand, and effectively apply the power and acumen of emotions as a source of energy, information, creativity, trust and connection (Ciarrochi, Chan, & Caputi, 2000).

Rosenthal (1977) reported that the ability to identify people's emotions (i.e. empathy), significantly contributed to one's professional and social success. In another study conducted by the US Navy, it was found that effective military leaders were warmer, more outgoing, emotionally expressive, dramatic, and sociable than those with more mediocre command skills (Bachman, 1988). Not surprising is the finding that optimistic people have greater success and productivity than pessimists (Schulman, 1995). Other research has indicated that people with high EQ understand that the appropriate expression of emotion is as important as is the control of impulsive responding (Barsade, 1998).

Some of the characteristics of those with high EQ, as identified by Hein (1996), encompassed clarity in thoughts and expressions, high optimism, ability to read non-verbal communication, emotional resilience, moral autonomy, and high levels of self-motivation. These people balance their feelings with reason and realistic appraisals.

Influenced by the increasing popularity, recent investigations have explored the links between the brain function and the competencies described in the Emotional intelligence framework (Davidson, Jackson, & Kalin, 2000). It has been found that cognitive intellectual abilities are largely based in the neocortex areas of the brain, while emotional functioning is largely supported by the neurologic circuitry found in limbic areas (e.g., the amygdala). In terms of the two cerebral hemispheres, the right hemisphere is more involved in emotional processing (particularly negative affect) than the left which sustains linguistic and logical activities (Carlson, 2001).

Neurologists, however, have long noted that emotional ability is an early sign of virtually all forms of brain injury or disease (Kaufman, 2001). While the subcortical limbic structures directly responsible for emotional experience arose early in the evolution of animal life, natural selection favored the subsequent development of higher cortical systems permitting the delay of instinctual needs. Thus, the experience of

emotion and its evaluation (these are distinct abilities) involves diverse brain regions.

It became the public face of Emotional Intelligence and attracted further attention, in part, perhaps, owing to its extraordinary claims. Goleman (1995) wrote of Emotional intelligence's importance that "what data exist, suggest it can be as powerful, and at times more powerful, than IQ." A few years later, Goleman (1998) remarked that "nearly 90% of the difference" between star performers at work and average ones was due to Emotional Intelligence. Although these ideas appeared in trade books and magazine and newspaper articles, they influenced scientific articles as well. For example, one referred journal article noted that "Emotional Intelligence accounts for over 85% of outstanding performance in top leaders" and "Emotional Intelligence-not IQ-predicts top performance" (Watkin, 2000).

However, works of Mayer (1999), Mayer & Cobb (2000), Mayer & Salovey (1997) and Mayer, Salovey, & Caruso (2000) never made such claims, and they actively critiqued them. Moreover, Goleman (2005) wrote that others who believed that Emotional Intelligence predicts huge proportions of success had misunderstood his 1995 book.

One important research finding highlighting the limits of IQ as a predictor of success and achievement was the Sommerville study (Snarey & Vaillant, 1985) a 40-year longitudinal investigation of 450 boys of Sommerville, Massachusetts. It was concluded that IQ had only a slight relation to how well the participants did at work and in many other personal achievement areas for the rest of their lives. It has also been suggested that childhood abilities, such as ability to handle frustration, manage emotions, and get along with other people has the largest impact on subsequent successes (Cherniss, 2000).

Emotional Intelligence, as the existing literature suggests, comprises basically two core competencies (i.e., awareness and skills in personal and social domains). Personality and social characteristics are different. While, personality traits are rather enduring dispositions, social skills are learned and can be expanded (Feist & Feist, 2002). The personal level awareness and skills can be further separated into following categories:

Self-Awareness

Knowing one's emotional states, recognising feelings as they arise, and discerning blended feelings. This ability is essential for self-understanding.

Self-Regulation

Dealing with feelings in such a way that they become functional for successful outcomes. It goes without saying that reacting in appropriate ways to particular circumstances has adaptive advantages. Such a capacity requires accurate self-monitoring. This, in turn, influences an individual's ability to modify his/her behavior for suitable positioning in a given situation. In order for this to occur, one must use and not suppress emotions. Negative feelings (such as hatred, desire, confusion, pride, and jealousy) need not be acted upon; their recognition, however, can

provide a motivational impetus catalyzing the return to a balanced level of behavioral homeostasis (Lang, 1995). Without self-regulation of the emotions, one may cause unnecessary anguish to others and oneself. Therefore, one must allow affect states to enter consciousness for cogent processing.

Self-Motivation

Synergizing feelings to direct oneself towards a goal despite self-doubt, inertia, and impulsiveness. Achievement drive, commitment, and initiative are the focal points here.

The Advent of Mixed Models

With Emotional Intelligence defined in the public mind as a variety of positive attributes, subsequent approaches continued to expand the concept. Bar-On (1997) defined Emotional intelligence quite broadly as, "an array of non-cognitive capabilities, competencies, and skills that influence one's ability to succeed in coping with environmental demands and pressures".

Mayer *et al.* (2000) have written that, although the model included emotion-related qualities such as emotional self-awareness and empathy, into the Mix- Models of Emotional Intelligence were added many additional qualities, including reality testing, assertiveness, self-regard, and self-actualization. It was this mixing in of related and unrelated attributes that led us to call these mixed models of Emotional intelligence. A second mixed model of Emotional intelligence included communication and team capabilities as emotional competencies (Goleman, 1998). The additions of this model led to the characterization of such an approach as "preposterously all encompassing" (Locke, 2005).

Still another research team defined a trait Emotional Intelligence as referring to "a constellation of behavioral dispositions and to recognise, process and utilize emotion information. It encompasses empathy, impulsivity, and assertiveness as well as elements of social intelligence and, personal intelligence" (Petrides & Furnham, 2003). At this point, the pattern is clear that when large number of personality traits are amassed, mixed in with a few socio-emotional abilities, and model is called one of Emotional Intelligence trait (the trait designation is particularly confusing, as trait is typically defined as a distinguishing quality or an inherited characteristic and could apply to any emotional intelligence model). Generally speaking, these models include little or no justification for why certain traits are included and others are not, or why, for that matter, certain emotional abilities are included and others are not, except for an occasional mention that the attributes have been chosen because they are most likely to predict success (Bar-On 1997).

A review of these works suggests that there are mainly two uses of the term emotional intelligence, which are widely different from each other. One which emphasizes more on the cognitive aspects, such as perception, understanding, analysis and reflective regulation (thinking about feelings) of emotions (Mayer & Salovey, 1997; Salovey & Mayer, 1990) and the other which includes non - cognitive

aspects, such as motivation, general mood and global personal and social functioning along with some cognitive aspects (Bar-On, 1997; Goleman, 1995). The former conceptual frame views emotional intelligence as a mental ability while the later as personality trait. Mayer, Salovey and Caruso (2000) have labeled the later model of EI as mixed models and their own model as ability model.

Non-ability or mixed models of Emotional Intelligence emphasizes on non cognitive aspects, such as motivation, general mood and global personal and social functioning along with some cognitive aspects. Attempt to define emotional intelligence as a constellation of non-cognitive skills and dispositions has been made by several researchers. However, the work of Bar-On (1997) and Goleman (1995) have gained wide popularity and may be considered representative of this theoretical orientation.

Bar-On (1997) defines emotional intelligence as an array of non-cognitive capabilities, competencies and skill that influence one's ability to succeed in coping with environmental demands and pressures (Bar-On, 1997) and has identified five broad areas of functioning relevant to the construct of emotional intelligence. They are: (a) intrapersonal skills, (b) interpersonal skills, (c) adaptability, (d) stress management, and (e) general mood. Each broad area is further subdivided into subcomponents. For example, intrapersonal skills are divided into emotional self-awareness, assertiveness, self-regard, self-actualization, and independence.

Bar-On offered the following rationale for his use of the term emotional intelligence, "Intelligence describes the aggregate of abilities, competencies, and skills that represent a collection of knowledge used to cope with life effectively. The adjective emotional is employed to emphasize that this specific type of intelligence differs from cognitive intelligence" (Bar-On, 1997).

This non-ability model of emotional intelligence reflects its use as personality rather than as ability. Using the term emotional intelligence to refer to broad areas of personality beyond the emotion and cognition seems unnecessarily vague and even more problematic when such usage is meant to refer to the entirety of personality or character.

Much of what is identified in the emotional intelligence literature does not seem to belong there. Traits such as impulse control, self actualization, zeal, and persistence pertain to motivation; assertiveness and interpersonal relationships involve social skills that include motivations, emotions, and cognitions together, and so on. Suggesting that these are new constellations of traits, in other words, emotional intelligence, takes their consideration outside of well-understood aspects of personality psychology.

The consequence of separating this new research from the substantial body of personality research that overlaps with it is to ignore the many findings that contradict current claims on behalf of the concept of emotional intelligence. For example, one popular claim made for emotional intelligence is that,

unlike other intelligences, it can be learned (see Goleman, 1995), yet a good deal of research into the many personality traits that are listed as a part of emotional intelligence indicates that they can have rather considerable genetic, biological, and early-learning contributions, which, as with other parts of personality, make them difficult, albeit not impossible, to change. (For further critiques of such claims, see Mayer & Cobb, 2000; Mayer, Salovey, & Caruso, 2000).

Mayer and associates (Mayer, 1999; Mayer, Caruso & Salovey, 1999; Mayer, Salovey & Caruso, 2000), have heavily criticized the "mixed models" of Emotional Intelligence and concluded that confounding (inclusion) of such qualities / traits as reality testing, problem solving, optimism, self regard, assertiveness (Bar-On's model, 1997), 'flow' experience, smooth social interaction etc. (Goleman's model, 1995) in the definition of emotional intelligence seems to undercut the utility of the terms under consideration.

Such conception of emotional intelligence has described the semantic confusion in such a way that it becomes difficult to differentiate the construct of emotional intelligence from personality. Mayer (1999) argues that such popular models are using a catchy new name to sell worth old fashioned personality research and predictors". In a recent review, Thingujam and Ram (2000) suggest, "It is highly desirable to stop research using such (mixed) models".

The Mental Ability Definitional Model

The mental ability definitional model of Emotional Intelligence has its own set of competing constructs and concepts. Most closely related are such concepts as emotional competence (Saarni, 1990, 1999) and emotional creativity (Averill & Nunley, 1992). Next, there is a group of additional intelligence that can be called "hot" intelligence because they involve motivational, emotional, or other relations to the self (Mayer & Mitchell, 1998). These include intrapersonal intelligence (Gardner, 1983, 1993), which is defined as the ability to accurately understand and assess oneself. It includes social intelligence, which is often defined as the ability to interrelate and manage others (Sternberg & Smith, 1985; Thorndike & Stein, 1937; Sternberg, 1988). Mayer and Salovey (1997) revised their earlier model of Emotional intelligence saying the former one "omits thinking about feelings". So, more emphasis was given to cognitive ability and the new models presents a hierarchy of mental abilities.

The model further predicts that emotionally intelligent individuals are more likely to (a) have grown up in biosocial adaptive households (b) be non-defensive, (c) be able to reframe emotions effectively (d) choose good emotional role models (e) be able to communicate and discuss feelings, and (f) develop expert knowledge in a particular emotional area such as aesthetics, moral or ethical feeling, social problem solving, leadership, or spiritual feeling (Mayer & Salovey, 1995).

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The preceding discussion of the models of Emotional Intelligence suggest that the ability model of Mayer and Salovey (1997) has both emotion and intelligence perspective with more emphasis on intelligence while the others are more of emotion perspective with a negligible emphasis on intelligence. Roberts, Zeidner and Matthews (2001) suggest an emotion - less, intelligence perspective of Emotional Intelligence.

Culture and Emotional Intelligence

Psychological processes are assumed to be culturally constituted and may vary with differences in cultural meanings and practice. Studies have shown emotion to be dependent on cognitive appraisals of experience as well as a culturally grounded process (Litz and White, 1986; Miller, 1984). It is argued that emotion plays an important role in linking personality (i.e. individual differences in the ways in which people confront the challenges of the world) with intelligence (i.e. accuracy, efficiency, and success with which they do so) (Salovey & Mayer, 1990).

Reviewing researches in the area of Emotional Intelligence, Thingujam (2002) cautioning on the use of translations of scales standardized in foreign culture states, "just because the items are understandable in India do not mean that the conceptions of EI or the most culturally relevant items to measure these conceptions would be the same across cultures". Cultural values and culture's conception of personhood need to be included to account for both intelligence and personality. Research has indicated considerable variation in conceptions of personhood.

The Western notion of the person as "a" bounded, unique, more or less integrated motivational and cognitive universe, a dynamic centre of awareness, emotion, judgement, and action organized into a distinctive whole and set of contrastively both against such wholes and against its social and national background" (Geertz, 1975) is not considered universal. The majority of the world's cultures hold conceptions of the person that can be more accurately described as "self-in-relation to other" (Markus and Kitayama, 1991), or as human beings as occupants of social roles (Miller, 1984), and therefore less boundary oriented.

Contrary to the western conceptualization of self there exists a relational and context sensitive construal of self. In the non-Western cultures self is construed as inter-dependent" (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), "Sociocentric" and "allocentric" (Shweder and Bourne, 1984), "ensembled" (Sampson, 1988), "embedded" (Tripathi, 1988) and "constitutive" (Misra, 1994).

The interdependent self appears to be related to a monistic philosophical tradition in which the persona is regarded as one of the substances of the nature (Marriot, 1976). In such societies, collective sentiments and interests of family and caste predominate over individual's autonomy and liberty (Dumont, 1970, Marriot, 1976, Misra, 2001, Trandis, *et al.* 1989). The person is just a unit of the corporate system which determines his/her competence goals

and destiny (Ramanujan, 1990). Thus non- Western cultures, like India, China and Japan, subscribe to a biological, organic and holistic view of life, a sacred and liberative view of knowledge, social individualism and distributed notion of control (Misra, 1990; Misra, Suhasini and Srivastava, 2002).

Emotional Intelligence and Indian Culture

The Indian society prefers social identity to highly preferred self accomplishments evaluation in the Western agenda of self-actualization. For example, peace of mind and being free of worries have been emphasized as aspects of self in India (Roland, 1984). Indians develop "a morality of caring which emphasizes broad and relatively non-contingent interpersonal obligations, a familial view of interpersonal relationships, and contextual sensitivity" (Miller 1994). These moral values determine the emotional responsiveness which is culture specific (Mayer and Salovey, 1997).

For instance, Ahimsa (non-violence), kindness, benevolence are the emotional expressions valued by Indians in constructing of self. In view of keeping the future and past in mind certain emotional ups and downs are experienced. Emotional learning hence in Indian context, needs to be viewed as life-long processes of personal investigation (looking inward) towards the discovery of true self. This process is accompanied by concepts such as Yoga, Karma, Jitendriya, Dharma, Vratas, Caring, Benevolence, which provide the very basis for emotional expression and responsiveness. In this culture specific ways of behaving are therefore, basic to the notion of Emotional Intelligence (Sibia, Srivastava and Misra, 2003).

The Indian view of emotional learning may therefore be related to the construction of self through the process of self-perception and self monitoring in consonance with the socio-cultural context, the concept of Emotional Intelligence around these and many other related concepts.

The above discussion shows that either taken as unidimensional or multidimensional, Emotional Intelligence plays important roles in the life of individuals.

The emotional experiences and expressions both as personality trait and ability factor, or their mixture are itched with the cultural context of an individual. As shown here, cultures differ in self-construal and emotional configuration and expressions as inter-personal and intra- personal, the space and chances provided by the culture will surely influence the emotional intelligence. Keeping this end in view the present study was planned and carried out to explore the differences in males and females of individualist oriented and collectivist oriented cultures

Rationale

The concept of Emotional Intelligence (EI) can be attributed to a comprehensive package of individual skills and dispositions, usually referred to as soft skills or inter and intrapersonal skills, which make up the competency profile of a person. Emotional Intelligence, when viewed in the context of culture the question of cultural appropriateness arises due owing

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to the fact that the idea and experience of emotions varies across cultures. It is a general consensus that both biological and cultural factors contribute to the process of emotion (Mesquita, Frijda & Scherer, 1997). Recent list has revealed that the character and meaning of emotions are systematically related to the kind of ethnic prevalence in a cultural community (Shweder & Haidt, 2000).

Individual progress is inextricably meshed with the individual's social context and moral sense, again constituted by the larger cultural frames (Kitayama and Markus, 1994). The above discussion shows that culture is for us as water is for fish.

The Indian view of Emotional Intelligence is embedded in its highly valued social concerns, virtues, cultural traditions and practices, which provide a frame to emotional learning, are therefore basic to notion of Emotional Intelligence. Therefore, the Indian view of Emotional Intelligence is context sensitive and focuses on the role of family and society in shaping one's emotions.

The use of Emotional Intelligence concept is extremely important because Indians, have high affiliation need which, if effectively tapped through the appropriate use of concept of Emotional Intelligence can lead to significant gains in productivity and would considerably enhance their capability to achieve equal relationship with world economic leaders. Thus, Indians may be able to apply the power and acumen of emotions as a source of energy, information, creativity, thrust and connection.

As the present study has been conducted in India only, the focus will largely remain on Indian culture and related context only. A number of scholars (Bond, 1988; Sinha and Verma, 1987; Triandis, 1994; Triandis & Bhawuk, 1998) labeled Indian culture as collectivist. But, not all people in the Indian collectivist culture are collectivists. Triandis (1995) maintained that the majority of people in a collectivist ways act in majority of situations.

However, there may be some who behave in individualist way on majority of occasions and there may be a large number of people who behave in individualist at some occasions. To sum up the situation, within one culture (whether it may be collectivist or individualist) there is a possibility of positively skewed variations among people on collectivism-individualism dimension.

In other words, largely collectivist Indians may inject an individualist intention or behave in individualist way if a situation so demands. Indians, as a culture, perceive a situation and they respond to it as an episode in an ongoing flow of interacting events and corresponding responses to them over a period of time (Sinha and Kanungo, 1997 and Sinha *et al.*, 2001, 2002).

This long drawn interactive framework often leads Indians to think of a situation and the consequences of a response to it in terms of their individual interests as well as the pressure of social norms. More specifically, Indians examine a situation in all its complexities and try to trade off between their personal interests as well as the pressure of social

norms. In the situations where the balance between the two can not be established, they are likely to behave in one fashion and cherish an intention of different kind.

This is precisely the reason that Indians, learn to live with cognitive dissonance, unlike the people in west (Bharti, 1985). Sinha and Tripathi (1994) conceptualized collectivism as two separate dimensions and reported a study in which a sample of undergraduate students were found to predict behaving in both individualist and collectivist ways in seventeen out of twenty-three situations Sinha, Sinha, Verma and Sinha (2001) and Sinha, Vohra, Singhal, Sinha and Ushashree (2002) examined the nature of situations and showed that Indians by are large and collectivists while interacting with family members and friends or behave as collectives.

On the contrary, compelling personal needs and goals induce them to temper their collectivistic behavior by adding individualistic inclinations or intentions without being starkly individualists.

Apart from the nature of situations, the external environment might also affect the ways Indians construe and react to situations. Indians are getting increasingly exposed to the individualist cultural influences of the West through mass-media, exchange of visitors, import of western fashion, music, ideas and so an. Thus, one may expect an overall shift towards individualism, specially in Metro cities as the exposure and interaction is much more there in comparison to smaller cities and towns where the larger amount of population lives under the greater pressure to yield to social norms.

Delhi, being the capital of India is a metropolitan city with hi-tech facilities available. Economic growth, social mobility and globalization seem to cherish the individualist and self-centered tendencies and people hardly find time for others. On the other hand, in collectivist culture of Gorakhpur people seem to strive more for the collective goals and social welfare. They are more concerned with family ties Social relations and community.

In the contrasting conditions of Delhi and Gorakhpur, orientation for individual's welfare and collective community and social welfare concern would be natural concomitant. It is, therefore, contended that there would be differences in emotional intelligence in the inhabitants of collectivistic culture of Gorakhpur and individualistic culture of Delhi.

Aim of the Study

To find out the difference between emotional-intelligence of the students of individualist and collectivist cultures, male and female students, to study the interactional effect of culture and gender on emotional-intelligence and to ascertain the difference between emotional-intelligence of the male and female students of individualist and collectivist culture.

Hypothesis

There would be significant difference between the emotional-intelligence of the students of individualist and collectivist cultures, of the male and female students, there would be significant

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interactional effect of culture and gender on emotional-intelligence and there would be significant difference between the emotional-intelligence of the male and female students of individualist and collectivist culture.

Method

Participants

A total of 400 participants with 200 males and 200 females were taken in the present study. Out of which 100 males and 100 females were taken from New Delhi. Other 100 male and 100 female respondents were randomly selected from Gorakhpur. The age of subjects in all groups ranged from 20 to 24 years. All the subjects were graduates from any stream.

These subjects were administered Individualism-Collectivism Assessment Inventory (ICAI) of Matsumoto *et. al.* (1997). Total score of all subject were found out. Q1 and Q3 were calculated to sort out the collectivist and the individualist respondents. Those obtaining Q1 and below were treated as individualists and those obtaining Q3 and above were treated as collectivists. Separate Q1 and Q3 were calculated for the males and females.

At the second stage of sampling, a total of 180 participants were sorted out for the study, on the basis of criteria of different groups of the study. Among them there were 90 participants of collectivist orientation (45 males and 45 females) and 90 subjects of individualist orientation (45 males and 45 females).

In the present study 2x2 factorial design was used wherein cultural orientation and gender were treated as Independent variables. Both the variables were taken at two levels, i.e. collectivist and individualist orientation in culture and males and females in gender and Emotional Intelligence was treated as dependent variable.

Measures

Individualism-Collectivism Assessment Inventory (ICAI)

Individualism-Collectivism scale used in this study was developed by Matsumoto *et al.* (1997). It consists of 16 items. The items are described in general value terms (for example, obedience to authority, social responsibility, sacrifice, and loyalty) rather than by specific statements tied to single actions. The 16 items are presented in relation to four social groups of interactions: (1) family, (2) friends, (3) colleagues and (4) strangers. The subjects were asked to rate the items on a 6 point scale. Increasing score indicates increasing collectivist orientation, therefore higher the score, more the subject is inclined towards collectivism. Lower score displays inclination towards individualism.

Indian Adaptation of Emotional Intelligence Scale

This scale was developed by Bhattacharya, Dutta and Mandal (2004). The primary objective to develop this scale, has been to identify the factors that are pan-cultural along with the ones that are culture specific. During the development of scale, at first the process of item selection took place. On the

basis of this survey, a pool of 130 items was prepared.

These items were drawn from various sources. The pool of items was then submitted to a panel of five experts who were requested to select items based on the (a) construct of emotional intelligence and (b) suitability of items in the cultural construct. Items found common in the judgment of experts were only selected. The process yielded 40 items finally. The test-retest reliability after and interval of two weeks was .94 (alpha coefficient .87). The participants were also asked to respond to the Emotional Intelligence scale developed by Schutte *et al.* (1997). Scores to this scale were correlated with the English version of the newly developed scale. The correlation ($r = .75$) indicated the validity of the newly developed emotional intelligence scale.

Results

Table 1.1: Mean emotional intelligence score of different groups.

Groups	Collectivists	Individualists	Mean of Means
Males	119.78	155.36	137.57
Females	139.11	135.49	137.30
Mean of Means	129.44	145.42	

Analysis of Variance was used to see the significant effect of independent variables on emotional intelligence. The results are shown in the following table.

Table 1.2: Results of ANOVA of emotional intelligence

Source	Sum of squares	D f	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Cultural Orientation	11488.022	1	11488.22	41.635	<.01
Gender	3.200	1	3.200	0.012	>.05
Cultural Orientationx Gender	17287.200	1	17287.200	62.653	<.01
Error	48561.778	176	275.919		
Total	3477166.00	180			

A perusal of table 1.2 shows that F-ratio for cultural orientation was significant at 0.01 level of confidence. It can be said that the cultural orientation of an individual impacts his/ her emotional intelligence to a very large extent. The same table shows the F-ratio for gender was 0.012 which was non-significant at 0.05 level of significance. Therefore, we can say that males and females did not differ significantly in emotional intelligence.

The same table reveals that F-ratio for interaction of cultural orientation and gender was significant at 0.01 level of confidence. Hence, the results of F-ratio indicate that though gender alone did not have any significant effect on emotional intelligence of an individual the highly significant effect of cultural orientation in combination with gender emerged as a very significant influencing factor for emotional intelligence.

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Table 1.3: Comparison of Emotional Intelligence Scores of Different Groups

Groups	Means	SD	t	Significance
Collectivist Males	119.78	17.35	5.15	<0.01
Collectivist Female	139.11	18.24		
Individualist Males	155.36	18.38	6.15	<0.01
Individualist Females	135.49	11.50		
Collectivist Males	119.78	17.35	9.44	<0.01
Individualist Males	155.36	18.38		
Collectivist Females	139.11	18.24	1.13	>.05
Individualist Females	135.49	11.50		

Table 1.3 depicts that value of *t*-ratio obtained between the collectivist males and collectivist females and male individualist and female individualists was significant at 0.01 level of significance.

A look at the same table 1.3 reveals that *t*-ratio computed between collectivists males and individualist males was highly significant at 0.01 level but in a sharp contrast the *t*-ratio computed between collectivist females and individualist females was found non-significant.

Discussion

ANOVA results given in the table 1.2 show that *F*-ratio for cultural orientation was found significant which means that respondents from individualist culture had better emotional intelligence than respondents of collectivist culture. Thus, hypotheses 1 related to emotional intelligence was proved true by the findings of the study.

The above finding was supported by findings of Parker, Saklofske, Shaughnessy, Huang, Wood and Eastabrook (2005) who also found significant cross-cultural differences in emotional intelligence of aboriginal youth of Canada, North America. The aboriginal youth were found to score significantly lower on the interpersonal, adaptability and stress management dimensions of emotional intelligence than non-aboriginal (urban) youth. In this study, urban youth had better emotional intelligence than rural youth.

The other study which also supports this difference was done by Gignac and Ekermans (2010) also obtained significant cross-cultural differences between the emotional intelligence of Blacks and Whites living in South Africa.

It can be seen that there are some basic emotions that we all experience. No matter what our cultural background be, at one time or another we all feel anger, disgust, fear, happiness and sadness. What generates these feelings and how expressive we are at displaying or revealing them to others are affected partly, by rules and norms of cultures we live in. For instance, East-Asians generally refrain from expressing negative emotions in public. This is because members of a certain culture are bound by culture-display rules. It has generally been found that British tend to deintensify the expressions of most emotions, the oriental-Indians tend to neutralize the expressions of fear and anger but not the expression of sadness or happiness (Mandal, Asthana,

Pandey and Sarbadhikari, 1996), and Japanese mask the feeling of anger with a smile (Friesen, 1972). These differences in display rules of

emotions certainly influence the regulation and control in which individualist oriented cultures provide more and better chances inculcating in their members better emotional intelligence than the collectivist oriented cultures.

Matsumoto *et al.* (1998) attributed these cross-national differences in display of emotions to social constructs, *viz.*, individualism/collectivism. This theory provides a comprehensive framework for studying the universality of cross-cultural differences in emotional intelligence. The members of collectivist cultures place greater value on maintaining harmony and consequently discourage the expression of any negative emotions that may be harmful in maintaining the things to their own ends. In these cultures, withholding emotions or controlling them so as to enable them for their own benefit are not appreciated. In collectivist culture expressions of emotions and actions are relational.

The expressions and control of emotions are judged with reference to benefit or harm of others. So, it is the norm bound and not self-bound depending on the strength and capacity of oneself to express, control and manipulate emotions. This may seem to be selfish to some people or culture but as far as, the constructs of emotional intelligence or even social intelligence are concerned, controlling and manipulating one's own and others' emotions, and maintaining inter and intrapersonal relationships, have been regarded as intelligent endeavor in the advent of emotional intelligence.

Moreover, members of highly individualist cultures are comfortable "telling as they see it" – revealing their feelings to others. They can easily be perceived as direct or frank. All these events lead to better emotional intelligence in members of individualist cultures than in members of collectivist cultures.

The same table 1.2 shows that *F*-ratio for gender was found to be non-significant. However, if we have a look at table 1.3 we can see significant *t*-value at the level of gender, in both collectivist and individualist cultures. Thus, hypothesis 2 related to emotional intelligence was proved true.

Here, in both cases the individualists whether they are males or females, surpass their counterpart collectivists thereby confirming the previous discussion where culture as pervasive ethos and milieu make an individual and his/her personality colored with the orientation which make them able to manage the emotions of self and others for their own end. Thus, individualists being oriented towards themselves may seem to be self-centered and concerned with their own selfish goals only, but these are indicators of emotional intelligence and is the property of individualist orientation.

A look at the same table 1.2 shows that *F*-ratio for interactional effect of cultural orientation and gender was found to be significant beyond 0.01 level of confidence. Thus, hypotheses 3 was proved true by the findings of the study.

Table 1.1 shows that individualist orientation interacted with males enhancing their emotional

intelligence. In other words, individualist if they are males or males which are individualists it fosters emotional intelligence in a better way than the females if they are from individualist orientation. Males, globally as well as in Indian society, have the privilege of many things, particularly they are more free to interact with others and express and control emotions to their end and if they have individualist orientations it works as double benefit for them.

Table 1.3 gives a mixed picture of the differences of emotional intelligence with reference to gender of individualist and collectivist orientation of culture. In all the comparisons only collectivist females have emerged as having better emotional intelligence than their counterpart collectivist males. Thus, hypothesis 4 was proved and hypothesis 5 was disapproved by the findings of the study.

The findings related to better emotional intelligence in case of collectivist females than collectivist males is intriguing, perhaps the mechanisms which enhance and strengthen the emotional intelligence of males of individualist oriented culture work in empowering the females of collectivist culture in emotional intelligence. In the collectivist culture, in Indian context females living in the family or supposed to take care of the family.

They think and do every thing in relation to other members. Hence, they know how to control their emotions, not only for maintaining good intra and inter personal relation but also for the development and progress of the family. Such conditions are available more to females in collectivist society than individualist society.

In all the other comparisons individualist males had an edge over their counterpart collectivist males and / or females. Thus, the interactional effect of individualist orientation with males is once again confirmed.

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