Walker, Deng, and Dieser (2005) recently published an article that: (a) reviews a growing body of research that indicates culture affects the self's structure and, consequently, one's emotions, cognitions, and motivations; and (b) outlines the implications this may have for leisure theory and practice. Although Markus and Kitayama's (1991) two-dimensional conceptualization of the self (i.e., independence and interdependence) is featured, other models are also briefly mentioned. One such framework, developed by Triandis (1995), includes not only independence (or, as he terms it, individualism) and interdependence (or collectivism) but also hierarchy and equality—and this more elaborate model could, potentially, provide further insight into the issues Walker et al. (2005) raise. In this abstract, therefore, first, we report the results of a study of British/Canadians and Chinese/Canadians that measured Triandis' four types of self-construal; and second, we suppose what these findings may mean for leisure researchers and recreation practitioners.

**Literature Review**

According to Markus and Kitayama (1991), while people in the United States and Canada (or, more accurately, European Americans and European Canadians), as well as people in Western Europe, are more likely to have independent self-construals (and, therefore, to value being unique, asserting oneself, expressing one's inner attributes, and promoting one's own goals), people in or from Asia, Africa, and Southern Europe are more likely to have interdependent self-construals (and, therefore, to value belonging, fitting in, maintaining harmony, restraining oneself, and promoting others' goals). Having said this, it is important to add, however, that: (a) while cultures may emphasize one more than the other, every culture recognizes and legitimates some aspects of both independence and interdependence and, correspondingly, at the person level, "there are elements of both independence and interdependence in every self" (Fiske et al., 1998, p. 925); and (b) "interdependent selves do not attend to the needs, desires, and goals of all others. Attention to others is not indiscriminate; it is highly selective and will be most characteristic of relationships with 'in-group' members" (Markus & Kitayama, p. 229).

In contrast, Triandis (1995) contends that another important aspect of self-construal exists; that is, whether equality (i.e., being "horizontal") or hierarchy (i.e., being "vertical") is emphasized. In this case a two-by-two matrix results that includes: horizontal individualism (HI), vertical individualism (VI), horizontal collectivism (HC), and vertical collectivism (VC). As with Markus and Kitayama's (1991) model, Triandis holds that that while individuals, and the cultures that encompass them, are multi-dimensional, some dimensions are predominant. According to Triandis, for example, the United States may be 40% HI, 30% VI, 20% HC, and 10% VC and, he suggests, similar percentages may found in Canada and Great Britain (p. 47). Chinese, on the other hand, may be 30%-40% HC, 30%-40% VC, 15% VI, and 15% HI (p. 61 & p. 90), with the higher VC percentage reflecting a hierarchical structure where "each person is presumed to have a fixed role in society and [is expected] to enact that role accordingly" (Gao,
It is worth adding that, of Confucius' Five Cardinal Relationships (Wu Lun), four are hierarchical (i.e., between ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, and elder brother and younger brother) while only one is not (i.e., between friends; Gao, 1996). Moreover, Chuang's (1998) research not only supports the continuing existence of these VC role relationships in modern Chinese culture, but it also suggests that other hierarchical relationships (e.g., between father and daughter, mother and son, supervisor and subordinate, and teacher and student) exist as well.

Unfortunately, it does not appear that Triandis' (1995) framework has been used to study either majority members in Canada (i.e., British/Canadians), or members of Canada's largest and fastest growing visible minority group (i.e., Chinese/Canadians; Statistics Canada, 1998). In spite of this research lacuna, supposing what the addition of equality and hierarchy could contribute to our understanding of leisure theory and practice does seem worthwhile, particularly when Walker's et al. (2005) contentions about how independence and interdependence alone could impact these two interrelated leisure areas are taken into account. In terms of leisure theory, for example, they hold that while many of our existing theoretical frameworks (e.g., Iso-Ahola, 1999; Neulinger, 1981), with their emphasis on personal autonomy, may be appropriate for independent selves, they may not be for interdependent selves, who are more likely to emphasize in-group member autonomy and interpersonal relatedness. Similarly, in terms of leisure practice, Walker et al. believe that by not being aware of and knowledge about interdependence, leisure agencies and their employees may be planning, promoting, and implementing programs and services that are often inappropriate for interdependent selves and, in doing so, sustaining institutional discrimination (Feagin & Eckberg, 1980; Scott, 2000).

Method and Results

Triandis' (1995) four types of self-construal were measured as part of a computer assisted telephone interview (CATI) study of ethnicity, gender, and gambling behaviour. A total 450 individuals (225 British/Canadians and 225 Chinese/Canadians) participated, with a sample frame of the former being generated using a random digit dialing approach, and a sample frame of the later being created based on research on the 100 most common surnames in China (Yan, 2002). English-, Cantonese-, and Mandarin-speaking interviewers were employed, with the Chinese interviewers using back-translated instruments (Marin & Marin, 1991). The four types of self-construal were measured using three scenarios developed by Triandis (1995). Specifically, respondents were asked to rank (1 = most likely, 4 = least likely) how they would: (a) choose a restaurant (i.e., most fun, HI; most prestigious, VI; friend's recommendation, HC; parent's/important family member's recommendation, VC); (b) decide which charity to donate to (i.e., most publicity, VI; most self-esteeming, HI; most needy, HC; most deserving, VC); and (c) which single word best described them (i.e., unique, VC; competitive, VI; cooperative, HC; dutiful, VC). A respondent's primary type of self-construal was determined by: (1) summing the number of times a self-construal was ranked first across the three scenarios (i.e., 0 to 3); (2) calculating separate scores for individualism/collectivism and hierarchy/equality (i.e., -3 to 3); and (3) assigning the participant to one of the four self-construal categories based on their scores along these two dimensions. After deleting cases that either had substantial missing data or that could not be categorized because of a
score of 0 on at least one dimension (9 British/Canadians, 12 Chinese/Canadians), 192 Chinese/Canadians (90 males, 102 females) and 199 British/Canadians (101 males, 98 females) remained. British/Canadians were more likely to be divorced (19% vs. 5%), and have a household income of $50,000 or more (52% vs. 34%). Chinese/Canadians were more likely to have completed Bachelor (31% vs. 19%) or graduate degrees (18% vs. 7%), with most reporting being born in either mainland China (50%) or Hong Kong (23%), with only 11% being born in Canada. A chi-square conducted using ethnicity and self-construal was significant, $\chi^2 (3, N = 391) = 17.94, p = .0005; \text{Cramer's V = .21}$, with Chinese/Canadians being more much more likely than expected to be vertical collectivists (30% vs. 13%), while British/Canadians were much more likely that expected to be horizontal collectivists (45% vs. 33%). Vertical individualism was the least common type of self-construal for both ethnic groups (11% each).

**Discussion**

As reported above, 63% of Chinese/Canadians were collectivists, with approximately equal percentages being vertical and horizontal. This result was not unexpected as Triandis (1995), too, reported that Chinese were 30%-40% VC and 30%-40% HC. Although our findings lend further support to Walker's et al (2005) contentions that collectivism and individualism should be taken into account when studying culture and leisure, and planning and managing recreation programs and services for ethnic populations, our results also suggest that researchers and practitioners should consider what effects equality and hierarchy may have—since nearly one in three Chinese/Canadians were vertical collectivists (vs. about one in eight for British/Canadians). Because of this outcome's import, we now put forward some suppositions about what this may mean for leisure theory and practice, based on pertinent literature from a variety of research areas (e.g., leisure studies, cross-cultural psychology, etc.).

Because vertical collectivists not only view their relationships as being largely fixed, usually unequal, and having pre-established expectations (Gao, 1996), but they also often feel a sense of pleasure when they do successfully fulfill their role responsibilities (Bontempo, Lobel, Triandis, 1995), we would expect that at least some of their leisure would involve either intrinsic or integrated motivation (Deci & Ryan, 2000).

On the other hand, because these same role requirements could also be perceived as being highly extrinsically motivating at times, leisure could provide an important respite when, for example, it was done with friends (because of their equal role status), it was renao (i.e., a loud, exciting, and less socially constraining event, such as a festival; Gabrenya & Hwang, 1996), or it was done alone (cf. Wang & Stringer, 2000). Leisure researchers, therefore, should examine: (a) how intrinsic motivation is facilitated by feelings of interpersonal relatedness; (b) under what conditions role responsibilities are perceived as being extrinsically motivated, and what form this takes (i.e., integrated, external, introjected; Deci & Ryan, 2000); and (c) what other variables affect the style and meaning of VC's leisure. Correspondingly, recreation agencies should ensure that their staff understand the different types of self-construal and, in the case of a vertical collectivist, whether the person is using leisure to fulfill his or her role responsibilities or to escape from them, least institutional discrimination occurs (Scott, 2000). Furthermore, if escape is primary, a recreation agency could potentially aid and abet vertical
collectivists' ability to satisfy this need by designing programs that encouraged friends to register and participate together, or by offering facility passes that allow them to visit at discounted rates (e.g., a "Best Friends" pass).

Another finding is also noteworthy. According to Triandis (1995), Americans, Britons, and Canadians should exhibit similar percentages of his four types of self-construal (i.e., 40% HI, 30% VI, 20% HC, and 10% VC). However, our study found that, for British/Canadians, HC was over twice as common, and VI was approximately one-third as common, as expected. Based on this result, our earlier contention (Walker et al., 2005) that self-construal should be recognized and incorporated into leisure studies garners further support and, perhaps as importantly, it also suggests that Canadian leisure researchers and recreation practitioners may have incorrectly assumed that some concepts, models, and frameworks developed in the United States are easily transferable, and generally applicable, to majority members in this country.

In conclusion, we will cite once more a Chinese adage that seems more apt each and every time we discuss culture, self-construal, and leisure theory and practice, that is: lu chang er dao yuan ("there is a long way to go"; Gao, Ting-Toomey, & Gudykunst, 1996).

References


