

The Nature, Function, and Social Context of Advice:

A Cross-Cultural Study

by

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A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate Studies and Research

in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Psychology, Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

May 2008

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Your file *Votre référence*
ISBN: 978-0-494-43913-5
Our file *Notre référence*
ISBN: 978-0-494-43913-5

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■ ■ ■
Canada

“It takes a village to raise a child”

African proverb

“Advice is one of those things it is far more blessed to give than to receive”

Carolyn Wells

“The only thing to do with good advice is pass it on. It is never any use to oneself”

Oscar Wilde

“Resist that impulse to give advice. Others need to make mistakes to learn sometimes”

A Canadian

“Ignorant people do not know and do not ask for advice; wise people do know and do ask for advice”

An Iranian proverb

“Believers in God consult with each other when making decisions”

Quran

Abstract

Four studies were conducted to explore the nature and social context of advice given to university-aged participants in two cultures: Canada and Iran. Study 1 examined the types of decisions made by participants and the advice received about the decisions, the frequencies of requested or unrequested advice, and how much pressure participants felt to take the advice received. Study 2 examined who gave advice, which topics were most likely to lead participants in the two cultures to want, to seek, and to receive unrequested advice, and how much social pressure accompanied both kinds of advice about the topics. Study 3 analyzed the content and directiveness of advice given by participants in response to selected letters from Canadian and Iranian advice columns. Study 4 explored the antecedents of conflicts arising from advice, the emotional reactions to these conflicts, the duration of conflicts, and strategies of conflict resolution.

A large number of cultural differences, and some sex differences, were found in all four studies. For example, while Iranians more often wanted and requested advice, Canadians felt more pressure to take the advice they were given. Iranians especially wanted and requested advice about topics that emphasized interpersonal relationships (e.g., choosing friends, visiting relatives, and marrying). Canadians more than Iranians tended to request advice from peers, while Iranians more than Canadians tended to seek advice from siblings, counsellors, and teachers. Iranians received more unrequested advice from extended family members; Canadians received more unrequested advice from friends, media, and the society. Advice given by Iranians tended to be shorter, simpler, and more directive than advice given by Canadians. Iranian advice also emphasized toleration and adapting the self to the situation, while Canadian advice

emphasized compromise, adapting the situation to the self, and seeking further advice of others.

Iranians, especially Iranian females, experienced significantly more conflicts with their advisors over minor decisions than did Canadians. Canadians expressed more emotional reactions to conflict inducing advice than did Iranians. Ignoring advice in Iran produced more anger among people who gave advice, as well as more intense conflicts. Iranians resorted to more frequent and longer persuasive communications to resolve conflicts than did Canadians. Iranians more than Canadians resolved their conflicts by compliance; while Canadians more than Iranians resolved their conflicts by compromise. While many tests of gender differences in advice among Iranians were significant, no significant Canadian gender differences were found.

The results largely supported theories of cultural differences locating Canada and Iran at opposite ends of three continua: (1) individualism-collectivism; (2) egalitarianism-hierarchy; and (3) femininity-masculinity. The results also indicated that measures of advice are more sensitive to cultural differences in social networks and social expectations than are standardized but general tests of cultural attitudes such as the Relationalism, Individualism, Collectivism Scale (Kashima & Hardie, 2000).

Acknowledgements

I wish to extend my sincerest thanks to my mentor and academic supervisor, Professor Warren Thorngate, for his priceless intellectual and emotional support during my Ph.D program at Carleton. His invaluable advice, constant availability, and encouragement of new ideas made this work possible. I was blessed to have him as my mentor and academic supervisor and I owe much of my future success to him and his generous support.

I would like to thank my dissertation committee members, Drs Johanna Flip, Behnam Behnia, Lloyd Strickland, and John Zelenski, for their careful examination of my dissertation, for their excellent comments and suggestions, and finally for recommending me for a Senate Medal. I also thank Dr. Margaret Foddy, who was unable to attend my oral exam, for sitting on my prospectus committee.

I wish to thank PEO Sisterhood Organization for the International Peace Scholarship they offered to me and for their constant emotional support. The PEO sisters are now dear friends of mine and I am grateful to have them in my life. I enjoyed the time we spent together in the Decision-making lab with my fellow graduates, Claudia, Francesca, and Zhigang. I am also pleased that I had the good companionship of my friend, Minoos, who supported me in my sickness and health. Thank you Claudia, Francesca, Zhigang, and Minoos.

Finally I would like to extend my sincere thanks to Professor Reza Zamani, for introducing and recommending me to Professor Thorngate. I will never forget Dr. Zamani's important role in opening new horizons of progress ahead of me.

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Introduction

Ever since my 2002 arrival in Canada from my native Iran, I have curiously observed the differences between the two cultures. One of the most common and intriguing differences between two countries can be easily seen in the amount of pressure to meet the expectations of others, to follow to the norms of the society. In Iran there is no such phrase as “Mind your own business.” Instead, Iranians feel an obligation to monitor the behaviour of others and correct it when necessary – a socially acceptable form of surveillance (see Strickland, 1958). Corrective attempts take many forms but, whether subtle or blatant, all exemplify what social psychologists would call attempts at social influence (Cialdini, 2007) to induce conformity to social norms (Asch, 1955) – attempts that result in what I call *social control* and *pressure*.

The concepts of social pressure and control were noted in different words by one of the Iranian students who became e-mail “pen pals” with Canadian students in a discussion group I lead for a Carleton University social psychology course in 2005. At the end of the exchanges, I asked students from both cultures to summarize their impressions of the other culture. The Iranian student remarked with some envy that Canadians seem to be far more relaxed than Iranians. She said, “I think it is because Canadians have much more freedom to do what they want, but in Iran we are expected to do what others want; I have realized that Canadians live for themselves, but we Iranians live for other people!”

These observations inspired me to investigate cultural differences in social influence, social pressure, and social control. Two questions originally guided my thoughts: (1) Are there measurable differences in the amount of attempted social

influence or the degree of social pressure to conform felt by Iranians and Canadians? (2)
If so, why might the differences exist between these two cultures or between any cultures? I decided to address these questions for my dissertation.

My decision obliged me to find measures of social influence and pressure, and at least one good reason to expect cultural differences in the measures I found. It was difficult to find good measures of social influence. I wanted measures that were portable across different cultures with different languages. I also wanted measures that could be used without elaborate research facilities or support because there are no psychology labs or research computers in Iran, and because I had no research funding. After eliminating measures requiring such facilities, the list of remaining alternatives became quite short. Fortunately, however, it did contain one rarely-studied but potentially rich source of social influence: *advice*.

While discussing with my supervisor the challenge of finding good measures of social influence, I realized that the advice he gave me was itself a form of social influence. As I discuss below, advice is often defined as information offered by one person to assist another in solving a problem or making a decision. But when the information affects its recipient, social influence occurs. When, for example, a mother tells her daughter, "I advise you not to hit your brother." it suggests that something bad would result from the act, that the mother prefers her daughter not to do it, and that the mother is expressing her advice to influence or persuade her daughter to restrain herself. When a doctor tells a patient, "I advise you to quit smoking" he or she conveys to the patient his own attitude towards smoking and likely expresses it to influence the patient.

Advice seems to exist in all societies – certainly in Canada and in Iran – and samples of advice are relatively easy to collect and to analyse. People remember a lot of the advice they receive; in addition, they can often recall who gave it, and whether they took it or not. People also can, and often do, give advice, especially when asked. So advice is a potentially rich source of social influence measures that can be compared across people, time, and cultures. Such measures include the number and nature of requests for advice, the amount and nature of unrequested advice, the sources of received advice (who is trying to influence), the nature and content of received advice (what kind of influence is attempted), and the repetition of advice received. They also include the nature, content and amount of advice given to others, the advice taken, the conflicts resulting from not taking advice, and resolutions of these conflicts. The four studies reported in my dissertation attempt to examine different combinations of these measures.

If my casual observations and anecdotes about Iranian and Canadian cultures are correct, I should find several differences in measures of advice between the two cultures suggesting that social influence attempts are more pervasive in Iran than in Canada. Why might they be? One possible answer comes from theories of cross cultural psychology (see, for example, Triandis, 1988, 1994, 1995) which attempt to classify cultures along several attributes or dimensions, such as individualist-collectivist, hierarchical-egalitarian, and masculine-feminine.

Consider, for example, the distinction between *individualist* cultures and *collectivist* cultures. As discussed later in my introduction, individualist cultures emphasize social independence, self-reliance, and personal responsibility. In contrast, collectivist cultures emphasize social interdependence (especially among family

members), mutual-reliance, and group responsibility (consider a family feeling shame for the bad behaviour of one family member). One result is that the behaviour of a person in a collectivist culture is likely to affect more other people, and to be affected by more people, than is the behaviour of a person in an individualist culture. Most people wish to control the situations that affect them (Bandura, 1997; Deci & Ryan, 2000; Powers, 1989), including situations resulting from the behaviour of others. It is thus logical to infer that social influence attempts, especially attempts to induce others to conform to social norms and expectations (including attempts packaged as advice), will be more common in collectivist cultures than in individualist cultures. In addition, members of collectivist cultures stand to lose more if they are socially rejected than do members of individualistic cultures, simply because collectivists rely more on others for meeting their needs. So we should expect collectivists to seek advice more often about what they should do, hoping to avoid rejection for breaking the rules. Iran, I shall argue, is a far more collectivist culture than is Canada. So Iranians should request more advice and receive more unrequested advice than do Canadians.

In sum, the primary purpose of my dissertation was to explore the relations between (a) dimensions of culture that distinguish Canada from Iran, and (b) aspects of social influence manifested in measures of advice. Though I derived predictions about cultural differences in advice based on well-developed cultural theories, the use of advice measures as dependent variables was “experimental” in the word’s original, exploratory meaning. There is almost no literature on using advice as a source of measures about social influence, so I had to derive measures on my own. Their validation was the second purpose of my dissertation. I was gratified that so many of the measures produced

significant cultural differences in predicted directions, thus validating their utility in future research.

My dissertation had a third purpose as well. One of the most common observations of visitors to Iran is the extent of double standards between males and females. Ask almost any Iranian about these double standards and he or she will reply with stories of how strictly females are controlled while raised in the family, and how much more freedom males have. This suggests that Iranian females would receive more advice, especially unrequested advice, than would Iranian males, and perhaps advice of a different kind. In contrast, there seem to be far fewer double standards between Canadian males and females, so I would expect smaller differences in the amount and kind of advice given to them.

I tried to gather data from male and female Iranians and Canadians in order to test these ideas. Unfortunately, it proved to be extremely difficult to recruit males from both cultures, so my samples of males were small. Even so, their results showed a consistent pattern across my studies, interpretable by theories of sex-typed cultural differences.

The research on advice and culture is diverse, coming from a wide variety of areas (for example, decision making, clinical and developmental psychology, cross-cultural psychology, and anthropology) and research traditions. To bring some order to this diversity, I first describe below theory and research about the adaptive function of advice in making important life decisions involving risk or harm. Then I review cognitive, emotional, and social perspectives on advice, addressing the roles of advice as information, as an aspect of decision-making skill, as social support, as social pressure, and as a mechanism to cope with stress and ambiguity. Also, I examine the motives and

biases of advisors, and the resistance of advisees to advice received. Next, I consider individual differences in taking advice and the social context and cultural differences in giving and receiving it. In doing so, I review theories of cultural differences, including those related to individualism and collectivism, and show how they generate predictions regarding differences in giving and receiving advice in Canada and Iran.

Finally, I report four studies testing predictions about several features of advice derived from theories of cultural differences and from my own observations of two cultures, and about the dynamics of giving and receiving advice. In the first and second studies, I examined advice from the perspective of advisees, addressing questions about advice received. In my third study, I examined advice from the perspective of advisors, addressing questions about advice given. In my fourth study, I investigated the conflicts that advice can bring to advisors and advisees, and how these conflicts are resolved.

Perspectives on Advice

In everyday life most of us give and receive advice to make a wide range of decisions. Everyday life decisions involving advice can be as trivial as what toothpaste to buy, or as crucial as deciding what to do for cancer treatment. The importance of advice in making decisions is evident from the large amount of money that people pay for professional advice, by the large number of advertisements for advisors, and by an expanding list of professions invented to offer advice. Among these professionals are lawyers, doctors, tax consultants, image consultants, personal trainers, travel agents, architects, interior designers, and clinical psychologists.

However, there are many situations in which people do not pay for advice. Unpaid advice is at least as common, and probably at least as important, as paid advice. It is often

offered in close relationships such as those between parents and children, between siblings or spouses, between teachers and students, between peers, colleagues, and friends.

Advice has been classified in many different ways including positive vs. negative (Mintz, 2004), directive vs. nondirective (Burch, Smith, & Piper, 1994), and prescriptive vs. proscriptive (Clemen, 2001; Sniezek, Schrah, & Dalal, 2004). Advice can also be classified into other categories, for example, given vs. received, paid vs. unpaid, and requested vs. unrequested advice. Research on advice tends to fall into two general categories. Much of it, especially in the decision making and cognitive traditions, considers aspects of advice as independent variables and examines the effects of various kinds or contents of advice, and various features of advisors, on judgment and choice. A second and smaller category of advice research considers aspects of advice as dependent or mediating variables and examines how various factors such as personality or social relationships affect advice given or received. My dissertation is concerned with unpaid advice, requested and unrequested, given and received. It considers aspects of advice primarily as dependent variables, examining how different features of culture influence these aspects.

Why do people give advice at all? It is safe to assume that advice flourishes because it serves some adaptive function for the advisor or the advisee or both. Authors propose different arguments about the adaptive functions of advice in people's lives. Most authors propose that advice functions to improve the quality of decision-making (e.g., Sniezek et al., 2004; Yaniv, 2004; Yaniv & Kleinberger, 2000). Yaniv and Kleinberger (2000), for example, suggest advice helps individuals to overcome *self-*

confirmation biases, or preferences for information supportive of one's currently preferred option. Other authors propose that advice serves various emotional, motivational and social functions. Reaby (1998), for example, argues that advice is sought to seek social support and to reduce stress. Thorngate (2001) shows how advice is used to allow decision makers the luxury of shifting the blame for a bad decision to the advisor. Eisenhardt (1989) reports how advisors modify their advice according to the social relationship they have with advisees. Advice likely serves all of these functions, but my research on advice is inspired primarily by research on the emotional, motivational, and social functions that advice serves.

Advice in Making Risky and Important Decisions

Research on medical, financial, legal, and health decision-making has documented that taking advice to make decisions in situations of danger or harm can reduce the risk of these decisions (e.g., Budescu, Rantilla, Yu, & Karelitz, 2003; Janis & Mann, 1977). Some risky decisions are so crucial to life that they are called *life-and-death* decisions (Besharov, 1990). Risky decisions that might require advice vary from decisions about allocation of financial resources (e.g., Ackert, Church, & Englis, 2002; Bodie & Crane, 1997), to sexual harassment (Fischhoff, 1992), addiction to smoking (Park et al., 2001), abortion (Luscutoff & Elms, 1975; Lewis, 1987), confrontation with robbery (Greenberg, Ruback, & Westcott, 1982; Ruback, Greenberg, & Westcott, 1984), and illness (Petersen et al., 2003).

Advice also plays a role in making important life decisions such as decisions about a career (Higgins, 2001; Nathan & Hill, 1992), finances (Budescu et al., 2003), marriage (Anthony, 1999), education (Luey, 2004; Towner, 1975), parenting (Shamsaie,

2001), and medical or health related decisions (Fischhoff, 1992). Health research indicates, for example, that women diagnosed with breast cancer rely heavily on advice to make medical decisions about their treatment (Petersen et al., 2003). Blais and Weber (2001) report that when there was a risk in decisions, such as in deciding about using contraceptive pills, women relied on advice of experts, rather than following their heart or postponing the decision.

In an experiment on the process of decision-making, Harvey and Fischer (1997) found that knowledgeable and experienced decision makers sought twice as much advice when making important decisions than when making unimportant decisions. To make important decisions, people often seek advice from more than one advisor (Budescu et al., 2003). For example, students may obtain career advice from parents, teachers, career counsellors, or the Internet. Hesketh (1998) showed that students first relied on the Internet for career advice; then they sought advice from parents and teachers.

The helpfulness of advice in high-risk decisions is so obvious that many authors go beyond the scientific research and provide advice of their own. Their advice addresses people at risk and advises them how to handle their risky situations (e.g., Besharov, 1990). The advice is often directed at advisors -- experts, psychotherapists, or policy makers who are responsible for developing strategies that prevent risks or reduce the negative consequences of risky situations (e.g., Fischhoff, 1992).

These studies give evidence for the pervasiveness and importance of advice sought to improve a wide variety of important decisions. But they overlook at least two other kinds of advice: Advice about everyday and relatively unimportant decisions, and advice given without being sought. Perhaps not surprisingly, there is almost no research

about the thousands of seemingly trivial decisions that people make daily in their life -- decisions about what to wear, who to phone or what to postpone, what to eat for lunch, when to sleep or to do household chores, etc. Nor is there much research about all the advice given that is neither requested nor wanted – advice that borders on nagging and social control (“I have told you a hundred times, if you want me to love you, I strongly advise that you clean your room!”). Yet because I believe that the much of the social control, at least in collectivist cultures, is in large applied through advice about life’s daily trivia, I have chosen to examine advice, both wanted and unwanted, about daily matters in my dissertation.

Cognitive Perspectives on Advice

The vast majority of research on advice has been undertaken from a cognitive or information processing perspective. Though I do not adopt this perspective in my work, it deserves review and comment. Researchers employing the cognitive perspective define advice as information (e.g., Budescu, et al. , 2003; Janis & Mann, 1977; Jonas & Frey, 2003; Petersen et al., 2003; Rantilla, 2001; Redd, 2002; Taylor, 1987) and assume that it is sought and assimilated before making decisions (e.g., Budescu et al., 2003; Heath & Gonzalez, 1995; Rousseau, 1982; Sniezek et al., 2004). From the cognitive perspective, advice should be sought and assimilated by a decision-maker or judge according to its validity and utility in predicting the outcomes of decisions (Redd, 2002). Finding limitations and biases in the processes of seeking and assimilating advice, cognitive researchers offer cognitive explanations to explain the existence of such limitations and biases, and seek to determine how the limits and biases might be overcome (e.g., Kleinmuntz, 1990).

Rantilla's (2001) study illustrates the kind of research undertaken in the cognitive tradition. Rantilla provided decision-makers (or advisees) with a range of advice, which he called *information*. The pieces of advice ranged from ambiguous verbal information to numerical probabilities (which were considered the most precise form of advice). Decision-makers were reported to make better decisions and to show a higher rate of consensus when the advice was more precise. The result lead Rantilla to prescribe that advisors should use precise, numerical information rather than ambiguous information when giving advice.

Research comparing human abilities with computer abilities to process the information contained in advice show the superiority of computers to humans, largely because of the speed and consistency with which computers employ their formulas and rules (Jones & Brown, 2002; Kleinmuntz, 1990). Early research comparing the efficiency of people vs. programmes in using information concluded that computers are almost always more efficient (Goldberg, 1965; Meehl, 1965), in part because intuition (later called heuristics) leads to inconsistencies and biases in combining available data (Kleinmuntz, 1990). Cognitive researchers often argue that judgments and decisions could be improved by developing computerized methods for overcoming the weaknesses of human cognition (e.g., Hoch & Schkade, 1996). The only advantage of humans relative to computers discovered by the cognitive approach is experience that enables humans to recognize when advice should be employed or ignored (Kleinmuntz, 1990).

The cognitive perspective on advice as information has generated a rich supply of understanding about the flaws in human cognition that lead people to ignore or distort good, quantitative advice. But it overlooks many other interesting aspects of advice, and

research conducted within the cognitive paradigm has left many questions unanswered. For example, the preoccupation of researchers with cognitive aspects of advice has led them to overlook advice that cannot be quantified, and the human feelings and emotions that might be associated with advice, including advice exchanged in everyday life. It has also led researchers to neglect studies of the social contexts in which advice is given and received, taken or ignored. Consider, for example, the likely emotional reactions of young adults told by their parents not to marry the person they love. Or consider the reactions of parents whose advice to a child about avoiding drugs is repeatedly ignored. Advice, it seems, is often loaded with emotion and embedded in social relationships, and it can alter and be altered by either. So a fuller understanding of advice requires knowledge of who seeks it and why, who gives it and why, what advice is given, and what reactions or consequences follow when it is received.

There are other limitations of the cognitive perspective for increasing understanding of advice. The perspective has been primarily designed and employed to explore professional or paid advice. We do not know whether the results can be generalized to situations in which advice is freely offered or requested, in part because we do not know why advice is freely offered or requested. As Yaniv (2004) notes, here is almost no research on unpaid advice for making life decisions, nor is there research on possible cultural differences in advice.

Cognitive research on advice assumes that the processes of receiving and taking advice are universal. While the cognitive processes might be universal in the same way that perceptual mechanisms or memory processes might be universal, the emotional, motivational, and social processes influencing the ways in which people interpret and

incorporate advice into their daily life almost certainly differ among cultures. Consider the processes by which people of different cultures judge whether a prospective advisor is knowledgeable or trustworthy; someone dressed as a mullah, for example, is likely to be seen as more trustworthy in Iran than in Canada. Cultural differences in these aspects of advice can have important implications for successful planning of different kinds of social policies and for delivery and presentation of advice to diverse populations and ethnicities. Politicians, social psychologists, practitioners, health practitioners, teachers, counsellors, and policy makers could benefit from knowledge of cultural differences to make such plans or provide advice. Exploring some dimensions of these cultural differences is a primary goal of my dissertation.

To seek understanding beyond the cognitive perspective on professional advice, my research examines the nature and social dynamics of unpaid advice for making everyday life decisions across two cultures: Iran and Canada. I address three main issues. First, I address the social ecology of advice – who gives and receives what advice, when, where and why. Second, I address the issue of advice content – what advice is given and how might it differ across cultures. Third, I address the issue of advice compliance and conflict – the pressures experienced by advisors and advisees when advice is given, and the strategies of resolving conflicts when advice is not taken.

Advice as Competence or Skill

Seeking advice can be a sign of decision-making competence or skill (Byrnes, 2002; Halpern-Felsher & Cauffman, 2001). Research in developmental psychology has documented the development of this skill during the transition from adolescence to adulthood. In general, adolescents are less motivated than are adults to choose and pursue

good options. So they seek less advice than adults do, and they are considered to be less competent and skilful in decision-making than adults (Byrnes, 2002). One explanation is that adults tend to give more consideration to risks and benefits associated to decisions than do adolescents. So adults more often seek advice to avoid anticipated risks or to increase the potential benefits of their decision (Halpern-Felsher & Cauffman, 2001).

Like receiving advice, giving advice can also be a sign of maturity or growth, often the result of experiencing difficulties and stress. For example, people who have difficulties in different kinds of relationships such as a marriage might advise others on how to avoid or overcome such difficulties (see <http://divorcesupport.about.com/od/troubledmarriage/a/bladhist.htm>). Children of divorce gave useful advice to their separating parents (Smith & Gollop, 2001). The most common themes of advice were: parents should keep children informed, listen to children, respect their views, and take children's views into account in decision-making (Smith & Gollop, 2001). My Studies 1, 2 and 3 extended Smith and Gollop's work by examining which members of participants' social networks were most likely to give advice, and by examining what kinds of advice are given.

Processes, Biases, and Motives in Giving Advice

Many researchers who study advice giving tend to view it as a type of decision-making for others (e.g., Beisswanger, Stone, Hupp, & Allgaier, 2003). A body of research on this subject addresses advisors' motives and biases that favour either their own or the advisee's preferences (e.g., Beisswanger, Stone, Hupp, & Allgaier, 2003; Eisenhardt, 1989; Kray, 2000). Other literature examines the relative strengths and

capabilities of advisors in processing, choosing, and suggesting better alternatives (e.g., Gelatt, 1989; Kray & Galinsky, 2003).

Among the former is research exploring whether people make the same choices for themselves as they do for others (Beisswanger et al., 2003). In order to examine how people make decisions for themselves vs. for others, participants read scenarios of romantic relationships, wrote about their decision for themselves, wrote about their decision for others, and finally advised others about what to do. Results showed that people tend to advise others to do things that they themselves would not do in similar situations. The difference was most significant when risks were not high enough for decisions to have serious negative consequences for an advisee's life. Advisors in these situations were more concerned about potential negative outcomes for themselves than for their advisees (Beisswanger et al., 2003). When the decision-making potentially could have serious consequences, there was no difference between the advice given to others and the decision made for themselves. When advisors were asked to decide for others, the results were the same as when they were asked to advise others, supporting the advice-as-decision-making idea (Beisswanger et al., 2003).

Another kind of advisor bias is shown by their tendency to give advice that supports the preferences of advisees (Kray, 2000). Advisors are often assumed to rely on the most important features of the existing options, more than advisees can consider, and to consider the preferences of their advisees. But advisors often consider fewer features of the alternatives than do advisees (Kray & Gonzalez, 1999), and sometimes their inferences about preferences of advisees are incorrect (Kray, 1998). The attention of

advisors to the desirable choices of advisees can be a result of the advisors' for their advice to be accepted (Jonas & Frey, 2003), rather than for selecting the best alternative.

Research indicates that when the goals of advisors and advisees conflict, the advisor has a bias not to mention the risks involved in his/her recommended option, hoping to convince the receiver will take the given advice, even if it might not be the best option (Jonas & Frey, 2003). Where the goals are not conflicting, for example, when an advisor is a friend of an advisee, who wishes to help the advisee, advisors adapt to the advisee's priorities (Eisenhardt, 1989). Advisors have been shown to be more concerned about the interests and priorities of an advisee who is a friend than one who is a stranger (Schlenker & Britt, 2001).

Contrary to the research showing advisors' self-serving biases is research illustrating the relative unselfishness of advisors as compared to advisees. For example, data from laboratory research suggest that advisors are more concerned with preventing a wrong decision for advisees than are the advisees themselves (Kray & Galinsky, 2003). Besides, thinking about the consequences of a wrong decision increases advisors' search for additional information and leads to better (more valid) advice (Kray & Galinsky, 2003).

An advisor's expertise and the rewards (e.g., money) for good advice also positively influence the quality of advice (Sniezek et al, 2004). Specifically, in a business context, when advisors receive rewards, they may often have a higher motivation to facilitate good decisions than do their advisees (Jonas & Frey, 2003). Accuracy motivation, in turn, directs advisors' attention to seeking a wider range of information, including inconsistent information (Johnston, 1996; Lundgren & Prislin, 1998).

In another laboratory study, participants who were asked to act as travel agents and to advise other participants about what kind of trip to choose showed a higher level of accuracy motivation than advisees did (Jonas & Frey, 2003). Advisors also tried to reduce decision complexity for advisees by presenting less information to advisees than the advisors themselves examined while preparing their recommendations. This result is interpreted as a sign of lower level of advisors' concern for promoting their own preferences and a higher level of wishing the best for advisees compared to advisees (Gelatt, 1989). Also, advisors, as compared to advisees, do a more extensive and thorough search for information, and a more balanced search and presentation of information, both supporting and critiquing preferred alternatives (Jonas & Frey, 2003). The balance is higher when the advisor is a friend of the advisee than when s/he is not. The higher levels of accuracy motivation in advisors are related to the higher levels of advisors balance in search for information (Jonas & Frey, 2003).

However, the kind of information advisors give— supporting or conflicting— depends on the context of advice giving. For example, advisors give more “raw” or original information to their friends but, in a business context, give more information supporting their recommendation and less information conflicting with it (Jonas & Frey, 2003). Jonas and Frey attribute the differences in these contexts to differences in the norms and expectations about advice giving in each context. For instance, the strategy of advisors in a business context might have been influenced by the rewards. Or an advisor might intend to help a friend to see the advantages vs. disadvantages of decision options, rather than to influence him/her, as Jonas and Frey note.

In summary, the research on advisors indicates that the kind of advice given and its reception depend very much on the social relationship between the advisor and the advisee. The dependency probably varies from one culture to another. For example, in hierarchical or collectivist cultures (see definitions below) where parents have more status than children, parents may feel obliged to give lots of advice to their children, and “children should do what they are told.” But in egalitarian or individualist cultures, parents might feel reluctant to offer advice (considering it meddling), and children might regularly ignore what advice their parents give. I examined such hypotheses in Studies 1, 2 and 4.

Processes, Biases, and Motives in Receiving Advice

Receiving advice to solve a problem or make a decision itself requires a series of decisions about when and from whom to seek advice, about whether to accept the advice or not, or how much to accept (Yaniv & Kleinberger, 2000). In making such decisions, a variety of processes, biases, and motives are involved (Harvey & Fischer, 1997; Heath & Gonzalez, 1995; Sniezek & Buckley, 1995).

A body of literature in decision-making addresses some of the cognitive and motivational processes involved in receiving or taking advice. One process involved in taking advice produces a tendency to use information supporting, rather than challenging, preferred alternatives, prior beliefs, assumptions, expectations, or desired conclusions (Heath & Gonzalez, 1995; Jonas & Frey, 2003; Jones & Gerard, 1967). This tendency has been shown in the areas of attitudes (Lundgren & Prislin, 1998), expectations in negotiations (Pinkley, Griffith, & Northcraft, 1995), and decisions (Frey, 1986; Jonas, Schulz-Hardt, Frey, & Thelen, 2001; Schulz-Hardt, Jochims, & Frey, 2002). A study of

the influence of advice on reporting a robbery to the police (Greenberg, Wilson, Ruback, & Mills, 1979) showed that when the victims of robbery were advised not to take action, their willingness to report the incident decreased. But when they were advised to report the incident to the police, they did not take the advice. Advice, it seems, was more influential when it agreed with advice seekers' preferences.

Where different sources give different advice, a common way for resolving the conflict is compromise, usually by averaging the information given (e.g., Budescu & Rantilla, 2000; Clemen, 1989; Fischer & Harvey, 1999; Wallsten, Budescu, Erev, & Diederich 1997). When the sources of advice are diverse and vary in their characteristics, a weighted average of different pieces of received advice is often used to make decision (Budescu, et al. 2003). This weighted average is affected by the differences between advisors' accuracy, and by information about the history of advisors represented to advisee (Budescu et al., 2003). Information about an advisor affecting the weightings of the advisee's decision includes such characteristics of advisor as expertise, past accuracy, confidence, and the consistency of the given advice (Ashton, 1986; Ashton & Ashton, 1985; Sniezek & Henry, 1989).

But averaging conflicting advice does not work in all situations. Exceptions occur when the advisee ignores advice that is extremely different than others (Yaniv, 1997), when some sources of advice with special status exist whose advice is over-weighted (e.g., the advice of a leader of the group), when some opinions rely on advisee's personal information or prior opinion (Soll & Larrick, 2001; Yaniv & Kleinberger, 2000), or when advice is evaluated and ignored as a result of a disagreement between an advisor's and advisee's preferences or priorities (Jones & Brown, 2002). Accuracy gains of advisors

depend on the inter-correlations among the advisors, leading to a very little gain in accuracy from highly redundant advisors (e.g., Clemen & Winkler, 1985; Hogarth, 1978; Johnson, Budescu, & Wallsten, 2001).

Studies on information integration (e.g., Anderson & Jacobson, 1965) and additive models in judgment (e.g., Slovic, 1966) suggest that advisees downplay or ignore inconsistent advice. Studies on the process of combining opinions show that advisees give greater weight to consensus opinions and degrade outlier opinions (Yaniv, 1997). Research on group decision-making suggests that as the inconsistency among opinions increases, the influence of an opinion on the group decision decreases (Davis et al., 1997).

In summary, when advisees have a choice of advisors, their choice depends on several characteristics of prospective advisors including similarity of attitudes and credibility. And when multiple advisors generate advice conflicting with one another, or with the advisee, the advisee can adopt any of several means for resolving the conflict. Are there cultural differences in who people seek for advice that can be predicted by cultural theories? And if the advice is conflicting, are there cultural differences in conflict resolution strategies that can be predicted by these theories? Studies 1, 2, and 4 attempt to answer these questions.

Emotional Perspectives on Advice

Advice and Uncertainty, Ambiguity, and Stress

Under some conditions, advice can be helpful in coping with stress, ambiguity, or uncertainty (e.g., Bowers, 1996; Clemen, 2001). For example, research shows that breast cancer patients actively seek advice and information to cope with their stress (Reaby,

1998). The majority of these women (78%) chose to comply with their surgeon's advice about surgical treatment. Reaby calls this *complacency-accepting* advice— advice taken without questioning or fully understanding what is happening.

Meanwhile, coping with stressful situations for many people allows them to accumulate life experiences, growth and wisdom, and motivates them to share their experiences with others by giving advice. Benasutti (2003), who studied the experiences of couples who were challenged with infertility, found six kinds of responses to infertility, including emotional reactions and giving advice to others. For example, one participant advised others that communication is the most important thing in difficult times of the life. Another participant advised men to be understanding of women in similar situations. Others advised what procedures to follow to get medical help. Similarly, a qualitative study of experiences of loss (Tavakoli & Thorngate, 2005) showed that losers in competitions wanted to advise managers that they must be fair in the procedures they follow for choosing the qualified persons as the best in the competitions. Also, the competitors advised managers on the strategies they could use to be fair.

Consistent with this finding, Krachun (2001) showed that when the number of options increased, the decision-maker's satisfaction with the options decreased, an indication that advice that reduces options is preferred to advice that increases options. When choice attributes are conflicting, or when there are negative correlations among attributes of choice, a decision is perceived as more difficult, confidence toward and satisfaction from decision-making decreases, and a person's willingness to take advice decreases (Fasolo, 2002).

Advice can also increase confusion and stress (Abel, Park, Tipene, Finau, & Lennan, 2001). Although research addressing situations in which advice is not helpful in reducing stress, ambiguity, or uncertainty is scarce, at least one study shows that inadequate or conflicting advice can be a source of confusion and feelings of inadequacy. A study of baby care practices among New Zealand-raised Pacific women showed that women experience considerable anxiety and confusion about feeding or sleeping arrangements for their baby as a result of contradictory advice from professionals or relatives (Abel et al., 2001). A young mother expresses her feelings of being pressured by advice in this way: “Most of the time during my pregnancy I faced challenges from my mother. She grew up in Tonga so is therefore very traditional. She did not want me to sleep during the day. On the other hand, my doctor told me I must rest during the day. When [mother] rang up from work and found that I was sleeping, she would tell me to get up and move about and if I didn’t it would cause *la fale* [a Tongan word for some serious disease where the baby is very sleepy]” (Abel et al., 2001, p. 1139).

The research noted above indicates that giving and receiving advice are related in complex ways to the management of emotions, including the management of stress, anxiety and frustration. Based on this information, I chose to investigate emotional reactions to advice by asking participants about the pressure they felt from the advice given. Studies 1, 2 and 4 examined cultural differences in pressure.

Resistance to Advice

Although advice can be helpful and adaptive, it is not always welcomed and is frequently resisted. There is evidence that such resistance occurs in genetic counselling (Kessler, 1989). The findings show that genetic counselling advice seekers stick to their

initial opinions so firmly that some conclude genetic counselling is useless (Kessler, 1989). Some authors believe this depends on why advisees seek genetic advice (Sorenson, Scotch, Swazey, Wertz, & Heeren, 1987). Resisting advice also happens in implementing public policy for controlling health and environmental risks, such as advice to stop smoking, drive less often or use seat belts in the back seat of a car (Flynn, Slovic, & Mertz, 1993; Slovic, 1987, 1993). Resistance to advice in this context can be a result of the experts and the public having different views and perception of risks.

The idea of resistance to advice is consistent with findings from classic research on attitude change (Brehm, 1966; Lewin, 1951), and the notion of resistance to treatment (Harris, 1995), and to advice in therapeutic sessions, suggested by Freud (1953). The literature on attitude change (e.g., Lewin, 1951) views resistance as a natural reaction to attitude change. Lewin's studies (1948) shows that advice is resisted more in non-reciprocal communications, such as in lectures or brochures, than in interactive group communications.

A moderate form of resistance to advice is introduced by the literature of decision-making, which is called *discounting advice* (Harvey & Fischer, 1997; Sorokin, Hayes, & West, 2001), *egocentric discounting* of advice (Yaniv, 2004), or *primacy effect* (Anderson, 1968; Hogarth & Einhorn, 1992). Discounting advice means placing a higher weight on ones' own opinion than on the advisors' opinion (the self/other effect; see Yaniv & Kleinberger, 2000). The more knowledgeable advisees are, the more they discount advice that does not confirm their own opinions (Yaniv & Kleinberger, 2000). Advice even can be further discounted when the person has already made a decision, as compared to when the person has not made any decision (Harvey & Fischer, 1997;

Snizek & Buckley, 1995). In some situations, advisees place about double the weight on their own inclinations than on an advisor's recommendations (Lim & O'Connor, 1995). The weight of advice decreases as its distance from the initial opinion increases. In Yaniv's (2004) research, a low-knowledge group did not exhibit discounting nor did they display a clear pattern in weighting the advice; they seemed to benefit more from the advice.

To clarify the reasons why people resist or discount advice, the literature of decision-making resorts to various types of cognitive explanations, but rarely considers the emotional bases that may be involved in taking or resisting advice. According to the literature, advice discounting is a result of advisees having more information about their own choices, and about the strength of their own opinions, than about those of advisors (Yaniv, 2004). Discounting also can result from *confirmation bias* (Schulz-Hardt, Frey, Luthgens, & Moscovici, 2000), a general preference that people show towards information supportive of their preferred alternative (Frey, 1986; Frey, Schulz-Hardt, & Stahlberg, 1996). Another term for confirmation bias is the *search for dominance* principle, in which people search for the information that agrees with their preferences and ignore contradictory ones in order to reach a point that confirms their own preferred alternative (Montgomery, 1989). Overconfidence, and retrieving evidence from memory consistent with own judgement, are considered to be other factors leading to discounting an advisor's suggestions (Yaniv, 2004). In sum, advisees' use of advice is sensitive to the quality of the advice (Yaniv & Foster, 1995, 1997; Yaniv & Kleinberger, 2000) as well as to advisees' own knowledge (Yaniv, 2004).

However, emotional factors might also play a role in discounting or resistance to

taking advice. The theory of cognitive dissonance (Brehm, 1962; Festinger, 1957, 1964; Wicklund, 1976) addresses the emotional bases of resistance to advice. According to cognitive dissonance theory, exposure to information that may motivate people towards changing a priority or an already made decision creates tension and uncertainty. Avoidance of inconsistency and the need to maintain internal consistency can also create discounting or resistance to contradictory post decision information (Festinger, 1957, 1964). This is also consistent with the idea of *psychological reactance* (Brehm, 1966; Brehm & Brehm, 1981; Jones & Gerard, 1967) and post-decision dissonance (Gerard & White, 1983).

Research has not always supported the idea of discounting advice. Harvey and Fischer (1997) found that when advisees were less experienced than the advisors, advisees accepted advice more than their own preliminary ideas. The larger was the difference between advisee and advisor's levels of experience, the more the advisee accepted the advice (Harvey & Fischer, 1997).

In summary, research on resistance to advice confirms that, for many reasons, advice is often not sought and often ignored. This idea was incorporated in Study 4 which attempted to examine occasions in which participants received advice conflicting with their own preferences. I was especially interested in how the conflicts were resolved – how often participants took the advice (compliance), ignored the advice (resistance), or sought a compromise.

Advice as Social Support vs. Social Pressure

For some researchers, advice is assumed to be equivalent to social support and is even used as an indicator or a measurement of social support. For example, Taylor,

Chatters, and Jackson (1993) developed a measure of kinship support in which the amount of advice received from relatives is one indicator of support among family members. The measure assesses the children's perceptions of family support in the areas of advice and counselling, as well as in other aspects of support such as problem solving and financial aid. To measure the occurrence of unsolicited support, Smith and Goodnow (1999) developed a questionnaire with 35 items describing different supportive situations. About two thirds of the items concern advice and recommendations as a replacement for support, for example, advice on the management of money, advice to get more exercise, and advice to have a medical check-up.

Other researchers frequently use the words *advice*, *help*, and *support* as equivalent or interchangeable, or they mention these concepts together as complementary (e.g., Abel et al., 2001; Harvey & Fischer, 1997). All of these researchers consider advisors as a source of support (e.g., Jonas & Frey, 2003) rather than as people who seek to control their advisees. Harvey and Fischer (1997) show that even knowledgeable and experienced decision-makers took advice from decision-makers who were less knowledgeable than themselves. Harvey and Fischer propose that in such situations people would not reject advice because they consider advice as a kind of help and would rather accept help than reject it.

As the above literature illustrates, some advice is supportive. But not all advice is supportive, at least if support is defined by agreement with the advisee, encouragement, or sympathy. Probably everyone has felt that some advice received was less supportive than critical, or has felt that some advice created an obligation to comply, if only to maintain good relations with the advisor. In short, although supportive advice might

relieve pressure or stress, other advice might increase it.

Most literature in social psychology on social pressure has not examined advice as social pressure, a form of social control. The possibility of advice as a tactic of social control is implied in other literatures such as those in developmental psychology or family studies. For example, the existence of the broad literature on peer pressure (e.g., Elliott & Leonard, 2004; Kiran-Esen, 2003; Lam, 2003; Perrine & Aloise-Young, 2004; Sim & Koh, 2003) implicates advice as a kind of social pressure among peers. Research on policy decision-making, as well, proposes that an advisor's preferences can act as constraints on leaders and their decisions (Haney, Herzberg, & Wilson, 1992).

Buhrmester (1992) suggests a link between advice and pressure from family members in discussing why youth may prefer to discuss their life plans with their siblings in a nondirective and relaxed manner rather than with parents in a judgmental, directive or pressured manner.

Although pressure can accompany advice, its level and extent may vary among cultures. In some cultures advice can be more insistent or demanding than in others. The previously-mentioned study of cultural differences in infant care practices among Maori, Tongan, Samoan, Cook Islands, and Niuean caregivers residing in Auckland, New Zealand reported tensions among some New Zealand-raised Pacific parents caused by traditional and older female relative's involvement in baby feeding practices of young mothers and in their life style. The involvement and advice of these older female relatives sometimes accompanied criticism of young parents, labelling them as being too much impressed by European (Pakeha) childcare and marriage practices (Abel et al., 2001). Both Maori and the New Zealand-raised Pacific mothers shared the feelings of being

restricted by the beliefs, expectations, and the demands, coming from families (Abel et al., 2001).

When advice creates social pressure, it is no longer merely information offered to the advisee. In such situations, advice comes with the advisor's expectation that the advisee should comply with it rather than make another choice. As one of the mothers in the above-mentioned New Zealand study said, "Although I didn't believe what [my mother] told me, I tried to comply with both ways [mother and doctor], just in case something happened and [my mother] blamed me" (Abel et al., 2001, p. 1139).

Reading the literature on advice as social support vs. pressure itself supported my interest in learning how much pressure people felt from advice received. I expected both cultural and sex differences in pressure (explained below), as well as differences related to the number of advisors and their relation to the advisee. I was able to examine these differences in Studies 1, 2 and 4.

Unsolicited Advice

As previously noted, most decision-making research on advice is conducted under the assumption that people want advice and seek it (e.g., Jonas & Frey, 2003; Sniezek et al., 2004; Sniezek & Van Swol, 2001) before making a decision (e.g., Heath & Gonzalez, 1995; Jonas & Frey, 2003; Sniezek et al., 2004). From this perspective, advisors are neutral sources of information and their function is to communicate their knowledge to improve the quality of an advisee's decision (Budescu & Rantilla, 2000; Jungermann, 1999).

Accordingly, there is usually some form of contract between advisor and advisee, whether written or implied (Rousseau, 1995; An implied or psychological contract is an

informal and implicit understanding between advisor and advisee that defines acceptable behaviour; see Robinson, 1996; Robinson, Kraatz, & Rousseau, 1994). In many circumstances, the willingness of advisee to receive advice is shown by payment of money to buy it (Redd, 2002).

However, much advice is given without request, and much advice is given after a decision has been made. Smith and Goodnow (1999), for example, examined age differences in experiences of unsolicited support, including offering practical help, advice, and recommendations without being asked. Participants reported the occurrence of unsolicited advice, its affective quality, and their reactions to it. Older adults reported receiving fewer amounts of unsolicited help and advice as compared to younger adults, but the same level of unpleasant feelings. At all ages, unsolicited support was regarded as more unpleasant than pleasant. Smith and Goodnow note that this unpleasantness can be explained by a perception among advisees that unsolicited help and advice implies the advisee has no competence.

There is little research about different cognitive and emotional reactions to unsolicited advice, and about how these reactions might differ from those of requested advice. In addition, almost nothing is known about the influence of advice after a decision is made, as often occurs when someone makes a big decision and seeks advice about the best way to implement the decision. Studies 1, 2 and 4 asked participants about their solicited and unsolicited advice, allowing me to look for differences in the reactions of participants to these two kinds of advice.

Interpersonal Factors Affecting an Advisor's Influence

The influence of an advisor on an advisee is affected by factors associated with

personal characteristics and capabilities of both advisor and advisee. A higher level of influence from advisor on the advisee can be defined in terms of the greater weight that an advisee gives to the advice of advisors (Birnbaum & Stegner, 1979; Birnbaum & Mellers, 1983) or in terms of an increased frequency of advice taking (Sniezek et al., 2004).

The *expertise* of an advisor -- usually defined by the training of an advisor or by the quality and accuracy of his/her advice -- is an important factor that often increases the influence of an advisor on an advisee (Sniezek et al., 2004). Increased influence is often justified by experts' claims of better advice. However, contradictory to these observations, Harvey, Harries, and Fischer (2000) did not find a relationship between quality of advice and the probability that advice is taken and used by an advice seeker.

Trust is also influential in accepting advice. Trust involves risk or vulnerability on the part of the trustor (Moorman, Zaltman, & Deshpande, 1992). The higher the level of trust in an advisor, the more confidence an advisee expresses in the advisor and the more his/her advice is followed (Sniezek & Van Swol, 2001). According to Barber (1983), trust accompanies the expectation or perception that the person is both competent and reliable and will keep the partner's interests in mind.

Trust can be associated with the advisee's judgment of the ability, confidence, and expertise of an advisor, and with previous knowledge of or interactions between the two persons. If trust is associated with an advisor's expression and elaboration of advice (two indicators of confidence), then trust predicts quality of a decision (e.g., Sniezek & Van Swol, 2001). In contrast, when trust is due to a prior relationship between advisor and advisee, it does not predict decision quality (e.g., Sniezek & Van Swol, 2001). Even so,

there are studies that do not show a relationship between trust and advice taken (e.g., Sniezek & Van Swol, 2001).

The *confidence* of an advisor is another factor that influences advice taking. Confidence is the strength of an advisee's belief that an advisor's opinion is appropriate and accurate (Peterson & Pitz, 1988; Salvadori, Van Swol, & Sniezek, 2001; Zarnoth & Sniezek, 1999). The confidence of the advisor can act as a cue to his or her expertise and subsequently raise the advisee's tendency to accept the advice (Sniezek & Buckley, 1995). The confidence of an advisor can even influence an advisee to overweigh advice (Budescu et al., 2003). Consequently, an advisor's confidence is thought to be the best predictor of the advisee's tendency to accept advice (Van Swol & Sniezek, 2002). The positive influence of confidence on advice taking can happen regardless of advisors' actual accuracy or ability on the task (Kuhn & Sniezek, 1996; Sniezek, 1992; Sniezek & Buckley, 1991, 1995; Sniezek & Henry, 1989, 1990; Trafimow & Sniezek, 1994).

An advisee tends to form an impression of an advisor very fast; this impression changes quickly towards the worse when the quality of advice declines, and slowly towards the better when the quality of advice improves (Rothbart, & Park, 1986; Yaniv & Kleinberger, 2000). This phenomenon is called *trust asymmetry* (Slovic, 1993) or the *negativity effect* (Fiske, 1980; Hamilton & Huffman, 1971). A possible explanation for the negativity effect is that a negative piece of information about a person can be perceived as more diagnostic than a positive one (Skowronski & Carlston, 1989). Negative information is cognitively more salient and emotionally more loaded. So it usually receives greater weight in judgment (Slovic, 1993).

Paying money to the advisor can also influence taking advice. Laboratory research

showed people who bought expert's advice took more of it, and subsequently made more accurate decisions, as compared to those who were given advice free of charge (Sniezek et al., 2004). But advisees did not take more advice when they bought it from non-expert advisors. Payment of fees can be a motivator that raises the effort and concentration of an advisee in evaluating and assimilating advice (Dalal, 2001). However, payment is not always a requirement for advice to be taken (Yaniv & Kleinberger, 2000).

To summarize, many features of the social relationship between advisor and advisee influences how advice is received. I wanted to extend these findings in my own work by addressing several questions related to the advisor-advisee relationship. For example, from whom do people prefer to request advice in their daily lives? Who gives them advice, requested or not? What kind of advice do people give? What factors determine whether advice will be taken? What happens when advisees don't take advice they receive? Finally, are there cultural differences in the answers to these questions? I tried to answer these questions in my four studies.

Individual Differences in Seeking and Taking Advice

Seeking, receiving, and taking advice varies among different groups of people. Among many sources of variation in advice taking tendencies are gender, age, social position, and birth order.

Gender is shown to be a factor contributing to differences in advice seeking. Research shows that when men need advice, they tend to seek it from authorities with credentials, but when women need advice they seek it from people in situations similar to their own (Blais & Weber, 2001). Related studies of gender differences in communicative behaviours suggests that men show more disagreement and women show more positive

communicative and social behaviours towards others, including advisors (Carli & Bukatko, 2000). Some examples of the positive behaviours females show when communicating with others are empathy, equality of status, encouragement to speak, and speaking with others about their interests, rather than focusing on their own interests (Carli & Bukatko, 2000). Also, females are known to use mitigating language, such as “let’s”, and hedge more than males. Males are found to issue more directives, such as “Don’t” (Goodwin, 1990, 1997; Mulac, Studley, & Blau, 1990; Sachs, 1987).

In a study of individualism-collectivism in Australia, women more than men perceived themselves as being emotionally related to others (Kashima & Hardie, 2000). Calkins (1896) proposed that an essential part of the self is its relatedness and connection to others. She believes that without relationships there is no self. Similarly, many theories developed in mid-20th century (e.g., Miller, 1976) describe women’s self as developed and expressed in relation to and affiliation with others (Bohan, 2002). Gilligan (1982) generalized this theory to women’s cognitive functioning and moral development, which she called the *morality of care*. Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986) also describe women’s moral development and sense of justice, as being relational. A consequence of women’s relationalism is studied by research on gender differences in individualism vs. collectivism, suggesting that females are more likely than are males to consider others and to seek advice when making a decision (Kashima et al., 1995).

Studies of advice in sibling relationships show that sisters exchange advice with each other more frequently than do brothers and mixed gender pairs (Tucker, Barber & Eccles, 1997). In general, females receive more advice from their mothers and siblings than males do (Tucker et al., 1997). This finding is in line with Adler’s (2001) suggestion

that females are associated to nurturing behaviours, such as caring for the families. Males receive less and lower quality advice from siblings and report less satisfaction with advice given (Tucker et al., 1997). Gender differences among siblings in advice seeking can be explained by the higher level of competency of females at intimate exchanges (Reis, 1986; Wheeler, Reis, & Nezlek, 1983).

Age is another correlate of advice seeking. A study of age differences in seeking advice showed that older adolescents prefer to seek professional advice more than younger ones do (Lewis, 1981). Also, studies of African American families show that children receive advice, problem solving encouragement, and financial assistance from family more frequently than do their parents or grandparents (Lamborn & Nguyen, 2004; Taylor et al., 1993).

Developmental psychologists have studied advice seeking in different stages of life, including adolescence. A few studies indicate that adolescents discuss life plans with parents (e.g., Barber, 1994; Hunter, 1985; Youniss & Smollar, 1985) but, when adolescents are not satisfied with their relationship with parents, they tend to seek advice about personal and future issues more from their peers (Fuligni & Eccles, 1993) or from their siblings than from their parents (Lamb, 1982). Although siblings are not as close to each other in adolescence than at earlier ages, adolescent siblings still serve as confidants and sources of advice (Buhrmester, 1992; Tucker et al., 1997).

Personality traits may play a role in how people react to advice. However, the only aspect of personality that is studied in relationship with advice is *autonomy* (Koestner et al., 1999). Autonomy is an important feature of social development. An optimal level of autonomy overcomes feelings of *shame* and *doubt* and leads to

development of a sense of *free will* that does not interfere with free will of others. Lack of a sense of autonomy is related to malfunctioning of the *will* in the form of excessive internal control as shown by compulsive-obsessive behaviours or *wilful impulsivity* (Erikson, 1975). Two different kinds of need for autonomy have been discussed. The first one, which is called *reactive* autonomy (Koestner et al., 1999), considers autonomy as a reflexive opposition to or rejection of any outside influence (Murray, 1938). As opposed to the first one, the second definition of autonomy, which is called *reflective* autonomy (Koestner et al., 1999), considers autonomy as reflective and rational evaluation and openness to options. Koestner et al. (1999) found that reflective autonomy has a positive relationship with taking the advice of credible experts, but reactive autonomy has a negative relationship with taking advice.

Social status, as well, can be a source of variation in advice seeking. To study the effect of upward social mobility on families in Amman, Jordan, Idris (1985) measured visits and telephone calls exchanged among family members, advice and decision-making dependence, financial assistance, gift giving, and attitudes toward strong family ties. The results showed that, although the number of visits, telephone calls, and gifts did not decrease after upward mobility, participants decreased their dependence on relatives for advice and financial assistance. Those who had weaker religious beliefs and those from urban areas showed a lower level of exchange of advice and financial assistance and less desire for family ties.

Studies that compared seeking advice from parents found that children generally rely more often on their mothers than on their fathers for advice. There are several possible explanations for this. First, more fathers work; thus they are less available to

provide advice (Barber, 1994). Second, in divorced and troubled families, non-custodial fathers are less often than custodial fathers available for advice and discussion about school and careers (Barber, 1994; Hetherington, 1988; Jenkins, 1992; Smollar & Youniss, 1985).

Research shows that there is little or no relationship between the importance of people and how often they are asked for advice (Wilks, 1986). For example, although American adolescents ranked their parents, especially their mothers, as the most important people in their lives, they reported not talking about their problems with their parents as frequently as they did with close friends (Wilks, 1986). Parents' advice was perceived as most important in certain future-oriented decisions, such as educational, vocational, and financial decisions and the choice of a future spouse. But, for casual and current decisions, such as clothes to wear, movies to watch, club memberships, hobbies, and personal reading, friends' opinions were more valued, and female friends of girls considered friends as more important than parents for advice on personal problems (Wilks, 1986). Similarly, Brittain's findings (1963, 1967) showed that adolescents would rely on parents' advice for long term, important, and difficult decisions, while friends' advice was sought more for short-term, less important and less difficult decisions. Consistent with Wilks' and Brittain's findings, Brendgen et al. (2005) suggest that, as the need for autonomy increases in early adolescence, the parent-child relationship becomes weaker and the peer relationship becomes much influential than before.

The self reports of second- and first-born adolescents show that, compared to first-borns, the second-borns receive more advice about life plans and personal problems, are more satisfied with sibling support, and are more influenced by their siblings (Tucker

et al., 1997). This suggests more power or a higher status for the older siblings in the sibling relationship, which could be the result of older siblings having more information, experience and resources to provide younger siblings with advice and emotional support.

The long list of individual differences in preferred advisors, sampled above, informs me that it is important to learn about cultural differences in preferred advisors. Cultural differences may affect everything from the status of prospective advisors to the level of autonomy of advisees. Studies 1, 2 and 4 gathered information about the social relationship between advisees and their requested advisors in order to explore both cultural and sex differences.

Advice Across Social Contexts and Cultures

The social context of advice is another important factor influencing advice seeking and giving behaviours. Social context can be as small and specific as regional location or social structure (Rogers, Hassell, Noyce, & Harris, 1998), or as large and general as the country and culture in which advice is exchanged (Taylor et al., 2004). Research in health shows that community climate, including a community's knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes towards the health issues and health agencies, influences patients' decisions about the necessity of medical advice seeking, whom to seek for advice, and decisions about selection, acceptance, rejection, or modification of medical advice (Green & Roberts, 1974). The locale of pharmacies has been shown to be related to the nature and quality of medical advice given by pharmacist to patients (Rogers et al., 1998). In poor urban areas, advice seeking is less common than in rural areas, the topic of advice is mostly related to the expenses of medication; only a small percentage of customers seek advice on medication or health problems. In rural areas, more advice was related to

medication and health issues.

The context of family also influences family advice. Among non-divorced families, father's and siblings' advice is used by children more often than among divorced families (Tucker, Barber, & Eccles, 2001). In both family contexts there is a positive correlation between children receiving advice from a parent (and in some cases from a sibling) and their optimism about future life plans (Tucker et al., 2001).

Advice giving and taking is influenced by culture as well (Bauer & Wright, 1996). Components of culture such as beliefs, morals, laws, and habits (Cashmore, 1984) influence the meanings of social concepts, values, and behaviours, including concepts of advice and the behaviours that lead to or flow from these concepts. For example, American culture emphasizes autonomous and independent behaviours of infants and views directive-ness and controlling attempts as indicators of parental mistrust, insensitivity, and a desire to dominate. In contrast, in Korean culture, infants are viewed as passive and dependent (Choi, 1995) and directive parenting is considered the norm. Similarly, Chinese tend to view the ideal self as embedded in interdependent social relationships rather than as an independent, self-sufficient entity; obedience and respect for others are valued more highly in China than are self-esteem or self-awareness (Chao, 1995). The Chinese believe that children learn best with instruction, and view directive-ness as reflecting the notion of *guan*, a complex idea that means to discipline or care for and love simultaneously (Tsang, 1998; Chao, 1995).

Such differences in cultural values and concepts can produce differences among people of those cultures in giving and seeking advice. For example, parents who believe that children should be compliant and rely on external assistance to learn might be

directive and give more advice than parents who believe children should be independent (Johnston & Wong, 2002). Studies of cultural differences in advice taking showed that American mothering is often adaptive and individually fashioned and that advice is mainly sought from experts and health agencies, but Korean mothering is highly ritualistic, relying more on societal rules than individual plans. In Korean culture professional advice is sought less for child rearing than is folklore (Johnston & Wong, 2002). A study of cultural differences among American and Chinese students in conforming to parents' advice and expectations about academic achievements showed similar results (Chen & Lan, 1998). Chinese students, compared to American students, showed more willingness to accept their parents' advice and to care more about fulfilling parents' expectations (Chen & Lan, 1998).

Differences between Jordanian and Israeli preferences for medical treatment showed Israelis prefer advice, instructions, and medications, but Jordanians emphasize medications only, especially injections (Al-Krenawi, Graham, Ophir, & Kandah, 2001). Both groups seek advice from a wide range of traditional healers. Israeli and Jordanian patients perceive the healers as a source of advice and authority (Al-Krenawi et al., 2001). Authors (Barakat, 1993; Bilu, 1980; Sharabi, 1975) suggest that attributions of authority or power to healers can stem from patriarchal cultures. I suggest that the same attribution can occur in hierarchical cultures. Studies 3 and 4 examined whether the nature and style of advice, and the resolution of conflicts arising from advice, are related to the hierarchical nature of cultures.

Bol (1989) examined differences between two groups of Soviet immigrants in the United States, recent ones and those living in US for five years or more, regarding

expectations from counselling and psychotherapy. Results showed that both groups expect direct advice from the therapist, whom they assume to be an expert. But the newcomers do not expect the therapist as advisor to be facilitative, trustworthy, tolerant, or accepting. In contrast, long-term Soviet immigrants expected the therapist as advisor to be accepting, trustworthy, genuine, and tolerant.

Beasley (1998) also showed cultural differences in preferred sources of advice. Comparing New Zealand Europeans (Pakehas) to Maori, Beasley showed that Pakehas prefer Western biomedical styles of health and illness as sources of advice, greatly emphasize prenatal care, postnatal midwifery care and baby services, and they have weak family support networks. Maori parents who lived with, or were closely linked to, extended family received considerable support and advice from female family members (Beasley, 1998). Like the Maori, Chinese mothers judged advice of family members on how to raise the children as a very important support that can ease the difficulties of parenting (Johnston & Wong, 2002). These cultural differences in sources of advice and support are likely reflective of the importance of the extended family in advice received. Study 2 will examine the role of extended family in advice.

Aarons and Jenkins (2002) studied the preferred sources of information and advice on sexual decisions among groups of young Latinos and African-Americans. Latinos were more likely than African-Americans to view parents as influential in children's sexual behaviour, but less likely to rely on them for information and advice. In general, the Latino youth viewed parents as unapproachable, too strict, out of touch with their reality, or more apt to scold rather than to discuss and advise. This finding complements the results of a focus group of Latinos in which parents commented that

they felt uncomfortable and reluctant to advise and discuss openly about sex with their children because they had not had such discussions with their own parents when they were young (National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy, 2001). Many of parents seemed to link teen sexuality with disobedience and disrespect, and reported that they themselves simply obeyed and respected their own parents when they were told to refrain from sex until marriage. This made them think that parent-child discussions about sex are unnecessary (Raine et al., 1999). In the same study, the Latino teens complained that many of their parents were unavailable to discuss sex due to strict rules, cultural taboos, or a heavy work schedule (Aarons & Jenkins, 2002). The teens also reported a strict socialization of girls within the household as compared to the permissive socialization of boys (Aarons & Jenkins, 2002).

Young Latinos who had unapproachable parents turned to other adults or older siblings who were viewed as more receptive. Several Latino males spoke of getting information and guidance from older siblings or from friends and peers both in the street and in school. All youth preferred clinics to schools for sex advice, education, and related services. African- American female participants were more likely to ask for advice from friends or a female relative such as their mother or sister, about sex and contraceptives. Latinos preferred not to ask their friends or peers for advice on these topics, as their friends might not know more than themselves, or because their friends might talk about their personal matters with other people. Latinos preferred knowledgeable adults (doctors, nurses, counsellors) as sources of advice and information. Those with positive experiences with sex education classes attributed the goodness of the classes for seeking sexual advice to the directness and openness of the educators, validity of information, and

confidentiality (Aarons & Jenkins, 2002).

Very few studies have addressed cultural differences in advice giving. Among general practitioners working in Scotland, those who were trained in India differed than those trained in the UK in providing advice about contraceptives for the women under age 16 years (Sengupta & Smith, 1998). Practitioners trained in India, being reluctant to advice about contraceptives, were significantly less likely to offer contraceptives even when they gave advice on contraceptive use (Sengupta & Smith, 1998). Similarly, British and Polish nurses differ in how they gave advice (Whyte, Motyka, Motyka, Wsolek, & Tune, 1997). Although only 16 percent of the Polish nurses offered referral to a doctor, 60 percent of the British nurses advised the patients to go to a doctor. These differences may be a result of existence of a closer working relationship in Britain among the nurses and the doctors, or because the boundaries of professional responsibilities in Britain are more broadly defined.

In sum, although research on cultural differences in advice taking is limited, it does suggest that there are large differences in the people advisees seek for advice – especially differences in seeking advice from parents or relatives and friends. Extending this research, Study 2 explored Iranian-Canadian cultural differences in the sources of advice. Studies of cultural differences in the content of advice and reactions to advice given are even more limited, but what is reported suggests that the differences are also significant. I explored these differences in Studies 1, 2, 3, and 4.

Perhaps the greatest limitation of emerging research on cultural differences in advice is that it lacks a conceptual framework in which to interpret the differences. The research describes cultural differences but rarely attempts to explain them. Why would

some cultures show strong preferences for seeking advice from parents while other culture would show preferences for peers? Why would some cultures be more directive in the advice given than other cultures would? These and many other questions about reasons or causes of cultural differences in advice can only be answered in the light of one or more theoretical perspectives.

Theories of Culture Differences: Implications for Advice

Triandis (2004, p. 29-30) defines culture as including "...what worked in the history of the society—tools, concepts, ideologies, norms, values, prejudices, standard operating procedures, unstated assumption, patterns of sampling information from the environment—that most members of the society teach to the next generation. This teaching is done by example or explicitly. What has worked is perceived as having helped the society to adjust to its environment. Elements of culture are shared among those who speak a particular dialect, and can communicate with each other because they live in the same time period and geographic region." His definition has several implications for cross cultural differences in advice.

What differences? The cross-cultural literature presents many theories of differences among cultures, but none of the theories included culture differences in advice. My dissertation attempted to uncover the link between features of advice and three distinctions found in prominent cross-cultural theories of Triandis, of Schwartz, and of Hofstede (Vinken, Soeters, & Ester, 2004). These cross-cultural researchers have tried to categorize cultures based on what they believe are basic characteristics or values, called *dimensions of cultures*— Triandis (2004) also calls them *cultural syndromes*— and attempt to use these dimensions to explain the similarities and differences among

different countries. Their strategy is similar to that of psychologists trying to classify personality differences along fundamental dimensions, with, it seems, similar mixed effects. For example, Schwartz (1994), Hofstede (2001), and Triandis (1988, 1994, 1995) have collectively introduced 18 dimensions, values, or features on which cultures vary. Some of these dimensions are high-low uncertainty avoidance, long term-short term orientation, complexity-simplicity, universalism-particularism, and liberalism-conservatism. Many of these dimensions are correlated (Triandis, 2004), revealing considerable overlap between them. I shall concentrate on three dimensions I believe are most relevant to my studies of advice in Iran and Canada: *individualism-collectivism*, *masculinity-femininity* and *hierarchy-egalitarianism*.

Individualism-Collectivism

The first dimension of culture that guided my predictions about advice is individualism-collectivism – a cultural dimension that has been studied more than any other (Triandis, 1994). Individualism-collectivism is a consequence of independency vs. interdependency of selves (Vinken et al., 2004), and is strongly linked to a view of the self as free and autonomous vs. connected to or inseparable from others. Schwartz (1994) uses a similar term, *independent* vs. *dependent*, meaning voluntary relationships vs. feeling part of community and a lack of autonomy. The tendencies towards individualism and collectivism are evident in people's parenting practices and the way they interact with their children. For example, in individualist cultures mothers detach or withdraw themselves from the child's reality, so that the child can shape an autonomous reality, but collectivist mothers do the opposite (Hagticibasi, 1997).

In individualistic cultures people have loose social attachments; in collectivist cultures they are strongly attached and loyal to support groups such as extended families. While individualist cultures are tolerant of others deviating from cultural norms and have fewer rules about conforming to social norms, collectivist cultures have many rules for controlling people to respect social norms. Individualistic cultures emphasize the autonomous self; behaviour is motivated by self gratification and personal gain. Hofstede (2001) proposes that individualistic societies emphasize self-expression, that cold climate is related to individualism, and that population density is related to collectivism. North Americans seem to be classic examples of individualist cultures.

In contrast to individualistic cultures, collectivist cultures emphasize the views, needs, and values of the in-group; the behaviour of in-group members is motivated by adherence to social norms, meaning in life comes through social relationships, parent child relationships take priority over peer relationships (Hynie, n.d.) tradition and obedience are respected and expected, and the consequences for not conforming are great. A meta-analysis of the replications of Solomon Asch's (1956) studies of conformity in collectivist cultures (Bond & Smith, 1996) reveals a stronger conformity in collectivist cultures (Triandis, 1994). Collectivism produces many rules, norms, and ideas about what is correct behaviour in different situations; in collectivist cultures, the violation of social norms more likely is followed by negative reactions of others and by social punishments including death (Triandis, 1994). According to Triandis, humans in more collectivist cultures are more likely to learn, cultivate, and reproduce collectivist themes such as popular expressions or sayings. Asia, Africa, South America, and the Middle East offer numerous examples of collectivist cultures.

The shaping of self by culture also has consequences for experiencing emotions. The way humans view the self influences the conditions in which emotions arise, as well as the type of emotion experienced and the intensity and frequency of emotion (Kitayama & Markus, 1999). In this perspective, emotion is a social phenomenon shaped by people's cognition and their ways of understanding and viewing the self, and this cognition and understanding are in turn shaped by culture (Rosaldo, 1984). Indeed, Lutz (1998) views emotion as a purely social and cultural phenomenon, and suggests that emotion is not natural; rather it is an entirely cultural and interpersonal notion. Research also highlights gender differences in experiencing and expressing emotion. There is evidence that males have less insight and ability than do females in labelling their emotions (Levant, 2003). Because of the higher rate of prevalence of this deficit among men than women, Levant calls it *normative male alexithymia*.

To show the variations of emotional reactions among people of different cultures, Kitayama and Markus (1999) make a distinction between two types of emotions that are experienced differently by individualist and collectivist selves. The first type, called *ego-focused emotion*, is experienced differently than the second type of emotions called *other-focused emotion*. Anger, guilt, and frustration are examples of the ego-focused emotions; shame and sympathy are examples of the other-focused emotions.

Individuals with independent selves preserve and assert their autonomous independent self by learning how effectively to experience and express ego-focused emotions. Those with interdependent selves preserve and assert their interdependent self by learning how effectively to experience and express other-focused emotions, which subsequently restrain the free expression of ego-focused emotions so as to foster

connectedness to others. The results of a cross-cultural study on emotions showed that Americans reported experiencing ego-focused emotions (such as anger, sadness, and disgust) more frequently and for a longer duration than did Japanese (Matsomoto, Kudoh, Scheherer, & Wallbott, 1988).

Cross-cultural researchers (Rothbaum, Weisz & Snyder, 1982) have introduced two concepts, *primary* vs. *secondary control*, as outcomes of individualism-collectivism. Primary control means changing one's situation to fit one's wishes, and it is especially seen in individualist cultures. Secondary control means changing the self to fit the situation typically by controlling the psychological consequences of the situation, and it is especially seen in collectivist cultures (Rothbaum et al., 1982). Research comparing the need for the two types of control among Americans and Japanese showed that Japanese were inclined to show secondary control more than were Americans. Americans not only showed primary control more often than did Japanese, but also disliked secondary control-related behaviours. Rothbaum et al. concluded that, whereas Americans construct their sense of self through social influence, Asians do so through social adjustment.

Other authors have introduced concepts similar to primary and secondary control. Primary control is equivalent to *intellectual autonomy* in Schwartz's list of cultural values, and is negatively related to social characteristics that Schwartz (1994) named *preservation* and *fitting in*. Triandis (2004) introduced a similar concept called *active-passive* cultures. In active cultures, individuals take initiative, are competitive and action-oriented, emphasize self-fulfillment, and consistent with the definition of primary control people try to change their environment to fit themselves. In passive cultures, people are

more cooperative and concerned with getting along with others, and change themselves to fit their environment.

Research has documented the predominance of collectivism in Iran and individualism in Canada (e.g., Hofstede, 1999, 2001). In his famous “IBM Study” in 1972, Hofstede (2001) reports measures of individualism-collectivism from more than 50 countries. He found that Iran scored 41 out of 100 on individualism while Canada scored 80. In that study, Hofstede concluded that Iran is a collective culture. Although during the last three decades Iran has undergone a political revolution and many social changes (probably towards becoming less collectivist and more individualist than before), my observations of both countries make me believe that Canada is still much more individualistic than is Iran, and Iran is much more collectivist than is Canada.

Unfortunately, there has been no research in Iran since Hofstede’s work examining the individualism-collectivism of the country – in part because of restrictions on social research. However, the prevalence of collectivism in contemporary Iran is supported by Iranian authors who document the large size of Iranian families, the emphasis on family and existence of strong emotional family ties traditional values, the emphasis on ritual, and the pressure for young people to excel academically in order to improve the image of their family (e.g., Azadarmaki & Bahar, 2006; Hatami, 2007, Khodayarifard, Rehm, & Khodayarifard, 2007; Mortazavi, 2006; Yeganeh, 2007). In addition, measures of trust and cooperation among in-groups and out-groups (indicants of collectivism) showed Iranians to be higher on all measures than were Americans (Buchan, Grimalda, Brewer & Foddy, 2007).

The shortage of empirical measurements of individualism-collectivism in the literature is not limited to Iranian culture. Surprisingly, the literature also lacks such measurements of Canadian culture. Cross-cultural researchers have mostly relied on the findings of Hofstede's original study in 1972 to support their argument that Canada is individualistic, and I shall too. I should note, however, that waves of immigrants have probably made Canada much less culturally homogeneous (which is why I excluded data from Canadian immigrants in my studies).

Based on currently available evidence that Iranians are more collectivist than are Canadians (who, in turn, I assume, are more individualistic than are Iranians), I derived several predictions about cultural differences in various aspects of advice, and tested them in one or more of my four studies. The predictions are discussed in more detail at the beginning of each study. Below is a sample of them.

- Reflecting the autonomy of individualistic cultures, Canadian participants will report making more of their own decisions than will Iranian participants (tested in Study 1).
- Reflecting the interdependency of collectivist cultures, Iranian participants will report receiving more advice than will Canadians. Consistent with collectivist desires to do what others expect, Iranians will request more advice about their decisions than will Canadians and will more frequently report complying with the advice given. Consistent with the collectivist emphasis on enforcing rules and norms, Iranians will also report receiving more unrequested advice (Studies 1 and 2).

- The larger family size and closer family networks in collectivist cultures such as Iran, combined with the increased tendency to request and give advice (see above) will lead Iranian family members (including extended family) to give a higher proportion of requested and unrequested advice than will Canadian family members. Canadian participants will receive a higher proportion of advice from peers, including friends (Study 2).
- Because collectivist cultures emphasize secondary control (changing the self to suit the situation by conformity to social norms and expectations) while individualist cultures emphasize primary control (changing one's situation to fit one's wishes), Iranians will give more advice to exercise secondary control to solve personal problems, while Canadians will give more advice to exercise primary control. More specifically, Iranians will give more advice to change themselves or tolerate their situation than will Canadians. Canadians, in turn, will give more advice to change their situation or seek a compromise than will Iranians (Study 3).
- In line with previous research showing more ego-focused emotions in individualistic cultures than in collectivist cultures (e.g., Matsomoto et al, 1988), I expect Iranians will express fewer ego-focused emotions than will Canadians. This will result in Iranians reporting less pressure from advice and fewer emotions when they receive conflict-inducing advice (Studies 1, 2, and 4).

- As collectivists, Iranians are expected to react more harshly to violations of norms or expectations than are more individualistic Canadians. This will result in Iranians reporting more intense conflicts when advice is not taken (Study 4).

Masculinity-Femininity

The second dimension of culture I believe is relevant to my dissertation hypotheses is called (somewhat misleadingly) *masculinity vs. femininity*. In so-called high masculine cultures gender roles, values, and stereotypes differ considerably between the sexes. Masculine cultures favour gender inequality, supposing males to be assertive and females to be nurturing. So-called feminine cultures emphasize the opposite values of masculine cultures, and more equality between the sexes (Hofstede, 2001).

Hofstede's (1999, 2001) 1972 studies of dimensions of cultures around the world showed an average score of 43 for Iran's level of masculinity, while an average of 52 for Canadians. The world average masculinity in his study was 50.2. This shows that Canadians were modestly more masculine than Iranians. But Hofstede's research was done at the peak of the Shah's regime when Western reforms were common. Maybe those findings were valid at the time that Hofstede conducted his study. But following the 1979 Islamic Revolution, conservative changes wiped out most equality of the sexes, and double standards returned. Today, for example, dress restrictions are greater for women than for men, husbands retain custody of children after divorce, men and women are segregated on busses (women sit in the back), and women require the consent of their husband for medical operations or for travel abroad. More relevant to my research, Iranian boys are allowed considerable personal freedom as they grow up, but girls are strictly raised to be docile and submissive, and their behavior is closely monitored and

controlled (see Friedl, 1997; Hojat et al, 1999; Kian, 1995). This is consistent with the traditional Iranian saying that “Women carry the reputation of the family.”

In contrast to the increasing division of sex roles and expectations in Iran, Canada has experienced the opposite. It is now illegal in Canada, for example, to discriminate on the basis of sex (this is not true in Iran), and “gender neutral” child rearing practices have become increasingly common (see Arnup, 1994). These cultural differences in the trajectory of double standards suggest that advice will show a similar bifurcation. In particular, I expect sex differences in several measure of advice among Iranians participants, but no significant sex differences in these measures among Canadian participants. For example, I predict that, compared to Iranian males, Iranian females will report making fewer of their own decisions, requesting more advice, receiving more advice (solicited and unsolicited), resolving more conflicts from advice, and showing more conformity to the advisors when advice conflicts with their own wishes. I also predict that Canadian males and females will show no significant differences in these measures.

Hierarchy-Egalitarianism

The third dimension of culture that I believe is relevant to my dissertation is called *hierarchy-egalitarianism* or, in Schwartz’s terminology: *inequality vs. equality* (1994). A roughly equivalent term for *hierarchical-egalitarian* is *power difference* or *distance* (Triandis, 2004). This dimension emphasizes status differences in roles and resources, power, and achievement. In hierarchical cultures power is distributed unequally in families and society; the differences are also evident in teacher-student and elderly-young relationships, and in language systems (for example, *vous* vs. *tu* in French,

shoma vs. tu in Farsi). In these societies, children are socialized to depend on their parents as authorities and are not questioned (Hofstede, 2001). An egalitarian culture (i.e., low in power distance) has the opposite characteristics of a hierarchical culture.

Researchers have noted the existence of hierarchical institutions (e.g., families and organizations) in Iran (Alavi, 2003; Mortazavi, 2006; Yeganeh, 2007). Hofstede (1999, 2001) found that the Iranian average level of power distance ($M = 58$) was somewhat higher than the world average of 55, while Canada's was noticeably lower ($M = 39$). These findings lead me to conclude that Iran is more hierarchical and authoritarian than is Canada. The conclusion allowed me to predict that Iranians will give more directive advice than will Canadians who will, in turn, give less directive advice.

Measuring Dimensions of Cultures

Kashima and Hardie (2000) rely on the above mentioned characteristics of individualism and collectivism to construct relevant items on their scale. They define the concept of relationalism as one's ties with specific others and the characteristics shared with significant others. The items of RIC scale (Cronbach's alphas = 0.72-0.81) that measure relationalism suggest that relationalism and collectivism are related, but collectivism emphasizes group loyalty and interdependency of self and groups, while relationalism is interdependency between self and individuals (Kashima & Hardie, 2000). For example, the RIC scale asks participants how much they agree with the following three items: I would teach my children (a) To know themselves and develop their own potential as a unique individual, (b) To be caring to their friends and attentive to their needs, and (c) To be loyal to the group to which they belong. Items (a), (b), and (c) of the above three items respectively measure individualism, relationalism, and collectivism.

I have generated predictions about cultural differences in advice based on the assumptions that cultures can be located on a set of features or dimensions, that the extremes of each dimension can be defined by sets of observable characteristics, and that the three dimensions that I chose to study are related to differences in advice. Although I used the RIC Scale to estimate Iranian-Canadian differences in relationalism, collectivism, and individualism, there is reason to be sceptical of this scale and similar ones, all of which try to locate cultures on dimensions. It is noteworthy that this dimensional approach to cultural is not without controversies. While some researchers question the methods that dimensionalists use to assess the dimensions of cultures, some others question fundamentally the dimensionalist approach to the cultures. To assess the dimensions of cultures, cultural specialists rely on rating-scales (e.g., Cross et al., 2000) such as the RIC Scale I employed in my research. But Heine, Lehman, Peng, and Greenholtz (2002) found that cross-cultural measurements using rating scales could not reveal that East Asians are more collectivist than North Americans, though cultural experts agree that East Asians are. This may happen because people in different cultures impute different meanings to rating scale items, or because people in some cultures are more accustomed to answering the rating scales, or because people in some cultures' answers are more likely to give socially desirable or politically safe answers. Triandis, McCusker, and Hui (1990) acknowledge a need for employing measurement instruments that use a combination of different methodologies.

Among other cross-cultural experts who question the dimensionalist approach to cultures is Gregg (2005), who studied different cultures among Muslims in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). His research lead him to conclude that what many

American studies introduce as the core of cultural psychology (i.e., how self-conceptions are shaped by cognitive schemas) does not apply to the study of psychology of MENA. He argued that: (a) Western studies of cultures have paid too much attention to cognition and too little attention to emotion and interpersonal relationships that are important aspects of MENA cultures; (b) most studies that emphasize the individualism-collectivism dimension of cultures are especially inappropriate to the MENA area which, in Gregg's opinion, has strong individualist and collectivist tendencies simultaneously; and that (c) little research is done in MENA area. His research in MENA area guided him to choose a cultural approach that suggest prevalence of "*multiple or hybrid identities*" (Gregg, 2005, p. 9) in MENA cultures. He suggests that, in MENA cultures, men vs. women, old vs. young, urban vs. rural, educated vs. illiterates, and religious vs. nonreligious, are seen to have different features. He also suggests that *family* is an important dimension of the MENA cultures. I shall return to the issue of dimensionality and its alternatives at the end of my dissertation

Summary

Research on the topic of advice is widely scattered among different areas of psychology such as clinical, decision making, developmental, and educational, and among associated areas such as nursing, medicine, and sociology. The research shows that people frequently seek advice when making risky decisions for a variety of reasons, including the avoidance of harm and reduction of risk (e.g., Budescu et al., 2003; Janis & Mann, 1977). Advice also is used in making important decisions such as in parenting or health related decisions (Fischhoff, 1992; Shamsaie, 2001). From an emotional perspective, advice can be helpful in coping with stress and feelings of uncertainty (e.g.,

Bowers, 1996; Clemen, 2001).

Cognitive approaches to advice define advice as information that is sought to increase the accuracy of decisions (e.g., Jonas & Frey, 2003; Snizek et al., 2004). Social approaches to advice also look at advice as social support (e.g., Jonas & Frey, 2003) or intimacy (Zuckerman, 1999). However, evidence shows that advice can increase confusion and stress (Abel et al., 2001), and it may as well be resisted (Kessler, 1989) or discounted (Yaniv, 2004).

Perhaps because of the scattered nature of research on the role of advice in decision-making, there is still much to be learned. We still do not know much about the range, dynamics, and nature of advice in making everyday personal decisions, such as decisions about education, work, relationships, marriage and family. Also, we know very little about the role of advice in different cultures, and how similar or different that role may be. These are some aspects of advice that I address in my dissertation. I explore what situations might lead people to request advice, what situations might lead people to give advice, and who might be more likely to receive and give advice. I also examine what kind of advice is given and the social pressure that advisors might impose on advisees.

I conducted four studies to explore these different aspects of advice. The first and second studies examined different dimensions of advisees' recollections of receiving advice. The third study examined culture and sex differences in giving advice. The fourth, an interview study, examined conflicts between advisors and advisees, and how culture and gender influence the way these conflicts are resolved.

Study 1: A Pilot Study of Advice and Personal Decisions

The primary purpose of Study 1 was to collect pilot data for developing the questionnaire of Study 2. Study 1 attempted to explore the types of decisions made by participants in Iran and in Canada, and features of advice received about these decisions. Features included the frequency of advice, whether the advice was requested or unrequested, and the amount of the social pressure participants felt to take the advice they received.

Because individualist cultures such as Canada emphasize self-reliance, self expression, independence, and personal autonomy in decision making, I expected young Canadian adults to make decisions more frequently than would young Iranian adults, to seek less advice per decision and receive less unrequested advice per decision, and to report relatively more social pressure to take advice given (Kitayama & Markus, 1999). Because collectivist cultures such as Iran emphasize interpersonal relations and mutual dependence, I expected young adult Iranians would make fewer decisions than would Canadians, request advice from more advisors than would Canadians, receive unrequested advice from more advisors than would Canadians, and feel less pressure to take advice than would Canadians. In contrast to a stereotypical attitude of “I don’t need your help. I can do it myself” among people from individualist cultures such as Canada, I expected Iranians would show more of a stereotypical “What would people expect me (not) to do” attitude reflecting features of collectivist cultures. To summarize, I list my hypotheses below.

- Hypothesis 1. Canadians will make more decisions than will Iranians.

- Hypothesis 2. Iranians will request advice from more people per decision than will Canadians.
- Hypothesis 3. Iranians will receive unrequested advice per decision from more people than will Canadians.
- Hypothesis 4. While social pressure accompanies advice for both cultures, Iranians will feel less social pressure per decision to take advice than will Canadians.

The data collected for testing above hypotheses also allowed me to address one exploratory research question:

- Question 1: Do participants feel more or less pressure from requested vs. unrequested advice?

Although Study 1 was a pilot study of cultural differences in advice, I predicted differences in requested and unrequested advice might occur between males and females as well. As discussed in the Introduction, evidence indicates that Iran is more masculine than Canada. Iran remains a culture of double standards between the sexes. In Iran, women are still assumed to be less autonomous and more dependent than men, and certainly more subject to social controls. The differential freedoms given to men and women in Iran are rarely seen in more egalitarian Canada. These observations lead me to predict that young Iranian women will not only make fewer decisions on their own than will young Iranian men but also (in order to gain approval and acceptance by their society) will seek, be given, and feel more pressure to take more advice than will men. In contrast, because of the relative equality of Canadian men and women, I predicted no

such gender differences between Canadian women and men. Below are my hypotheses about gender difference in advice in Iran.

- Hypothesis 5. Iranian males will report making more decisions than will Iranian females.
- Hypothesis 6. Iranian females will request more advice, and receive more unrequested advice, from more people per decision than will Iranian males.
- Hypothesis 7. Iranian females will report feeling more pressure of requested and unrequested advice per decision than will Iranian males.

Methods

Participants

Sixty-three undergraduate university students (nine male and 22 female Canadians; two male and 31 female Iranians) participated in this study. At the time of experiment, all Canadian participants were living in Ottawa, Canada, and all Iranian participants were living in Tehran, Iran. All were offered a course credit for participating in the study. Every effort was made to recruit as many males as females for the study, but the efforts were unsuccessful. The small proportion Canadian males reflects the proportion of university males taking psychology courses. The small number of Iranian males is lower than expected by their proportion in Iranian psychology courses. This may reflect nothing more than the bad luck; the day the questionnaire was administered only two males came to class. It is, of course, risky to make generalizations about sex differences based on such small samples of males. On the other hand, it did not seem reasonable to ignore differences that were large enough to be detected with such small

samples. In consultation with my supervisor, I decided to undertake statistical analyses of sex differences despite the small sample of Iranian males (this was, after all, a pilot study), but to interpret the results with caution.

Canadian participants. All 31 Canadians were native-born and were Carleton university students. Their age ranged from 18-43 years (median 22). All except two spoke English at home; the others spoke Estonian or Polish. Twenty-seven were living with other people at the time of my study -- parents, friend, roommate, spouse, and child; four were living alone. Twenty-five Canadians reported being financially dependent on their family and six were financially independent.

As is typical of conducting research in a country of immigrants such as Canada, an additional 15 international students or recent immigrants to Canada (11 females and four males) also participated in my study. I excluded their data from my analyses because they did not meet my definition of someone raised in Canadian culture. The students were born and raised in countries ranging from China to Argentina to Saudi Arabia. They had lived in Canada for 1.5-20 years. The omission of this group of participants reduced the male sample size in this study.

Iranian participants. All 33 Iranian participants were undergraduate students of Azad University, Semnan Branch (a suburb of Tehran), and all were born in Iran. Their age ranged from 18-24 years (median 20). With the exception of one person who was living alone, all the Iranian participants were living with their other people—family, friend(s), or roommate, and all were financially dependent on their parents.

Questionnaires

All participants in Iran and Canada completed a *Background Questionnaire* (BQ; see Appendix A) and an *Advice for Making Personal Decisions* (AMPD) questionnaire, developed by myself (Appendix A). The BQ included socio-demographic questions such as age, and gender, country of birth. The AMPD questionnaire included questions about each of 40 personal decisions such as choosing a university, choosing a university major, and going out with friends. The 40 topics were selected from an original pool of about 100 appearing in letters to advice columnists in Iran and in Canada, because these 40 topics appeared repeatedly and covered a wide range of decisions.

To answer the AMPD questionnaire, participants first reported whether or not they had themselves ever made each of the 40 decisions in their lives. Next, they wrote the name(s) of up to six people whom they asked for advice about each decision, then rated how much pressure they felt to take each person's advice on a scale from not at all (= 0) to very much (= 9). Finally, they wrote the name(s) of anyone who gave them advice without asking for it (unrequested advice) and again rated how much pressure they felt to take the advice of each unrequested advisor (see Appendix A).

Design and Procedure

Canadian participants. Because the research involved human participants, the proposal for recruiting participants was submitted for ethics approval to the ethics committee of Carleton University (see Appendices A to E). In the summer 2005, after obtaining ethics approval, a recruitment form was posted on the bulletin board of Introductory Psychology participants' pool (see Appendix C). I contacted the prospective participants and arranged for 1-6 of them to come to a lab (Loeb Building, room A404) at

the same time, where the questionnaire was administered. Before administering the questionnaire, I asked participants to read and sign an informed consent form (Appendix D). After completing the questionnaires, participants were given a signed copy of debriefing form (Appendix E), thanked, and excused. Students finished their participation in 45-60 minutes.

Iranian participants. Research in Iran does not require the approval of an ethics committee; there are no such committees in the country. Iranian participants were recruited from an introductory psychology class taught by my colleague Dr. Javad Hatami, who administered the questionnaire. All the participants completed the questionnaire together during one session. It was not possible to duplicate the laboratory conditions of Carleton because there are no labs in psychology departments in Iran.

To offset boredom and order effects (Neter, Kutner, Nachtsheim, Wasserman, 1995), the order of the 40 topics of advice was counterbalanced. Half of the participants answered the questions about topics 1-40 in order; the others answered the questions in reverse order. Canadian students answered the questionnaires in English and Iranians answered them in Persian (Farsi). I translated the questionnaires from English to Farsi and sent it to Dr. Hatami. He then duplicated and administered the questionnaires in Iran, and sent me the completed questionnaires. An assistant entered the Iranian data, using English letters (Finglish), into an EXCEL spreadsheet and sent it to me via e-mail. I translated the data into English to facilitate comparisons with the Canadian data.

Results and Discussion

Decision-Making

I began my analyses by testing Hypothesis 1 that Canadians will make more decisions than will Iranians. Recall that participants were asked to indicate which of the 40 decisions they had made. To test Hypotheses 1, I counted the total “yes” responses for each participant, then conducted a 2 x 2 (Culture-by-Gender) Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) on the average frequencies to test if there were significant culture and sex effects in the predicted direction. Because of the small sample size of Iranian males ($n = 2$) my tests of gender differences and interaction effects must be considered tentative.

The 2 x 2 ANOVA revealed a significant main effect for culture, $F(1, 60) = 37.21, p = 0.00$, Supporting Hypothesis 1, Canadians made more decisions ($M = 31.58$) than did Iranians ($M = 23.73$). This cultural difference in the frequency of making decisions is consistent with my contention that Canadians have higher amounts of personal autonomy, reflecting an individualistic culture, than do Iranians.

I next addressed Hypothesis 5, that Iranian males will make more decisions than will Iranian females, by first examining the main effect of gender in the above ANOVA, and culture-by-gender interaction effect. There was a significant main effect for gender, $F(1, 60) = 4.56, p = 0.04$, and a significant interaction effect, $F(1, 60) = 8.97, p = 0.00$. Iranian males made marginally more decisions ($M = 31.5$) than did Iranian females ($M = 23.2$), $t(31) = 1.82, p = 0.07$. There was no significant difference between Canadian females ($M = 32.1$) and males ($M = 30.3$), $t = 1.22, p = 0.23$. Though the small number of Iranian males limits generalization, the result is consistent with Hypothesis 5 that Iranian males will make more decisions than will Iranian females, and that this sex difference

will be larger for Iranians than for Canadians. This, in turn, is consistent with double standards that characterize masculine cultures.

Requesting Advice

After testing Hypotheses 1 and 5 about the frequency of decisions made by participants, above, I addressed Hypothesis 2 that Iranians will request advice from more people per decision than will Canadians. I first calculated the average number of advisors per decision made. For example, if Mary reported that she had made 32 (out of 40) decisions and requested advice from a total of 96 persons about those decisions, her score for requested advisors per-decision would be $96/32 = 3.0$. I then conducted a 2 x 2 (Culture-by-Gender) between subject ANOVA on the requested advisors per-decision.

The ANOVA revealed a significant main effect for culture, $F(1, 60) = 7.44, p = 0.01$. Iranians requested more advisors per decision ($M = 1.95$), than did Canadians ($M = 1.45$), supporting Hypothesis 2 and consistent with the presumption that collectivist Iranians are more interdependent than are individualistic and autonomous Canadians. There was no significant main effect for gender, $F(1, 60) = 0.30, p = 0.44$, contrary to the suggestion by Kashima et al. (1995) that females are more likely than males to consider others and thus to seek advice more often when making a decision. There was a modestly significant interaction effect, $F(1, 60) = 3.90, p = 0.05$, but there was no significant gender difference in Iran, $t(31) = 0.156, p = 0.13$, or in Canada, $t(29) = 1.03, p = 0.31$. The trends show that male Iranians requested fewer advisors per decision ($M = 1.2$) than did female Iranians ($M = 2.0$); this trend was reversed for Canadians ($M_{\text{female}}, M_{\text{male}} = 1.7, 1.3$). As before, trends must be viewed with caution because of the small sample sizes of males, especially of Iranian males. However, the trends show that male

Iranians requested fewer advisors per decision ($M = 1.2$) than female Iranians did ($M = 2.0$) – a trend consistent with Hypothesis 6 and with Iranian social norms that promote a double standard requiring females to be more cautious and more vigilant about proper behaviour.

Receiving Unrequested Advice

I next tested Hypothesis 3 that Iranians will receive unrequested advice from more people per decision than will Canadians. I calculated the average number of unrequested advisors per decision made. Next, I conducted a 2 x 2 (Culture-by-Gender) ANOVA on the unrequested advisors per-decision scores.

The ANOVA again revealed a significant main effect for culture, $F(1, 60) = 7.44$, $p = 0.01$, but opposite to the predicted direction. Disconfirming Hypothesis 3, Canadians reported receiving advice from more unrequested advisors per decision ($M = 1.08$), than Iranians did ($M = 0.65$). It is possible to speculate that, because Iranians asked for advice from more people (Hypothesis 2), fewer people remained to give them unsolicited advice, or that cultural norms governing unsolicited advice simply are unrelated to features of collectivism-individualism. No doubt further research is needed. There was no significant main effect of gender, $F(1, 60) = 1.45$, $p = 0.23$, nor was there a significant interaction.

Pressure of Advice

As noted in my Introduction, advice frequently comes with social pressure to take it. Continuing my analyses, I tested Hypothesis 4 that Iranians will feel less social pressure to take advice than will Canadians, and Hypothesis 7 that Iranian females will feel more pressure than will Iranian males. I also explored whether participants feel more or less pressure from requested vs. unrequested advice (Question 1).

Recall that participants were asked to rate on a scale from 0 (= not at all) to 9 (= very much) how much pressure they felt from each advisor they listed. I summed the self-ratings of participants about the amount of pressure they felt from all requested and unrequested advisors (i.e., total pressure of advice) then divided it by the number of decisions made. Then I conducted a 2 x 2 (Culture-by-Gender) ANOVA on the resulting *total pressure per decision* scores.

The results of a 2 x 2 ANOVA on these scores once more revealed a significant main effect for culture, $F(1, 60) = 6.24, p = 0.01$. Supporting Hypothesis 4, and in line with research showing more intense emotions among individualists (Kitayama & Markus, 1999; Matsumoto et al., 1988), Canadians felt more total pressure per decision ($M = 11.96$) than did Iranians ($M = 7.70$). There was no significant main effect of gender, $F(1, 60) = 0.82, p = 0.37$, and no significant interaction, $F(1, 60) = 2.20, p = 0.14$.

Although my results were consistent with the Kitayama and Marcus (1999) findings and with the Masomoto et al's findings, they still required explanation. Perhaps Iranians felt less pressure than did Canadians because of a smaller number of advisors. To test this possibility, I calculated the *total number of advisors per decision* by summing the number of requested and unrequested advisors per decision. Then I conducted another 2 x 2 (Culture-by-Gender) ANOVA. The main effect of culture was not significant, $F(1, 60) = 0.078, p = 0.22$, nor was the main effect of gender, $F(1, 60) = 0.083, p = 0.23$. Therefore, Iranians' lower level of pressure of total advice per decision was not because Iranians had fewer advisors.

So the mystery remained. Why did Canadians feel more pressure than did Iranians? Perhaps a clue might be found by from examining whether pressure was more

likely to come from requested or from unrequested advice – my Question 1. So I next examined whether requested advice, unrequested advice, or both led to more pressure. In order to examine cultural and gender differences in feeling pressure of requested advice, I summed the ratings of pressure each participant felt from requested advisors (i.e., total pressure of requested advice) and divided by the number of decisions that the participant made. I called this *pressure of requested advice per decision*. In the same way, I summed the pressure ratings of each participant about unrequested advice and divided the sum by the number of decisions each participant made. I called this *pressure of unrequested advice per-decision*. I then conducted two 2 x 2 (Culture-by-Gender) ANOVAs on the scores of pressure of requested advice per-decision and pressure of unrequested advice per-decision.

The ANOVA testing cultural and gender differences in pressure of *requested* advice per decision showed no main effect of culture, $F(1, 60) = 0.19, p = 0.33$, nor of gender, $F(1, 60) = 0.03, p = 0.13$, nor the interaction effect, $F(1, 60) = 1.25, p = 0.27$. Thus, Hypothesis 4 that Iranians will feel less social pressure from advice than will Canadians, and Hypothesis 7 that Iranian females will feel more pressure than Iranian males, were not supported for requested advice.

The ANOVA testing the cultural and gender differences in pressure of *unrequested* advice per decision showed a significant main effect of culture, $F(1, 60) = 25.12, p = 0.00$, a marginally significant main effect for gender, $F(1, 60) = 3.24, p = 0.07$, and a marginally significant interaction effect, $F(1, 60) = 3.51, p = 0.06$. Supporting Hypothesis 4, Canadians felt more pressure from unrequested advice per-decision ($M = 5.42$) than did Iranians ($M = 1.69$). Thus, it appears that the greater

pressure reported by Canadians was primarily the result of their reactions to unrequested advice, rather than to requested advice. This finding suggests that Canadians are more sensitive to the social pressures of unrequested advice than are Iranians, or that Iranians are more inclined to “shrug off” unrequested advice than are Canadians.

As the above ANOVA revealed, males felt marginally more pressure of unrequested advice per-decision ($M = 4.97$) than did females ($M = 3.19$). A test of simple effects showed no significant gender difference in Iran, $t(31) = 1.47, p = 0.15$, or in Canada, $t(29) = 0.58, p = 0.56$, providing no statistical support for Hypothesis 7, perhaps because of the low statistical power resulting from small samples of males. However, the trends show that male Iranians felt less pressure ($M = 0.03$) of unrequested advice per decision than did female Iranians ($M = 1.9$), consistent with Hypothesis 7; this direction was reversed for female (5.05) and male (6.04) Canadians. Obviously, these trends must be viewed with caution. But they do form a consistent pattern across my four studies.

Other Findings

Although I had not intended it before collecting data, my curiosity led me to explore several supplementary results. The cultural difference in the frequency of making decisions (see Hypothesis 1, above) made me curious to learn which decisions showed the greatest differences, so I conducted supplementary analyses of which decisions showed the greatest and smallest cultural differences. There is, to the best of my knowledge, no sophisticated, multivariate statistical procedure for testing differences in 40 dichotomous dependent variables. So I relied on a series of 40, 2×2 G tests as a crude index of the cultural difference. This is, as most students of statistics are told, inferentially improper because it exploits chance in finding significance. However, my

purpose was not to use the G s for making inferential decisions, but to use them as a descriptive indicant of the size of cultural differences. I therefore counted the number of participants who said “no” and who said “yes” to each of the 40 decisions and conducted 40 G -tests. For example, a decision about living independent of parents showed that 22 Canadians and 15 Iranians said “yes” they had made the decision, and 9 Canadians and 18 Iranians said “no”. I conducted a 2 x 2 (Culture-by-Yes/no) G test on these four frequencies, and conducted a similar G test on the frequencies obtained for the remaining 39 decisions. I then sorted the 40 decisions from those showing the greatest G values, to those showing the smallest.

Table 1 shows the 20 decisions that produced a G value reaching at least a $p < 0.05$ level of significance, a very rough indicant of a reliable difference between the two cultures. The 20 differences are ranked from largest (drinking) to smallest (films to watch).

Table 1. Significant Culture Differences in Participants' Decisions.

A decision about	Canadians	Iranians
Whether or not to drink alcohol**	100%	6%
Whether or not to smoke**	100%	9%
Whether or not to change your job**	90%	9%
To continue or end your education**	100%	27%
To break up or not with your partner **	81%	15%
To have or not have a boy/girlfriend **	100%	55%
Where to live**	74%	39%
How to solve your communication problems**	97%	67%
Whether or not to bring home friends**	97%	70%
How much time to spend with your family**	100%	73%
When to have children*	45%	18%
Whether or not to lose your weight*	90%	67%
To live independent of parents*	71%	45%
How to behave with people*	100%	82%
How to plan your work schedule*	97%	79%
How to spend your money*	100%	85%
Whether or not to go out with friends*	100%	85%
Which party to attend or not to attend*	100%	85%
How often to visit relatives*	97%	82%
Which films to watch or not to watch*	100%	88%

** $p < 0.01$. * $p < 0.05$ by G -test ($df = 1$).

There are several interesting results shown in *Table 1*. The generally greater proportion of Canadians who report making these 20 decisions reflects a common observation that Canadian youth have more freedom than do Iranian youth. Most young Canadians are allowed (though perhaps not encouraged) to drink alcohol and to smoke; most are encouraged to have a job, most have the freedom to choose their educational future and to pursue intimate relationships with peers. So it is not surprising that most Canadian participants have made decisions about these topics.

But the opportunities, encouragements and freedoms afforded Canadian youth are far less common for young Iranians, especially for young Iranian females. All but one of the Iranian participants lived at home, still under the scrutiny of parents, most of whom are not as liberal as their Canadian counterparts. All but two of the Iranian participants were female, and most Iranian parents frown on their daughters working for money, especially while living at home. The majority of Iranian parents disapprove of drinking, smoking, and boyfriends/girlfriends as well. These topics are especially forbidden for daughters, and daughters generally obey their parents. Even those who do not obey their parents would rather not talk about it with people other than their close friends, and they likely don't feel comfortable or safe to report it when participating in research. So it is not surprising that few Iranians would report making decisions about drinking, smoking, working and boyfriends/girlfriends.

I should note that Iranian parents traditionally give their sons far more freedom to do as they wish than they give their daughters. I thus imagine that, if there were more Iranian male participants in this study to boost the Iranian decision rate, the cultural differences between Iranians – at least the males -- and Canadians would be smaller.

The large cultural differences in ending or not ending one's education are also concordant with differing cultural norms about higher education. Canada has long tried to provide a university education for every Canadian who wants one. This is not true in Iran. The opportunity for higher education in Iran is severely limited, and competition for university admission is extreme. Graduates of high-schools (11th grade) in Iran who want to be considered for a university position must study for an additional year to participate in a long and difficult national university entrance exam competition called the *Konkoor*.

If their Konkoor score is sufficient for university admission, most of the students and their parents would not want them to end their education. Families place high value on higher education in Iran, and dropping out would bring shame to the family. Also, Iranian universities do not allow students to change their major, unless they drop out of the program and again participate in the competition. So there is little reason for young people to consider possibilities of radical changes in their education activities.

The middle and lower third of *Table 1* also reveals topics that produce relatively high rates of Yes responses for Iranians. Though a greater proportion of Canadians made decisions about these topics than did Iranians, a solid majority of Iranians making these decisions (67-88%) reveals that most young Iranians do have their sphere of autonomy – one rather similar, I am told, to the sphere of Western youth from the 1950s.

Table 2 shows the 20 decisions that did not produce significant *G* values. Again, they are ranked from the largest difference (career) to the smallest (cosmetics).

Table 2. Insignificant Cultural Differences in Participants' Decisions.

A Decision about	Canadians	Iranians
Choosing a career	61%	42%
Whom to marry	48%	67%
When to marry	45%	61%
Where to go for your vacation	90%	79%
Which sport to play or not	94%	82%
Practicing or not practicing your religion	84%	73%
Which names to give your children	26%	39%
Which social values to teach your children	23%	36%
What type of school to choose for your child	13%	3%
Which books to read or not to read	100%	91%
What clothes to wear or not to wear	100%	91%
How to spend your free time	100%	91%
What friends to choose	100%	94%
Which university major to choose	97%	100%
Which university to choose	100%	97%
Whether or not to study in another country	39%	42%
Which clothing to choose for your children	10%	12%
Whom to vote for	90%	88%
How to raise your children	23%	24%
Whether or not to use cosmetics	77%	76%

The bottom half of Table 2 shows the decision topics that exhibited the greatest similarities of frequency between cultures. These might be considered the cultural universals for the participants' age group. Not surprisingly, few participants in either culture reported making decisions about children, simply because few had children. Popular decisions showing no significant difference were largely related to personal life. Interestingly, there was no significant difference in the proportion of Canadians and

Iranians who had made their own decisions about practicing their religion. In both cultures, about three-fourths of the participants reported making this personal choice.

Still curious, I conducted a few exploratory tests of other results. There was a significant culture difference in correlations between the number of siblings and the number of unrequested advisors per decision, $p = 0.03$. The correlation was negative for Iranians, $r(32) = -0.21$, but positive for Canadians, $r(30) = 0.17$. Similarly, there was also a significant difference in correlations between the number of siblings and the pressure of unrequested advice per decision, $p = 0.01$. Again the correlation was negative for Iranians, $r(32) = -0.30$, and positive for Canadians, $r(30) = 0.23$. It seems that in Canada, more siblings bring more unrequested advice and pressure, while the reverse is true in Iran. The role of siblings as unrequested advisors appears to vary across cultures.

Another supplementary analysis revealed a possible new measure of individualism in Canada and in Iran. The older were Canadian participants, the fewer their reported sources of financial support, $r(31) = -0.36$, $p < 0.05$, and the fewer number of people they lived with, $r(30) = -0.37$, $p < 0.05$. In contrast, there was no significant correlation between the age of Iranians and the number of their sources of financial support, $r(33) = 0.173$, $p = 0.33$, nor was there a significant correlation between Iranian's age and the number of people they lived with, $r(32) = 0.02$, $p = 0.90$. The pattern of these correlations indicates that Canadian university students become more economically and socially independent as they age, but Iranian students don't.

Summary

Study 1 collected pilot data about the decisions Iranian and Canadian participants made. It also examined the frequencies of requested or unrequested advice, and the social

pressure of advice. Data showed that Canadians made more decisions than Iranians, and the types of decisions they made more frequently supported the notion that individualistic Canadians are more autonomous and independent than are more collectivist Iranians – a conclusion also supported by the exploratory analysis of financial support and living arrangements, and consistent with Triandis' (2004) individualistic-collectivist definitions. Iranians requested more advisors per decision than did Canadians, consistent with the hypothesis that Iranians are more interdependent and collectivist than are Canadians. Canadians reported a greater number of unrequested advisors per decision than did Iranians, and felt more pressure of total advice and of unrequested advice per-decision, suggesting Canadians had higher sensitivity to receiving advice, consistent with stronger ego-focused emotions felt by people from individualistic cultures (Kitayama & Markus, 1999; Matsomoto et al., 1988).

The small sample size of Iranian males prevents significant sex and sex-by-culture differences from being conclusive. However, the trends in data followed a consistent pattern congruent with hypotheses about the effects of a double standard on gender differences in Iran. Iranian females made fewer decisions, requested more advice and received more unrequested advice, and felt more pressure of advice than did Iranian males. Consistent with greater gender equality, none of these gender differences existed in Canada. This comparison may be indicative of the relative femininity of Canadian culture, and the relative masculinity of Iranian culture, which emphasizes distinct gender roles.

Study 2: Sources and Nature of Advice

Study 1 collected preliminary data for developing the questionnaire of Study 2, exploring the types of decisions Iranian and Canadian participants made, the advice they received about the decisions, the frequency of requested and unrequested advice, and the amount of the social pressure they felt from the advice they received. Study 2 refined and extended Study 1, taking a sample of the most common decisions used in Study 1 and examining cultural and gender differences in wanting and requesting advice, in the sources of requested and unrequested advice, and in reactions to advice. In addition, Study 2 examined religious differences between Iranians and Canadians, and how religiosity (defined here as self ratings of religiousness) in each culture is related to advice received. Finally Study 2 gathered for the first time in Iran data on a scale claiming to measure relationalism, individualism and collectivism (the RIC Scale; see Kashima & Hardie, 2000) to test if the scale results reflected previous research showing Iranians to be more collectivist and less individualistic than Canadians (e.g., Hofstede, 2001).

Requested and Unrequested Advice

As mentioned in the Introduction, Triandis (1989) and others suggest that collectivist cultures emphasize conformity to group and family norms (“Do what is good for the family”), in contrast to the prevalent attitude of loyalty to self among people from individualist cultures (“It’s my life; it’s my decision”). Assuming, as in Study 1, that Iranians are more collectivist than are Canadians (Hofstede, 2001), I reasoned that Iranians would seek more information to ensure that they did not violate norms or expectations (“What would make others approve of me?”) -- reflecting features of collectivist, relational, or family-oriented cultures -- than would Canadians.

Many authors have noted the existence and importance of traditional family values and ties, and child-parent relationships in Iran (e.g., Azadarmaki & Bahar, 2006; Hofstede, 2001; Khodayarifard, Rehm, & Khodayarifard, 2007), in contrast to the importance of peer relationships in the West that begins during adolescence (e.g., Brendgen et al., 2005; Kiran-Esen, 2003; Perrine & Aloise-Young, 2004). According to Hynie (n.d.) collectivist cultures give priority to parent-child relationships, as compared to peer relationships. These observations led me to hypothesize that Iranians would want and request more advice from family members than would Canadians; Canadians instead, would want and request more advice from peers or friends.

- Hypothesis 1. Iranians will want and request advice about more topics than will Canadians.
- Hypothesis 2. Iranians will request advice from more family members, including parents, siblings, and extended family, than will Canadians.
- Hypothesis 3. Canadians will request advice from more friends than will Iranians.

Advice is often given without being requested. Many people feel compelled to offer advice even though they are not asked for it. Reasons for their compulsion likely range from a genuine desire to assist someone too shy to ask for help, to a need to control the behaviour of others, to force of habit. Often called hounding or nagging (*fohzooli* in Farsi), I predicted that unrequested advice from family would be more prevalent in Iran than in Canada, simply because Iranians are likely more motivated to keep family members and others in line with social norms. The popular Western phrases, “None of your business!” and “It’s my life. It’s my decision” are rarely heard in Iran. On the other

hand, the literature has documented the influential role of peers in Western relationships (e.g., Brendgen et al., 2005). With this in mind, I derived the following two hypotheses about cultural differences in unsolicited or unrequested advice.

- Hypothesis 4. Iranians will receive more unrequested advice from parents, siblings and extended family members than will Canadians.
- Hypothesis 5. Canadians will receive more unrequested advice from friends than will Iranians.

Study 1 tested the hypothesis that, because Iran is more masculine than Canada, Iranian women will receive more requested and unrequested advice than will Iranian men; while such differences will not exist in Canada. I tried to test this hypothesis by examining the significance of interaction effect and simple effects of gender in each culture on advice. The results of Study 1 confirmed the prediction that Iranian females request more advice than do Iranian males; there was no such gender difference in requesting advice in Canada. However, because of the small sample size of Iranian males ($n = 2$) the results of Study 1 remained inconclusive. Study 2, using a new and larger sample of participants, tested the same hypothesis for a second time. In addition to studying differences in receiving advice, Study 2 investigated such gender differences in wanting advice.

- Hypothesis 6. Iranian women will want and request more advice than will Iranian men, and will receive more unrequested advice than will Iranian men.

Pressure to Take Advice

How do people deal with advice once they receive it? Though advice is often seen

as the mere passing of information, it is generally passed with an expectation that it at least be considered seriously and ideally be taken. From the perspective of social psychology, advice is just another word for a persuasion attempt or attitude change message. I have observed that Canadian advisors rarely continue to give advice if the advice is repeatedly ignored, but Iranian advisors (mostly members of the nuclear family and the older extended family members) are more likely to repeat their advice or escalate it until it is taken. Yet in both cultures advisors expect their advice to be taken and the expectation is likely to be felt by those who receive advice as a form of social pressure.

Will Iranians feel more or less social pressure to take advice than Canadians? It is an interesting question worth testing for a second time. Asch's (1956) classic work on conformity indicates that social pressure rises with the number of people applying it, though it levels off after their number exceeds three. This suggests that whichever culture produces the greatest number of advisors per decision will also produce the most social pressure. However, Study 1 showed that, although Iranians had more requested advisors per decision than did Canadians, Iranians felt equal amount of pressure of requested advisors per decision as did Canadians. This contradicts Asch's (1956) findings, perhaps because the sheer frequency of advice given might cause advisees to become blasé about (habituated to) the social pressure, forming a thick skin to protect them from it. The results of Study 1 indicated that Canadians were more sensitive to social pressure resulting from advice than were Iranians. This finding, and Kitayama and Markus's (1999) suggestion that collectivist cultures express a higher level of *other-focused emotions* and inhibit *ego-focused emotions*, opposite to individualist cultures, led me to predict the same for the present study.

- Hypothesis 7. Canadians will feel more social pressure to take requested and unrequested advice than will Iranians.

Religiosity and Advice

The influence of religion as a key component of Iranian culture on other aspects of Iranian life cannot be underestimated. Based on the literature emphasizing the importance of religion in Iran as compared to Western cultures (e.g., Hatami, 2007), it is sensible to predict that Iranians are more religious than Canadians. To test this, I asked participants to rate how religious they were. In addition, I examined whether or not religiosity is related to receiving advice about each of the decision topics examined in Study 2 from family members and friends. I summarize my hypothesis and questions below.

- Hypothesis 8. Iranians will rate themselves as more religious than will Canadians.
- Question 1. Is religiosity correlated with how much advice is received?
- Question 2. Is religiosity correlated with the amount of requested and unrequested advice received from family members and friends?

The RIC Scale

As noted earlier, research suggests that Iran is a collectivist culture (e.g., Hofstede, 2001; Mortazavi, 2006; Yeganeh, 2007); while Canada is an individualistic culture (Hofstede, 2001). In line with the above literature, the definitions of individualist, collectivist and relational cultures offered by Calkins (1896), Gilligan (1982), Markus and Kitayama (1991), Miller (1976), and Triandis (1989) suggest that Iran is also more relational (meaning interdependent with individuals rather than groups) than is Canada.

In the present study, I chose to determine whether the Relational, Individualist, Collectivist (RIC) Scale (Kashima & Hardie, 2000), which claims to be a standardized measure of these three features of culture, has the capacity to reflect Iran and Canada's comparative levels of individualism and collectivism noted in the literature previously cited.

All Iranian and Canadian participants in Study 2 completed the RIC Scale, allowing me to estimate and compare R (relationalism), I (individualism), and C (collectivism) norms for the two cultures. If the RIC scale had the capacity to reflect the cultural differences between Iran and Canada in collectivism, relationalism, and individualism, then Iranians' self ratings of Collectivism and Relationalism would be higher than those of Canadians, and Canadians' self ratings of individualism will be higher than that of Iranians.

Measurements of relationalism, individualism, and collectivism can also be influenced by gender. Authors such as Bohan, (2002) and Miller (1976) describe women's self as developed and expressed in relation to and in affiliation with others. Women's moral development and sense of justice are also described as being relational (Belenky et al., 1986). If the RIC Scale is sufficiently sensitive, females should rate themselves as more relational (and perhaps more collectivist as well) than males, and males should rate themselves as more individualist than females. Following are the hypotheses that can be produced about RIC Scale scores:

- Hypothesis 9. Iranians will score higher than will Canadians on relationalism and collectivism; Canadians will score higher on individualism.

- Hypothesis 10. Females will score higher than will males on relationalism and collectivism. Males will score higher on individualism than females.

Methods

Participants

Seventy-seven undergraduate university students (31 female and 6 male Canadians; 29 female and 11 male Iranians) participated in this study. At the time of experiment, Canadian participants were living in Ottawa, Canada, and Iranian participants were living in Tehran, Iran. All participants were offered a course credit for participating in the study.

Canadian participants. The 37 Canadian participants, ranging in age from 18-34 years (median 19), were recruited from the introductory psychology course at Carleton University. Except for one 18-year-old who was born in the USA and came to Canada at age 3, all were born and raised in Canada. Their spoken language at home included English (33), Chinese (2), Urdu and Vietnamese (one each). The spoken language of their parents at home included English (31), English/French (2), English/Punjabi, Chinese, Urdu, and Vietnamese (one each). Thirty-five of the Canadian students were studying in their first-year of university, one was in third-year, and one did not answer the question.

Similar to the situation of Study 1, nine female and six male international students or recent immigrants also participated in this study. I excluded them from the group of Canadian students, as they did not meet my definition of someone raised in Canadian culture. These students were born and raised in China, Arab countries, Iran, and Nigeria. They had lived in Canada for 1 to 13 years (median = 3).

Iranian participants. The 40 Iranian participants, ranging in age from 19-28 years (median = 20), were recruited from Introductory Social Psychology and Experimental Psychology courses at Tehran University and Shahid Beheshti University. Among Iranian participants, one was in first-year, 27 were in second-year, four were in third-year, six were in fourth-year students, and two skipped the question. All were born and raised in Iran. The language they and their parents spoke at home was Farsi (Persian).

Questionnaires

All participants in Iran and Canada completed three questionnaires: my own *Background Questionnaire* (BQ), my *Where Does Advice Come From* (WDAC) questionnaire, and the *Relational-Individualist-Collectivist Scale* (RIC; Kashima & Hardie, 2000).

Background Questionnaire. The BQ contained questions about demographic and cultural background such as age, gender, country of birth, languages spoken at home. In addition, participants rated on a scale from 0-9 how religious they were (see Appendix F).

Where Does Advice Come From? The WDAC questionnaire contained a list of seven personal decisions: choosing a university major, choosing friends, deciding what to wear, deciding how to spend time, deciding how to spend money, deciding how often to visit relatives, and choosing whom or when to marry. The seven decision topics were selected from the original pool of 40 used in a Study 1. Study 1 asked participants whether they had ever made a decision about those 40 topics or not. I selected seven of the 40 decision topics for the WDAC (Appendix F) from those participants most often said they made. The seven included a combination of both important and trivial decisions (e.g., deciding whom to marry vs. what to wear) covering a wide range of topics.

Decisions regarding six of the seven topics had been made by at least 80% of Canadian and Iranian participants in Study 1. Decisions regarding the seventh topic (deciding whom to marry), had been made by only 48% of Canadian and 67% of Iranian participants, but I chose to include it because of the topic's importance.

The WDAC asked participants if they (1) wanted and (2) requested advice about each of the seven topics and, if yes, why. Next, the WDAC asked participants (3) to list the relationships to them of people whose advice they sought for each of the seven topics, and (4) to rate how much pressure they felt to take the advice of these people (using a rating scale from 0 = *not pressure at all* to 9 = *extreme pressure*). The WDAC then asked participants questions 3-5 about unrequested advice they received about each of the seven topics.

Relational-Individualist-Collectivist Scale. All participants also completed the RIC Scale (Kashima & Hardie, 2000). Participants were asked to rate on a scale from not at all true (= 0) to completely true (= 7), how much each statement is true about themselves (See Appendix Y).

Procedure

Canadian participants. As with Study 1, I first submitted the proposal for recruiting participants (see Appendices G to K) for approval by to the ethics committee of Carleton University. After obtaining approval, a recruitment form was posted on the Carleton website of the Introductory Psychology participants' pool at <http://carleton.sona-systems.com> (see Appendix I). Participants booked their participation time through the website. Between 1 and 6 students came to the room of the experiment (room A404 Loeb Building) at the same time, and were seated around a large table with about 1 metre between them. Each used a pen or pencil for completing the questionnaires.

I asked participants to read and sign the informed consent form (Appendix J) before giving them the BQ, RIC, and WDAC questionnaires. To counterbalance for questionnaire fatigue and item-order effects (Neter, Kutner, Nachtsheim, Wasserman, 1995) half of the participants answered the questions concerning decision topics 1 to 7 in that order, and half answered questions concerning the topics in the reverse order. It took 40-80 minutes for participants to answer all the questionnaires. After Canadian participants answered the questionnaires, they were given a signed copy of debriefing form (Appendix K), thanked, and excused.

Iranian participants. Iran has no research ethics committees, so I was not required to obtain approval of an ethics committee there; instead, I received approval from two professors at Tehran University whose students I recruited for this study. In order to reduce confounds related to the gender of the researchers (i.e., the researcher's effect), I chose a female research assistant (Asefeh Tavakoli), a graduate student of Sociology at Tehran University, to administer my questionnaires in Iran.

As with Canadian participants, the order of the seven topics of advice was counterbalanced to offset boredom and order effects. Half of the Iranian participants answered questions about decision topics 1-7 in that order, and the second half answered questions in reverse order. Canadian students answered the questionnaires in English and Iranians answered them in Farsi. I translated the questionnaires from English to Farsi and sent them to Asefeh. Before administering the questionnaires, we first paid a government translation service to back-translate the Farsi version of questionnaire and forwarded the results to me electronically. Because there were no large discrepancies, I resolved the few minor ones in discussion with my supervisor. To recruit participants in Iran, Asefeh

personally visited the classes of my sympathetic professors, read my recruitment announcement for students, and requested volunteers to sign up for participating in the study. Between one and six students at the same time went to a vacant classroom in the psychology department of Tehran University or Shahid Beheshti University, and were seated in chairs. They completed the questionnaires using a pen or pencil.

Results and Discussion

Wanting and Requesting Advice

Wanting advice. Hypothesis 1 predicted that Iranians will want and request advice about more topics than will Canadians. To test the first part of this hypothesis, I counted how many of the seven advice topics each participant said he/she wanted advice about, and then conducted a 2 x 2 (Culture-by-Gender) Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) on the averages. The ANOVA revealed a significant main effect for culture, $F(1, 73) = 6.54, p = 0.01$, but no significant main effect for gender, $F(1, 73) = 1.66, p = 0.24$, and no significant interaction, $F(1, 73) = 1.23, p = 0.35$. Supporting Hypothesis 1, Iranians did, on average, want advice about more topics ($M = 3.29$ out of 7) than did Canadians ($M = 2.55$), consistent with the assumption that Iranians have higher level of interdependency and collectivism. The lack of a significant gender main effect and interaction may be due to the small samples of Iranian males ($n = 11$) and Canadian males ($n = 6$) or simply to lack of a gender difference.

Statistical orthodoxy discourages tests of simple effects when an interaction effect is insignificant. On the other hand, the power of tests of interaction is severely diminished when sample sizes are unequal. I had unequal samples sizes of males and females. What to do? I decided to proceed with the test of simple effects. Tests of simple effects in the

above ANOVA allowed me to test Hypothesis 6 that Iranian women will want more advice than will Iranian men. Supporting Hypothesis 6, a *t*-test showed that Iranian females wanted advice about significantly more topics ($M = 3.6$ out of seven) than Iranian males did ($M = 2.6$), $t(38) = 2.91, p = 0.01$. Canadian females and males did not want advice in different amounts, $t(35) = 0.06, p = 0.94$. The existence of a gender difference in wanting advice in Iran, and lack of such gender difference in Canada, -- both consistent with the findings of Study 1 -- supports Hypothesis 6. The pattern of results is consistent with the assumption that gender roles (e.g., interdependency of females) are more emphasized in Iran than in Canada, reflecting a more masculine and traditional Iranian culture.

In order to get a more detailed picture of wanted advice, I examined culture and gender differences for each of the seven topics. I began by counting how many male Iranians, female Iranians, male Canadians and female Canadians said “yes” or “no” to wanting advice about each topic. I hoped to conduct a 2 x 2 x 2 Chi-Square test (Culture-by-Gender-by-Yes/No) to examine the equivalent of a Culture main effect, a gender main effect, and a culture-by-gender interaction. Unfortunately, my samples of Iranian and Canadian males were too small to obtain a minimum expected value of 5 needed for a valid Chi-Square test in all eight cells of the design. So, in consultation with my advisor, I resorted to conducting two Chi-Square tests for each of the seven situations: (1) a Chi-Square test for Iranian-Canadian differences in yes/no responses; (2) a Chi-Square test for female-male differences in yes/no responses.

Among the seven Chi-Square tests for gender differences, only one was significant, $X^2(1) = 3.74, p = 0.05$, showing that females wanted more advice about

choosing clothes than did males. Three of the seven Chi-Square tests for culture difference reached significance and one more was marginally significant. A greater proportion of Iranians wanted advice about choosing friends, $X^2(1) = 3.91, p = 0.05$, spending time, $X^2(1) = 12.10, p = 0.00$, marrying, $X^2(1) = 21.74, p = 0.00$, and visiting relatives, $X^2(1) = 3.03, p = 0.08$. *Figure 1* shows the percentages of Iranians and Canadians wanting advice about the seven topics.

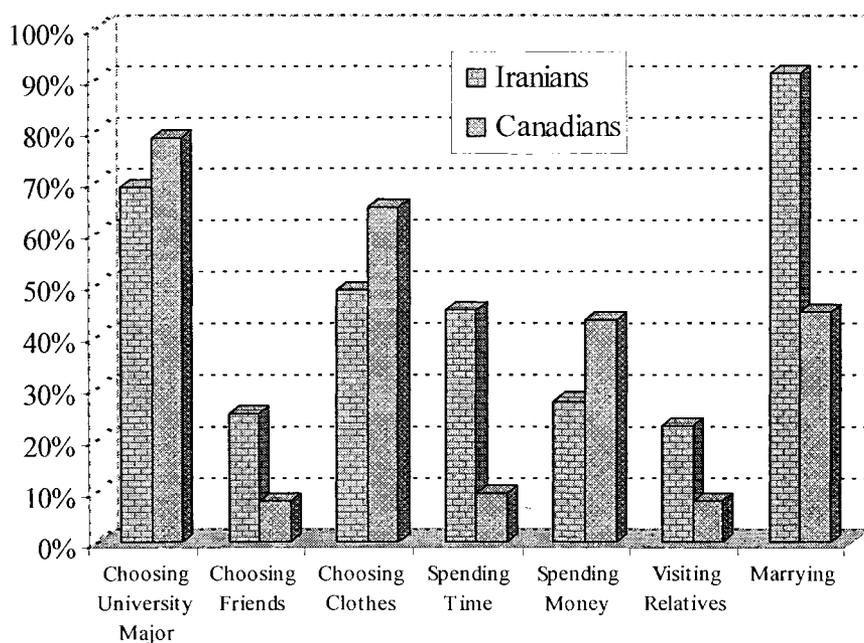


Figure .1 Percent of participants wanting advice about the seven topics

Two features of these frequency differences are noteworthy. First, all four significant differences show that more Iranians than Canadians wanted advice about the topics. The result is consistent with the ANOVA reported above showing that Iranians want advice about more topics than do Canadians, suggesting Iranians higher level of interdependency and collectivism than Canadians. Second, and most interesting, the four

significant differences are all related to advice about interpersonal relations: choosing friends, visiting relatives, marriage, and spending time (assuming this includes spending time with people). A greater proportion of Iranians wanted advice about these four topics. Though not significant, Canadians wanted more advice than did Iranians about the three remaining topics, all personal: university, choosing clothes, and spending money. The division of these differences and trends is consistent with the literature that Iranians are more collectivist than are Canadians (e.g., Hofstede, 2001).

Requesting advice. To test the second part of Hypothesis 1, concerning advice requested, I conducted a 2 x 2 (Culture-by-Gender) ANOVA on the average number of topics participants reported requesting advice about. The ANOVA showed a significant main effect for culture, $F(1, 73) = 15.50, p = 0.01$, supporting Hypothesis 1 that Iranians request advice about more topics ($M = 4.08$ out of 7) than do Canadians ($M = 2.78$), and consistent with the assumption that Iranians are more interdependent and collectivist than are Canadians. The main effect for gender was marginally significant, $F(1, 73) = 3.46, p = 0.06$, and the interaction effect was significant, $F(1, 73) = 5.10, p = 0.03$. Tests of the simple effects of the above ANOVA provided the opportunity of testing the part of Hypothesis 6 that Iranian women will request more advice than will Iranian men. Results showed that Iranian females requested advice about more topics ($M = 4.48$ out of seven) than Iranian males did ($M = 3.00$), $t(38) = 2.91, p = 0.01$. Hypothesis 6 was thus supported. Canadian females and males did not request advice in different amounts, $t(35) = 0.28, p = 0.78$. As with wanting advice, analysed above, the current analyses suggests that gender differences in requesting advice are influenced by culture and that gender roles and gender stereotypes are more distinct and emphasized in Iran than in Canada,

As a follow-up, I next tested culture and gender differences in requesting advice about each of the seven topics. As before, my small sample of Iranian males and Canadian males did not allow me to conduct a 2 x 2 x 2 (Culture-by-Gender-by-Yes/No) Chi-Square. So again I decided to conduct two 2 x 2 Chi-Square tests for each of the seven situations: (1) a 2 x 2 Chi-Square test for Iranian-Canadian differences in yes/no responses; (2) a 2 x 2 Chi-Square test for female-male differences in yes/no responses.

None of the seven Chi-Square tests for gender differences was significant. The result gives no support for Kashima et al. (1995) that females are more likely than males to consider others and to request advice more often than men do when making a decision. However, four of the seven Chi-Square tests for culture differences were significant. Iranians were more likely to report requesting advice when choosing friends, $X^2(1) = 10.21, p < 0.01$, spending time, $X^2(1) = 22.79, p < 0.01$, visiting relatives, $X^2(1) = 3.66, p < 0.05$, and marrying, $X^2(1) = 11.17, p < 0.01$. *Figure 2* shows the percentages of Iranians and Canadians requesting advice about the seven topics.

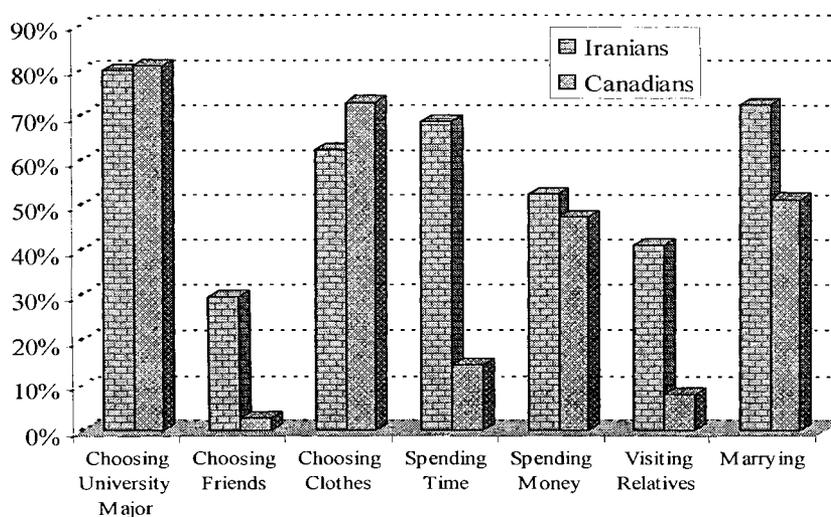


Figure 2. Percent of participants requesting advice about the seven topics

These Chi-Square tests of requesting advice led to the same three noteworthy features as those found in the tests of wanting advice. First, more Iranians requested advice about all four topics than did Canadians. Second, the four topics are the same as those more Iranians wanted advice about. Third, all four topics that Iranians requested more advice about (i.e., choosing friends, visiting relatives, and marrying, and spending time) emphasize interpersonal relationships. The nature of these cultural differences, is again consistent with the relatively collectivist and relational nature of Iranians, while the relatively individual nature of Canadians.

It seems logical to assume that if people want advice, they would ask for it; this would account for the high correlation between wanting and asking for advice, $r(76) = 0.69, p = 0.00$. The moderate correlations between wanting and requesting advice in Iran, $r(39) = 0.66, p = 0.00$, and Canada, $r(36) = 0.67, p = 0.00$, are consistent with the notion that requesting advice in both cultures can be provoked by a need to consult others.

But would people ask for advice if they did not want it? To answer this question, I conducted a within-subject *t*-test on the scores of wanting and requesting advice. Data show a significant difference between how much participants wanted and requested advice, $t(76) = 3.83, p = 0.00$. Participants more frequently reported requesting advice ($M = 3.45$ out of 7) than wanting advice ($M = 2.93$ out of 7). Separate analyses of participants in the two cultures showed a significant cultural difference. While a within-subject *t*-test did not show a significant difference between Canadians wanting and requesting advice, $t(36) = 1.50, p = 0.14$, a *t*-test for Iranians was significant, $t(39) = 3.69, p = 0.00$. Iranian participants more frequently requested advice ($M = 4.08$ out of 7)

than they wanted advice ($M = 3.29$ out of 7). This indicates that Iranians do not always ask for advice because they want it; rather Iranians may ask for advice because they feel they are expected to do so or they want to avoid being rejected or penalized as a result of not asking for advice.

Requested Advisors

I began my analyses of culture and gender differences in requested advisors by conducting a 2 x 2 (Culture-by-Gender) ANOVA on the average number of all requested advisors. There was no significant the main effect for culture, $F(1, 73) = 0.53, p = 0.15$, or for gender, $F(1, 73) = 2.13, p = 0.15$; the interaction effect was also not significant, $F(1, 73) = 2.64, p = 0.11$.

Hypotheses 2 and 3 predict that Iranians will request more advice from family members than will Canadians, while Canadians will request more advice from peers or friends than will Iranians. In order to test these hypotheses, I used the responses of participants to the questionnaire item that asked participants “Please recall each person you requested advice about topic X and indicate his/her relationship to you”. I categorized the relationships into the following six groups, each of which included the following advisors:

1. **Parents:** Father, stepfather, mother, and stepmother.
2. **Siblings:** Sister, stepsister, brother, and stepbrother.
3. **Extended family:** Grandparents, aunts and uncles, cousins, and in-laws, (for a definition of extended family, see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Extended_family).
4. **Friends:** Friend, classmate, and roommate.

5. **Counsellors and teachers:** Counsellor, advisor, academic advisor, TA, professor, and teacher.
6. **The media and society:** The Internet, books, magazines, journal articles, television, the society, and the media.

Figure 3 shows the percentages for six categories of advisors giving requested advice.

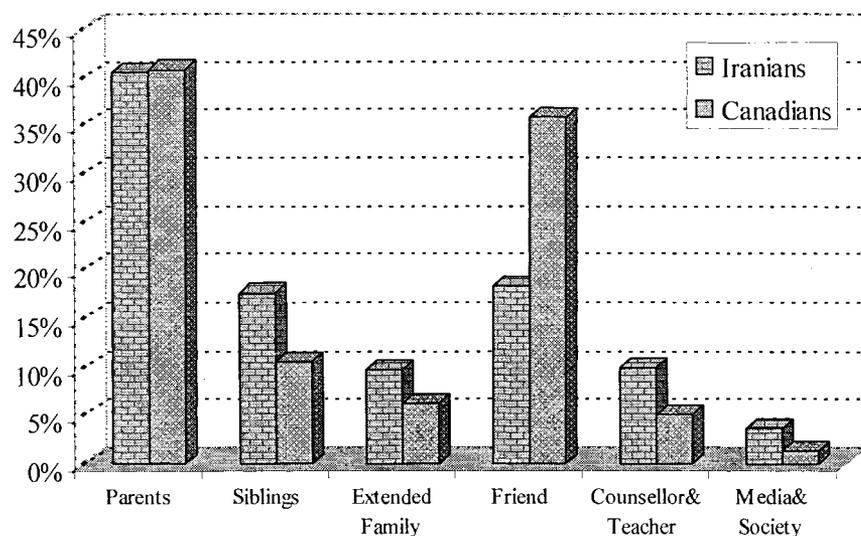


Figure 3. Percent of advisors giving requested advice

The data in *Figure 3* show that both Iranian and Canadian parents gave the highest proportion of requested advice. After parents, Canadians were most likely to request advice from friends, whereas Iranians were equally split between friends and siblings. In order to determine whether the cultural differences shown *Figure 3* were statistically significant, and to explore whether preferences for advisors were related to gender, I conducted six 2 x 2 (Culture-by-Gender) ANOVAs on the average frequencies participants reported requesting advice from parents, friends, siblings, extended family,

counsellors and teachers, and media and society across the seven topics.

There were no significant cultural differences in how often participants reported seeking parents as advisors, $F(1, 73) = 0.42, p > 0.48$, seeking extended family, $F(1, 73) = 0.71, p > 0.40$, or seeking media and society, $F(1, 73) = 1.97, p > 0.15$. However, Iranians reported seeking siblings ($M = 2.25$) significantly more often than did Canadians ($M = 1.22$), $F(1, 73) = 3.95, p < 0.05$, and seeking counsellors and teachers more often ($M_{\text{Iranians}} = 1.28; M_{\text{Canadians}} = 0.59$), $F(1, 73) = 8.36, p < 0.01$, while Canadians reported seeking friends significantly more often ($M_{\text{Iran}} = 3.32; M_{\text{Canada}} = 4.25$), $F(1, 73) = 7.24, p < 0.01$. The results generally support Hypotheses 5 and 6 but, contrary to Hypothesis 5, no cultural difference in seeking extended family was found.

Why might Iranians request more advice from siblings than would Canadians?

One possible reason is family size. Iranian participants reported significantly more siblings ($M = 2.48$) than did Canadians ($M = 1.78$), $t(75) = 2.7, p = 0.01$. However, Iranians reported requesting advice from a greater proportion of their siblings ($2.25/2.48 = 91\%$) than did Canadians ($1.39/1.78 = 78\%$), $\chi^2 = 6.5, p = 0.01$. Consistent with the observation that Iranian families are closer knit than are Canadian families, this finding, suggests that Iranians requested advice from a higher proportion of their siblings.

The gender main effects of these six type-of-advisor ANOVAs showed only one significant difference, but it was very large: Females reported requesting advice from parents for over twice the number of topics ($M = 5.67$ out of seven topics) than did males ($M = 2.47$), $F(1, 73) = 14.76, p < 0.01$. Females reported requesting advice from their mother ($M = 3.58$ topics) more often than did males ($M = 1.35$), $F(1, 73) = 20.55, p < 0.01$. Females also reported requesting advice more often from their fathers ($M = 2.08$ out

of seven topics) than did males ($M = 1.12$), $F(1, 73) = 4.90$, $p < 0.05$. There were no significant culture-by-gender interactions. Partially supporting Hypothesis 6, The results suggest that females in both cultures are more inclined to request advice from parents about more topics than are males.

Unrequested Advisors

Similar to the previous section about *requested advisors*, I began exploring data on *unrequested advisors* by conducting a 2 x 2 (Culture-by-Gender) ANOVA on the average frequencies of all unrequested advisors. The ANOVA produced no significant main effects of culture, $F(1, 73) = 0.83$, $p = 0.36$, or of gender, $F(1, 73) = 1.56$, $p = 0.21$; the interaction effect was also insignificant, $F(1, 73) = 0.06$, $p = 0.20$. It seems that neither culture nor gender reliably affected the propensity to receive unrequested advice.

Parallel to my analyses of requested advisors reported above, I also examined sources of unrequested advice. I used the responses of participants to the questionnaire item (Appendix F) asking participants to “Please recall each person who gave you advice about the topic without asking, and indicate his/her relationship to you”. Then I categorized the people mentioned into the same six categories as those shown in *Figures 3 and 4*: parents, friends, siblings, extended family, teachers and counsellors, and the media and society. *Figure 4* shows the percentages for six categories of advisors giving unrequested advice.

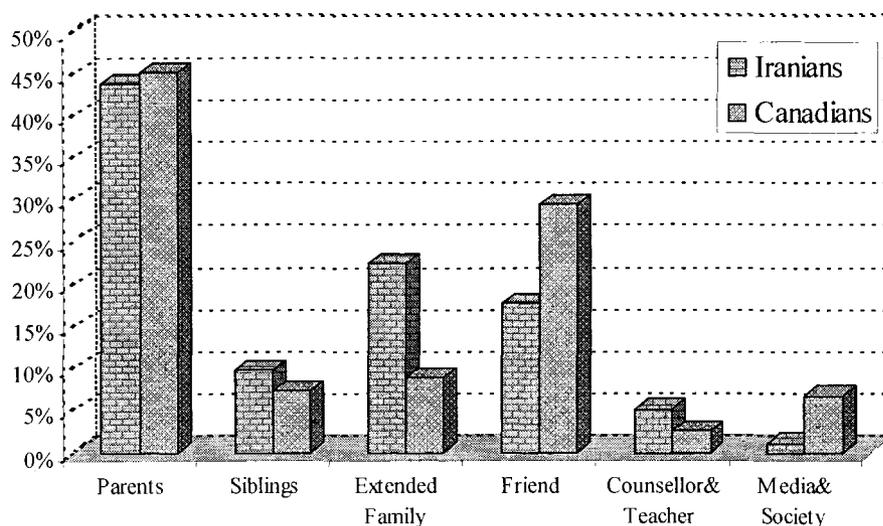


Figure 4. Percent of advisors giving unrequested advice

Figure 4 illustrates that parents gave the highest proportion of unrequested advice, both in Canada and in Iran. Friends were the second most common source of unrequested advice for Canadians, while extended family members were the second most common in Iran. Results of six 2 x 2 ANOVAs on the proportions of the six categories of unsolicited advisors revealed the following culture main effects. On average, Canadians received unsolicited advice from friends ($M = 3.11$ out of seven topics) significantly more often than did Iranians ($M = 1.62$), $F(1, 73) = 6.68, p < 0.01$. Canadians also reported receiving significantly more unsolicited advice from media ($M = 0.71$ of seven topics) than did Iranians ($M = 0.12$), $F(1, 73) = 5.18, p < 0.02$. In contrast, Iranians reported receiving more unrequested advice from extended family ($M = 2.00$ of seven topics) than did Canadians ($M = 0.94$), $F(1, 73) = 4.50, p < 0.05$. So Hypothesis 4 that Iranians receive more unrequested advice from parents, siblings, and extended family was

supported only for extended family. But Hypothesis 5, that Canadians receive more unrequested advice from friends, was confirmed.

Comparisons of the sources of requested and unrequested advice (cf. *Figures 3 & 4*) show roughly parallel results. It seems that, in both cultures, those who are solicited for advice also tend to be those who also give unsolicited advice. This parallel may simply reflect the amount of social contact – the number of hours spent with assorted others each day.

The gender main effects of the type-of-advisor 2 x 2 ANOVAs reported above show the following. Males reported unrequested advice on more of the seven topics ($M = 6.00$) than did females ($M = 3.81$). Males received marginally more unrequested advice from their mothers (3.23) than did females (2.20), $F(1, 73) = 3.69, p < 0.07$, and significantly more from their fathers (2.76 topics vs. 1.61 for females), $F(1, 73) = 5.57, p < 0.03$. Also, males reported receiving marginally more unrequested advice from counsellors and teachers ($M = 0.76$) than did females (0.32), $F(1, 73) = 3.76, p < 0.07$. There were no significant culture-by-gender interactions. The results suggest that males are somewhat more likely to report receiving unrequested advice than are females, contrary to part of Hypothesis 6. This may be a consequence of the fact that males less than females asked for advice of their parents. As a result, parents may give more unrequested advice to compensate for the decisions that males made without considering parents wishes.

Pressure of Advice

Hypothesis 7 states that Canadians will feel more social pressure to take advice – requested and unrequested -- than will Iranians. I measured pressure using participants'

responses to the question about requested and unrequested advice, “On a rating scale from 0 (no pressure) to 9 (extreme pressure), please rate how much pressure you felt to take the advice of that person” (see Appendix F). To test the hypothesis, I conducted three 2 x 2 (Culture-by-Gender) ANOVAs on the average pressure that participants felt from requested advice, from unrequested and from the total of these two.

The 2 x 2 ANOVA on total pressure scores resulted in a significant main effect for culture, $F(1, 73) = 11.02, p = 0.00$, but no significant main effect for gender, $F(1, 73) = 0.74, p = 0.63$, and no significant interaction, $F(1, 73) = 0.12, p = 0.74$. Canadians, on average, reported feeling significantly more *total pressure* of advice ($M = 14.02$) than did Iranians ($M = 7.26$), supporting Hypothesis 7. Perhaps this was because Canadians had more people giving them requested and unrequested advice, and that the extra people contributed to increased pressure. But a follow-up ANOVA showed no significant cultural differences in the number of advisors giving them advice, $F(1, 73) = 0.34, p = 0.66$. While this is consistent with the findings of Kitayama and Markus (1999) suggesting that individualistic selves feel more ego-focused emotions such as frustration, anger and pressure than do collectivist cultures, two other possible explanations remain: (1) Iranians habituate to advice, accept advice as a social norm, and don’t take it as seriously as do Canadians; (2) Canadians, raised in a more individualistic, “Don’t tell me what to do!” culture than are Iranians, may be more sensitive to people advising them.

The two 2 x 2 (Culture-by-Gender) ANOVAs I conducted on average pressure showed significant main effects of culture for both requested advice, $F(1, 73) = 8.17, p = 0.01$, and unrequested advice, $F(1, 73) = 8.64, p = 0.00$. The correlation between pressure of requested and unrequested advice was also significant, $r = 0.67, p = 0.00$.

Supporting Hypothesis 7, Canadians felt more pressure of both requested ($M = 6.69$ on a 9-point scale) and unrequested ($M = 7.33$) advice than Iranians did ($M = 3.45$ & 3.80 respectively). The main effects of gender on pressure of requested advice, $F(1, 73) = 0.91$, $p = 0.34$, and on unrequested advice, $F(1, 73) = 0.01$, $p = 0.91$, were not significant, nor were the interaction effects, $F(1, 73) = 0.48$, $p = 0.49$, and $F(1, 73) = 0.45$, $p = 0.50$. Follow-up ANOVAs on each of the seven topics of advice showed Canadians felt significantly more pressure than did Iranians for advice given to six of them; only advice on visiting relatives showed no significant cultural difference in pressure. This is again consistent with the literature suggesting that, in interpersonal relations, members of individualist cultures feel more ego-focused emotions (in this case, pressure) than collectivist cultures (Kitayama & Markus, 1999)

The biggest cultural differences in pressure came from advice about spending money, choosing cloths, and spending time. These differences may reflect cultural norms about personal boundaries and the right to make one's own personal decisions. In Canada, interpersonal boundaries -- especially those related to the personal decisions such as spending money, choosing cloths, and spending time -- seem to be well-defined and closely guarded (most Canadian children, for example, begin choosing which dress to buy or wear at a very young age). In Iran, boundaries are defined in terms of family, and personal boundaries within the family are discouraged. To illustrate, family secrets are closely guarded in Iran, but family secrets in Canada often become topics of daytime television talk shows. Iranian children are not expected to leave their parents home and to be financially independent of their parents before marriage, but in Canada children are expected to be independent before marriage. Canadian youth are encouraged to make and

spend their own money while living at home; the idea is alien to most Iranians, especially to Iranian females. And Iranian children do not have a legal right to complain to authorities about a parent's abusive behaviour. As a result, Canadians may feel more pressure than Iranians from advice both because there are more personal boundaries to invade in Canada, and because there are fewer personal boundaries to invade in Iran.

Religiosity and Advice

In order to test Hypothesis 8 that Iranians would be more religious than would Canadians, I used the Background Questionnaire item that asked participants to "Please rate how religious you are on a rating scale from 0 (= not at all religious) to 9 (very religious). I averaged the ratings for Iranians, Canadians, females, and males, then conducted a 2 x 2 (Culture-by-Gender) ANOVA on the averages. In this way, I could also test for a gender difference in religiosity. The ANOVA revealed significant main effects for culture, $F(1, 72) = 5.19, p = 0.02$, and for gender, $F(1, 72) = 7.78, p = 0.01$, but no significant interaction effect, $F(1, 72) = 2.77, p = 0.10$. Supporting Hypothesis 8, Iranians did, on average, rated themselves as more religious ($M = 5.28$ out of 9) than did Canadians ($M = 4.06$). Also, females rated themselves to be more religious ($M = 5.08$ out of 9) than did males ($M = 3.35$).

I then addressed Questions 1 and 2, asking if religiosity is related to receiving advice about each of the seven topics, or to receiving advice from family members and friends. I calculated the correlations between the level of religiosity and (a) unrequested and requested advice about seven topics (b) unrequested and requested advice from family members and friends both in Iran and in Canada. *Table 3* illustrates the results of the correlations that were significant for at least one culture.

Table 3 . Significant Correlations between Advice and Religiosity.

Advice about and from	Correlation with religiosity	
	Iran <i>df</i> = 39	Canada <i>df</i> = 35
Requested advice about visiting relatives	0.35*	-0.33
Requested advice about marriage	0.37*	-0.05
Unrequested advice about marriage	0.38*	0.16
Requested and unrequested advice about marriage	0.45**	0.05
Parents giving requested advice	0.36*	-0.14
Mother giving requested advice	0.38*	-0.20
Males giving unrequested advice	-0.35*	0.13

** $p < 0.01$. * $p < 0.05$.

As *Table 3* shows, the more religious were Iranian participants, the more advice they requested about visiting relatives and marriage, and the more unrequested advice they received about marriage. *Table 3* also reveals that the more religious were Iranians, the more they requested advice from their parents, especially their mothers. However, none of these correlations were significant among the Canadian sample. The significant correlations in Iran likely reflect the fact that family affairs and respect for parents instructions and commands, especially those of mothers, are strongly and frequently emphasized in Islam (e.g., see Biharul Anwar; Quran).

Table 3 additionally shows that the more religious Iranian participants are, the less they received unrequested advice from male advisors (i.e., the sum of father, brother, uncle, and grandfather). This is consistent with the fact that in Iran, especially in religious families, the role of women (especially mothers) in raising children and teaching them good values and deeds is emphasized (e.g., see Mortazavi, 2006). Therefore, in religious

families, male advisors likely feel less obligated to control or educate their children through advice.

Although it is probably not relevant to advice, my further explorations of the data revealed one result I found interesting and worthy to mention. There was a significant negative correlation between Iranians' level of university education and their level of religiosity, $r = -0.63$, $p = 0.00$. The longer Iranian participants studied at the university, the lower their reported religiosity. This may suggest that religiosity in Iran's society is more encouraged in specific families than it is in the whole society. Perhaps conservative mullahs do have a reason to be suspicious of higher education!

The RIC Scale

In order to test the validity of Kashima and Hardie's (2000) RIC Scale to Iranian-Canadian differences in individualism and collectivism (e.g., Mortazavi, 2006; Hofstede, 2001), I first scored each participant's responses to it. The 30-item RIC Scale asks participants to rate from *not at all true* (= 0) to *completely true* (= 7) how true each of the ten relationalism, ten individualism, and ten collectivism statements are about them. I derived three scores from each participant's ratings: an average R-score, an average I-score, and an average C-score. Next, I conducted three 2 x 2 (Culture-by-Gender) ANOVAs on the averages.

The 2 x 2 ANOVA testing culture and gender differences in *relational* averages showed a significant main effect for culture, $F(1, 71) = 475.4$, $p = 0.00$, a marginally significant main effect for gender, $F(1, 71) = 2.94$, $p = 0.09$, and no significant interaction, $F(1, 71) = 1.02$, $p = 0.31$. Contrary to Hypothesis 9, Canadians rated themselves as more relational ($M = 6.06$ out of 7) than did Iranians ($M = 5.55$). Females

rated themselves as marginally more relational ($M = 5.85$ out of 7) than did males ($M = 5.56$), partially confirming Hypothesis 10, and providing partial support to the suggestion that females are more relational than males (e.g., Kashima & Hardie, 2000).

The 2 x 2 ANOVA testing culture and gender differences in collectivism revealed a marginally significant main effect for culture, $F(1, 71) = 3.68, p = 0.06$. Canadians rated themselves as marginally more collectivist ($M = 5.49$ out of 7), than did Iranians ($M = 5.12$). The result was contrary to the prediction of Hypothesis 9 that Iranians would be more collectivist. The main effect of gender was also significant, $F(1, 71) = 9.10, p = 0.01$. Confirming Hypothesis 10, females rated themselves as more collectivist ($M = 5.45$), than did males ($M = 4.77$). The interaction effect was not significant, $F(1, 71) = 0.74, p = 0.39$.

The 2 x 2 ANOVA testing culture and gender differences in *individualism* showed no significant main effect for culture, $F(1, 71) = 0.04, p = 0.84$, or for gender, $F(1, 71) = 1.69, p = 0.20$; or a significant interaction, $F(1, 71) = 0.36, p = 0.45$. So no support was given for the prediction of Hypothesis 9 that Canadians would show greater individualism than would Iranians.

Surprisingly, although individualism and collectivism are assumed to be orthogonal, there were significant positive correlations between Canadians scores on individualism and collectivism, $r(34) = 0.41, p = 0.01$, individualism and relationalism, $r(34) = 0.63, p = 0.00$, and relationalism and collectivism, $r(34) = 0.76, p = 0.00$. There were significant positive correlations between Iranians scores on individualism and relationalism, $r(39) = 0.43, p = 0.01$, and their scores on relationalism and collectivism, r

(39) = 0.68, $p = 0.00$. The correlation between Iranians' scores on individualism and collectivism was not significant, $r(39) = 0.22$, $p = 0.17$.

In sum, contrary to the literature documenting the relative collectivism of Iranians and individualism of Canadians (e.g., Hofstede, 2001; Mortazavi, 2006), the RIC Scale showed that Canadians were more collectivist and relational than Iranians. Why the discrepancy? One possibility comes from Heine et al. (2002) who argue that cross-cultural measurements using rating scales often do not reveal the differences between collectivism vs. individualism because the reference group is often ambiguous in the scale. A close examination of the RIC Scale items show that items related to relationalism and collectivism refer to other people with the vague term "group". If most Iranians defined the group as a group of strangers, the RIC Scale results would make sense.

Finally, I tested the relationships between measurements of RIC scale and the levels of religiosity among Iranians and Canadians separately, conducting six tests of correlations. RIC scale did not show any statistically significant relationship. I thus began to doubt the utility of the RIC Scale, but decided to give it one more try in Study 3.

Summary

Study 2 examined cultural and gender differences in wanting and requesting advice, the sources of requested and unrequested advice, and social pressure of both kinds of advice. Study 2 also examined Iranian and Canadian differences in religiosity; and finally tested if the RIC Scale (Kashima & Hardie, 2000) has the capability of capturing the cultural differences between Iran and Canada in the direction documented by the literature.

The results show that Iranians wanted and requested advice about more topics than did Canadians. These results are consistent with Iranians having higher level of interdependency, reflecting their higher level of collectivism relative to Canadians. The topics that Iranians wanted and asked for more advice included choosing friends, spending time, marrying, and visiting relatives. The fact that these four topics have an interpersonal nature highlights the importance of interpersonal issues in Iran and again reflects a higher level of collectivism among Iranians than among Canadians.

Parents gave the highest rate of requested and unrequested advice to participants from both cultures. While Canadians more than Iranians requested advice from friends, Iranians more than Canadians requested advice from siblings, counsellors, and teachers. Iranians also received unrequested advice from extended family more often than did Canadians, and less often from friends, and the media and society. This pattern of results shows the relative importance of family in Iran (e.g., Khodayarifard et al, 2007), likely reflecting the relatively higher level of collectivism (Hofstede, 2001) in Iran than in Canada.

Although Iranians requested advice significantly more than they wanted, this difference was not significant for Canadians; implying that much of requested advice in Iran is due to feeling obligation to request advice, or to fulfill advisors' expectations that they should be consulted. In line with the literature (Kitayama & Markus, 1999), that members of individualist cultures feel more ego-focused emotions, Canadians felt more pressure of requested advice, unrequested advice, and the total of requested and unrequested advice (about five out of seven decision topics) than did Iranians.

The pattern of results concerning culture-by-gender interactions was consistent with the pattern found in Study 1: Iranian females wanted and requested advice about more topics than did Iranian males, but such differences did not exist between Canadian females and males. The replication of this pattern with a larger sample size of males leads me to be more confident in my culture-by-gender hypotheses generated from observations of prevalent double standards in Iran. The data again support the idea that gender stereotypes and roles are more differentiated in Iran than in Canada, consistent with observations that Iran is more masculine than Canada. Girls in Iran are socialized to conform to the norms and rules specific to females which are stricter than norms specific to males. Consequently, in order to facilitate the process of adjustment of females to strict social norms, females are socialized to want and request more advice and are given more unrequested advice.

Study 3: Giving Advice

Whereas Study 1 and 2 took the perspective of advisees without addressing the content of the advice, Study 3 was designed to take the perspective of advisors and to examine the content of the advice they gave. To do so, participants read letters taken from advice columns published in Canada and in Iran, each describing a problem with parents, siblings, friends, etc. and asking for advice. After reading each letter, participants were asked to write the advice they would give. I then analysed the content of their advice.

Advice has many features, but no content analysis scheme has yet been created to classify or analyse them. I therefore developed my own, relying on ideas from various areas of psychology. One comes from Thorngate's (personal communication, February 2005; see also Elster, 2007, Chapter 9) distinction between solving problems by (1) situational adaptation (changing the situation to suit one's wants), or by (2) personal adaptation (changing one's wants to suit the situation). Examples of advice about situational adaptation include advice to a young man to convince his parents to accept his preference for a university major, and a suggestion to a middle-aged woman to leave her husband if he does not accept her wishes. Examples of advice about personal adaptation include advice to the man to accept the university major preferred by his parents, and advice to the woman about adapting to the wishes of her husband. A third kind of adaptation, prevalent in Iran and among Muslims, is toleration – enduring or accepting a problem, which is assumed to be unsolvable or needing time to be solved.

Another distinction about the content of advice comes from research on conflict resolution (see Kheel, 1999; Leitch, 1986; Moore, 1985). The research indicates that

conflicts are often resolved by compromise, a combination of situational and personal adaptation, changing one's wants to suit the wants of another and vice versa. For example, someone requesting advice about arguing with a spouse might be advised to negotiate a compromise with the spouse, each making some adjustments to the other.

In order to assess informally the utility of situational adaptation, personal adaptation, toleration and compromise as advice categories, I examined the contents of two websites (<http://www.dearmrsweb.com/Teens.htm> & <http://www.elderwisdomcircle.org/>) containing advice for people requesting solutions to various life problems. Most of the contents of advice posted on those websites did fall into the four categories. Here are some examples of contents of advice given by those websites:

- “Talk to your husband about the distance you feel in the relationship, and about how he can change to help you cope with different stresses in your marriage.” (change the situation),
- “There is nothing you can do about your friend making such a wrong decision, so you should accept it; she will herself have to pay for it in future.” (tolerate),
- “Don't choose this job you want, as it is counterfeiting, illegal and a felony.” (change the self), and
- “You can do a deal with your parent.” (compromise).

Based on the ideas of situational adaptation, personal adaptation, toleration, and compromise suggested by the above researchers, and based on the contents of more than

120 letters from advisors to advisees posted on the above two websites, I decided to test cultural differences in these four categories of advice:

1. Change self to suit the situation;
2. Tolerate the situation;
3. Reach a compromise;
4. Change situation to suit the self.

My predictions about culture differences in the above four categories are listed in the subsection called *Content of Advice*, below. In addition to examining the content of advice in two cultures, I also examined one other feature and a possible predictor of advice: I looked for cultural differences in the *directiveness* of advice; I also looked at how advice might be related to *religiosity* -- an important element of culture, especially Iranian culture. I decided as well to test once more if the RIC Scale scores would parallel established differences between Iranians and Canadians in relationalism, collectivism, and individualism.

Content of Advice

Based on collectivism-individualism differences between Canada and Iran (e.g., Hatami, 2007; Hofstede, 1999), I generated a set of hypotheses about cultural differences in advice. I predicted that as collectivism in Iran is higher than in Canada, Iranians will give more advice related to “fitting-in” or conforming to social expectations of others than will Canadians. Included in this theme of fitting-in and conformity is advice related to (1) changing the self to suit the situation and (2) tolerating the situation. By contrast, because individualism in Canada is higher, I predicted that Canadians will give more advice to change an advisee’s situation to suit the advisee and more advice to

compromise. These hypotheses about culture differences in content of advice are in line with Triandis' (2004) discussion of *active vs. passive* features of cultures that reflect individualism-collectivism.

Beyond the cultural differences in advice-giving, the kind of advice that Canadians and Iranians give likely varies with the person requesting the advice. For example, a male requesting advice about a conflict with parents might receive different advice than a female with the same conflict. The difference could then be attributed to a gender bias of the advisor, one measure of a double standard. The present study also explored how advice might change with the gender of the person requesting advice. For example, because more women than men are socialized to accommodate themselves to their situation (see Feldman, 2005; Hill, 1987), I predicted that females with a problem would receive more advice related to "fitting in" than would males with the same problem. Therefore, females will receive more advice about changing themselves to suit the situation, and about tolerating the situation, than will males. I did not have a prediction for gender differences in the category of reaching a compromise, so I examined these differences, but did not make any directional predictions. In summary, I hypothesized the following.

- Hypothesis 1. Iranians will more often give advice to change the self to suit the situation than will Canadians, and females will receive more advice to change themselves than will males.

- Hypothesis 2. Iranians will more often give advice to tolerate the situation than will Canadians, and females will receive more advice to tolerate the situation than will males.
- Hypothesis 3. Canadians will more often give advice to change the advisee's situation to suit themselves than will Iranians, and males will receive more advice to change the situation to suit the self than will females.
- Hypothesis 4. Canadians will more often give advice to reach a compromise than will Iranians.

In order to test these predictions, I asked Canadian and Iranian participants to read a sample of newspaper-style advice column letters describing various problems of relevance to people of 15- 23 years old. I changed the names and pronouns of the authors of these letters. Half of my participants read letters seemingly written by a female; the other half of my participants read the same letters with names and pronouns adjusted to indicate they were written by a male.

Directiveness of Advice

In addition to cultural differences in the content of advice, cultures may also differ in the *directiveness* of advice, that is, the extent to which advice is imperative (“Do this... You must do that.”) rather than suggestive (“Perhaps you might consider...or think about...”). I predict that the directiveness of advice will vary with the extent to which a culture is hierarchical. The greater hierarchy in Iran (Alavi, 2003; Hofstede, 1999, 2001; Mortazavi, 2006; Yeganeh, 2007) would thus lead Iranians to be more directive in giving advice than would Canadians. This would be revealed by Iranians giving fewer options to

the advisees. Also, because women are often considered to be lower in the hierarchy than are men, I predicted that the advice given to female writers of letters would be more directive than the advice given to male writers. I tested the cultural and gender differences in directiveness of advice using two indicators of directiveness: (a) the average number of pieces of advice (ideas) per participant; and (b) the range of options (number of different categories of advice) that advisors gave to their advisees. I hypothesized the following.

- Hypothesis 5. Iranians will be more directive in giving advice than will Canadians; in addition, advice to females will be more directive than advice to males.

Religiosity and Advice

Based on recent research (Hatami, 2007) and the results of Study 2, I again hypothesized that Iranians would rate themselves as more religious than would Canadians (see Hypothesis 6, below). If this is true, and if Iranians also are more likely to advise others to change themselves or tolerate their situation (Hypotheses 3 and 4, above), then it would imply that religiosity was related to these two types of advice. I checked this implication by examining whether there was a correlation between rated religiosity and type of advice *within* each culture. If there were, the correlation would give further support to a religiosity-advice link. This reasoning led to Hypothesis 7, below.

- Hypothesis 6. Iranians are more religious than Canadians.
- Hypothesis 7. Religiosity is positively correlated with advice to change the self and to tolerate the situation, but negatively with advice to change the situation and

reach a compromise.

The RIC Scale: A Second Try

The RIC Scale results in Study 2 did not show Iranians to be more collectivist or relational than Canadians as other research had shown (e.g., Hofstede, 2001; Mortazavi, 2006). These results indicate that the RIC scale does not seem to be sensitive to often observed cultural differences. Even so, I decided to test once more whether the RIC scale had the capacity to detect the culture differences in Individualism- collectivism between Iranians and Canadians shown by previous literature. Participants in Study 3 were therefore asked to complete the RIC Scale to test the two following hypotheses (9 and 10) carried over from Study 2. In addition, I addressed the question of links between RIC Scale scores and religiosity (Question 1, below)

- Hypothesis 8. Iranians are more collectivist and relational than are Canadians.
- Hypothesis 9. Canadians are more individualistic than are Iranians.
- Question 1. Are there relationships between religiosity and measurements of relationalism, individualism, and collectivism?

Methods

Participants

New samples of participants were recruited for this study. Canadian participants were born in Canada and living in Ottawa. Iranian participants were born in Iran and living in Tehran. Course credit was granted to all the participants as compensation for participating in the study. As in Study 1, far more females in both cultures agreed to participate than did males. Again, this seems to reflect the small proportion of males who

take psychology courses, and a gender difference in the willingness to participate in research.

Canadian participants. Seven males and 20 females, aged 18-38 years (median = 19), were recruited from Introductory Psychology classes (PSYC 1001 and 1002) at Carleton University. With the exception of one student who spoke Spanish at home, all participants and their parents spoke English.

As in Studies 1 and 2, 14 female and 12 male international students and recent immigrants participated in my study, but did not meet my definition of a Canadian (see Study 1). This sample included Chinese, Arab, Iranian, and African-Arab students. They had lived in Canada for eight months to 20 years (Median = 4.25). As before, their data were not included in my study. Out of the 27 international students and recent immigrants recruited for this study, 12 were males. As with Studies 1 and 2, the elimination of 12 males reduced the sample size of Canadian males.

Iranian participants. Four male and 32 female Iranian participants, aged 18-40 years (median = 21.7), were recruited from Introduction to Social Psychology and Experimental Psychology courses offered at Tehran University and Shahid Beheshti University. All spoke Farsi as their first language.

Materials

This study required participants to give advice to people who had written letters requesting advice – either published in two web sites or mailed to a producer of teenage television program in Iran, asking for advice. All participants in Iran and Canada answered a *Background Questionnaire* (BQ) and an *Advice Giving Questionnaire* (AGQ) I developed

(Appendix L), followed by the *Relational-Individualist-Collectivist Scale* (RIC; Kashima & Hardie, 2000; Appendix Y).

As in Study 2, the BQ included questions about socio-demographics of participants such as age gender, occupation, country of birth, number of years living in Canada (if not born in Canada), spoken language at home, parents' spoken language at home, and religiousness. (see Appendix L). The AGQ contained 13 letters from young people requesting advice: five written by Canadians, five written by Iranians, and three I constructed, each describing a writer's problem and requesting advice (See Appendix L). The letters written by Canadians and Iranians were selected from about 80 written by real people to experienced advisors. The Iranian letters were written by teenagers and young adults and sent to a national Iranian TV show for youth. These letters, hand-written in Farsi (for a sample see Appendix M), were sent to the producer and psychological consultants of the television show asking advice from them; the writers later received advice either on television or by a private reply. Canadian letters were obtained from two online advice columns: <http://www.dearmrsweb.com/Teens.htm> and <http://www.elderwisdomcircle.org/>

The letters were chosen according to three criteria: a) the Canadian writers' ages would approximate those of the selected Iranian writers; b) the topic would be understandable to both cultures; c) the topics would be gender neutral (so, for example, letters asking advice about makeup were excluded). Letters written by elderly advice seekers, or those seeking advice about such culture dependent topics as tattooing or Wal-Mart employment, were also excluded. Problems mentioned in the chosen letters focussed on interpersonal relations and included difficulties with parents, friends, siblings, partner, and the parents of a fiancé. One page of blank space was provided after each letter for each participant to write his or her advice.

The RIC scale (Appendix Y), again aimed to measure relational, individual, and collective aspects of the self. This questionnaire was exactly the same as the RIC scale administered in Study 2 (Appendix Y).

Procedure

Canadian students. After obtaining ethics approval from Carleton University, I posted a recruitment form on the Carleton Introductory Psychology website participants' pool at <http://carleton.sona-systems.com> (see Appendices N to R). Participants signed up through the web; between one to five students were scheduled at a time to come to the lab (A401 and 404 Loeb Building) where they answered the questionnaires. Before answering the Advice Giving Questionnaire, I asked participants to read and sign the informed consent form (Appendix Q). Then I asked the participants to answer the BQ and enter their advice to the 13 advice seeking letters, which they read on a computer monitor. In order to study differences in advisors' reactions to males vs. females requesting advice, about half of the participants were randomly assigned to respond the letters attributed to females and the other half responded the same letters attributed to males. Half of the participants gave advice to the scenarios 1 to 13 in that order and the second half gave advice to the scenarios in reverse order to control for order and fatigue effects (Neter et al., 1995). After completing the BQ, AGQ, and RIC scale, and signing a copy of debriefing form (Appendix R), participants were thanked and excused. It took participants 45-80 minutes to complete the study.

Iranian participants. Iranian participants were given Farsi translations of the three questionnaires and wrote their advice in Farsi. I translated the questionnaires from English to Farsi and e-mailed them to my research assistant, Asefeh Tavakoli, in Iran.

Before administering the questionnaires, Asefeh back-translated the Farsi version of questionnaire and we resolved the few minor translation disagreements by e-mail. Asefeh recruited the participants and administered the Farsi version of questionnaires. To recruit participants in Iran, she read the announcement in the classrooms of two professors and colleagues, Shahla Pakdaman and Javad Hatami, and asked interested students to sign up for the study. Asefeh followed the Canadian procedure to administer the questionnaires, with the exception that in Iran participants answered the questionnaires in paper and pencil format. In addition, because research in Iran does not require the process of obtaining approval of an ethics committee, no informed consent was requested.

After collecting the data in Iran, Asefeh sent to me the data via friends travelling between Iran and Canada. I read the answers of both Iranians and Canadians to the questionnaires entered them into the Excel-sheet, summarizing the answers (e.g., converting the sentences to the ideas within the sentences).

Results and Discussion

Content of Advice

In order to test Hypotheses 1-4 regarding cultural differences in the content of advice, I first coded the advice into my previously-mentioned categories (shown with examples below). Then I had a colleague to do the same. We discussed our disagreements and, based on what we both agreed upon, we decided about the content of each category. Below are some examples of pieces of advice that fall into each category:

- a. **Change self to suit the situation:** “Obey your parents”, “Change your attitudes towards your fiancé’s parents”, “Change your emotions”, “Accept

whatever your girl/boyfriend wants”, and “Do your best to become interested in a major at university that you already hate”.

- b. **Tolerate the situation:** “Be patient”, “Wait and study well so that in future you can leave your parents’ home”, and “Tolerate what your fiancé’s parents say to you”.
- c. **Change situation to suit the self:** “Move out of your parents home”, “Talk to your parents or your fiancé’s parents and change their attitude towards yourself”, “Get a job and support yourself financially”, “Break-up with your controlling girl/boy friend”, and “Withdraw from the major that you dislike and switch to the one that you are interested”.
- d. **Compromise:** “Do a deal with your parents”, “Follow what you want but be somehow flexible”, and “Balance between what you have to do and what you like to do”.
- e. **Others:** “Do not hurt yourself”, “talk to your teacher”, “consult professionals”, and “speak to your friends”.

When I examined the *Others* category of advice, I realized that 94% of the pieces therein were related to a 5th theme, which I called *seek further advice*. In this category participants advised the writers of scenarios to seek advice of professionals or other people.

After assigning the pieces of advice to the five content categories, I checked my work for consensual validity by asking a second person read and categorize a sample of 100 pieces of advice, then discussing with me the 17 discrepancies in our categorizations. A piece of advice could consist of a phrase, a sentence, or the entire essay that included

an independent idea or suggestion. Participants frequently gave more than one piece of advice in response to a single letter. Each one of them was counted, but no category was counted twice. Then I did the following statistical analysis.

I first counted how many pieces of advice were given to letters attributed to women vs. men, given by Iranian vs. Canadian participants, that fell into each of the above five content categories. For example, if Fatemeh gave a total of 32 pieces of advice to the 13 scenarios in letters attributed to 13 female advisees, then Fatemeh's advice might be categorized and counted as change yourself (6 pieces), tolerate (9), change situation (10), compromise (5), and seek further advice (2). I then averaged the frequencies of each category of advice given by Iranians and Canadian participants to female and male advisees.

Before doing analysis on frequency differences in the above five categories, I first tested whether there was a cultural difference in the number of pieces of advice given by Iranians vs. Canadians, to female vs. male advisees. I summed the frequencies of five categories of advice given by each Iranian vs. Canadian participant to female vs. male advisees. Then I conducted a 2 x 2 (Culture of advisors-by-Gender of advisees) ANOVA on the average pieces of advice given by each participants in four groups.

The results of 2 x 2 ANOVA showed a significant main effect for culture, $F(1, 59) = 7.71, p = 0.01$. Iranians on average gave fewer pieces of advice ($M = 33.7$ pieces across all 13 letters) than did Canadians ($M = 39.1$). Neither the main effect for gender of letter writers, $F(1, 59) = 0.33, p = 0.43$, nor the interaction effect, $F(1, 59) = 1.41, p = 0.24$ were significant. The significant culture difference in average amount of advice directed me to use percentages of total advice in my ANOVAs of the five category

frequencies, rather than the raw total of advice in each category. The next step included converting the frequencies of each group to percentages. *Figure 5* shows the percentages for five categories of advice that emerged among Iranian and Canadian participants.

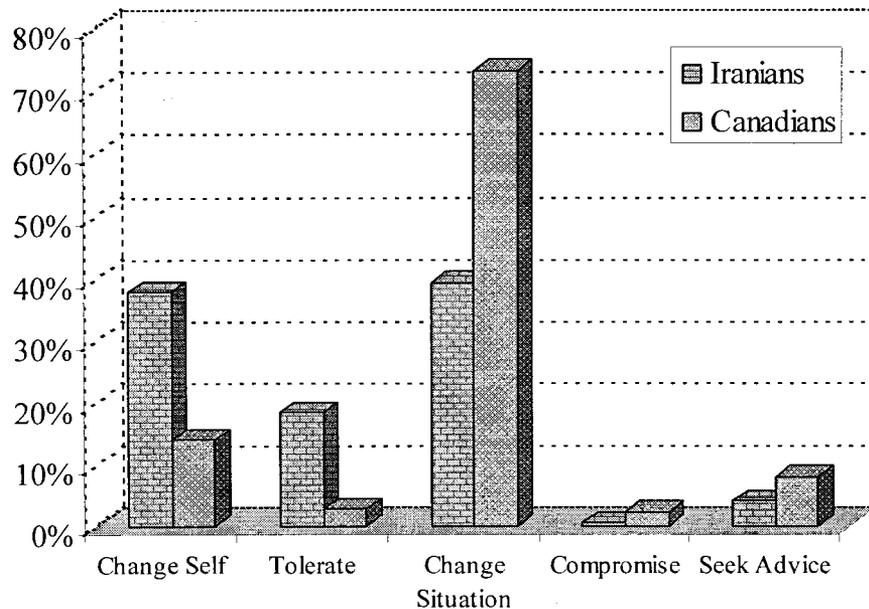


Figure 5. Percent of five categories of advice

I conducted five separate 2 x 2 (Culture of advisors-by-Gender of advisees) ANOVAs on the percent of each of the five major advice categories (including “Others” = “seek more advice”). This was meant to determine if there were significant main effects for culture of advisors and for gender of advisees in the predicted direction, for the categories. Because of the small sample sizes of male advisors (7 Canadians and 4 Iranians), I was unable to test for a gender difference in advisors. The results of five 2 x 2 ANOVAs on the proportions of five categories of advice are reported below.

Changing Self to Suit the Situation. The first ANOVA, testing Hypothesis 1 revealed a significant main effect for culture of advisors, $F(1, 59) = 113.1, p = 0.00$.

Supporting Hypothesis 1, Iranians advised letter writers to change themselves to suit the situation ($M = 37.2\%$ of their advice) significantly more often than did Canadians ($M = 13.7\%$). The result is consistent with Iran's higher level of collectivism than Canada's (e.g., Hatami, 2007; Hofstede, 1999), and supports Triandis' (2004) idea that collectivist cultures are more passive than more active, individualistic cultures such as Canada. The main effect for gender of letter writers was not significant, $F(1, 59) = 1.58, p = 0.21$, nor was the interaction effect, $F(1, 59) = 2.38, p = 0.13$. There was thus no support for the second part of Hypothesis 1; letters attributed to females did not receive more advice to change themselves to suit the situation than did the same letters attributed to males.

Tolerating the Situation. The second ANOVA, testing Hypothesis 2, also revealed a significant main effect for culture, $F(1, 59) = 136.6, p = 0.00$. Supporting Hypothesis 2, Iranians advised advisees to tolerate their situation ($M = 18.50\%$ of their advice) more often than did Canadians ($M = 2.74\%$). The result is again consistent with the idea that collectivist Iranian culture is also more passive (Triandis, 2004) than Canadian culture (e.g., Hofstede, 1999). Here too, the main effect for gender of writers of letters was not significant, $F(1, 59) = 0.35, p = 0.45$, nor was the interaction effect, $F(1, 59) = 0.47, p = 0.48$, giving no support for the second part of Hypothesis 2, that letters attributed to female advisees would receive more advice to tolerate their situation than would the same letters attributed to males.

Changing Situation to Suit the Self. The third ANOVA, testing Hypothesis 3, also revealed a significant main effect for culture, $F(1, 59) = 197.9, p = 0.00$, supporting Hypothesis 3, Canadians more proportionately advised advisees to change their situation to suit the self ($M = 73.6\%$) than did Iranians ($M = 39.9\%$). This is consistent with the

supposition that Canadian culture is more individualist than is Iranian culture (e.g., Hatami, 2007; Hofstede, 1999; Triandis, 2004). Once more, the main effect for gender of letter writers was not significant, $F(1, 59) = 1.17, p = 0.28$, nor was the interaction, $F(1, 59) = 0.61, p = 0.44$, again giving no support for the sex difference part of Hypothesis 3.

Reaching a Compromise. The fourth ANOVA tested Hypothesis 4 that Canadians will more often give advice to reach a compromise than will Iranians. Though compromise emerged only in four of the 13 scenarios (2, 4, 5, and 6), a 2 x 2 ANOVA on the proportion of advice in this category revealed a significant culture main effect, $F(1, 59) = 8.79, p = 0.00$, supporting Hypothesis 4 that Canadians gave proportionately more advice to reach a compromise ($M = 2.11\%$) than did Iranians ($M = 0.47\%$). Again this consistent with the authors who propose that Canadian culture as more individualist than is Iranian culture (e.g., Hofstede, 1999). As before, the main effect for gender of letter writers was not significant, $F(1, 59) = 0.07, p = 0.21$, nor was the interaction effect, $F(1, 59) = 0.45, p = 0.49$, giving no support to the sex difference part of Hypothesis 4.

Seeking Further Advice. As mentioned, 94% the pieces of advice in the *Others* category were related to *seeking further advice* from professionals or other people. Though I had run out of statistical degrees of freedom by analysing the other four content categories above, I decided to conduct a fifth 2 x 2 (Culture of advisors-by-Gender of advisees) ANOVA on the proportions of advice to seek further advice. The results showed that the main effect for culture was significant, $F(1, 59) = 12.32, p = 0.00$. Iranians less often advised their advisees to seek the advice of others ($M = 3.94\%$) than did Canadians ($M = 7.81\%$). This finding might be a result of Iranians' higher level of family-orientation (e.g., Mortazavi, 2006; Yeganeh, 2007) as compared to Canadians

resulting in a greater desire among Iranians to solve their problems and conflict within families and a smaller desire to discuss the problems outside the family. Consistently, the main effect for gender of writers of letters was not significant, $F(1, 59) = 0.47, p = 0.49$, nor was the interaction effect, $F(1, 59) = 0.07, p = 0.20$.

It is worth mentioning that, across all participants, the correlations between proportions of advice to (a) tolerate the situation and (b) change the self to suit the situation were significant and positive, $r(62) = 0.58, p = 0.00$. This suggests a factor common to both, which may reflect a personal adaptation orientation toward advising. There were very large and negative correlations between proportions of advice to change the situation to suit the self and to (a) change the self to suit the situation, $r(62) = -0.92, p = 0.00$, and (b) tolerate the situation, $r(62) = -0.80, p = 0.00$, suggesting that changing self and tolerating the situation tend to be exclusive of changing situation to suit the self.

The category of compromise was correlated negatively with (a) tolerating the situation, $r(62) = -0.31, p = 0.01$, and (2) changing self to suit the situation, $r(62) = -0.37, p = 0.00$, and positively (3) with changing the situation to suit self, $r(62) = 0.31, p = 0.01$. There were negative correlations between seeking further advice and (a) tolerating the situation, $r(62) = -0.40, p = 0.00$, and (b) changing self to suit the situation, $r(62) = -0.33, p = 0.00$. The category of seeking further advice was not correlated with (a) changing environment, $r(62) = 0.20, p = 0.10$, and (b) reaching a compromise, $r(62) = -0.01, p = 0.93$. Again, the pattern of these results support the claim that changing the self and toleration cluster together, while changing the situation and compromise do the same.

Directiveness of Advice

Differences in cultural beliefs, such as believing in the necessity of interdependence, can produce differences in what I shall call the *style* of advice given. For example, parents from a culture believing that children should be compliant and rely on external assistance to learn are likely to be more directive than parents who believe children should be independent and learn on their own (Johnston & Wong, 2002). Hierarchy in cultures can be manifested in people's language (Schwartz, 1994), and consequently in the style of advice given. Hypothesis 5 predicted that Iranians will be more directive in giving advice than will Canadians; in addition, advice to females will be more directive than advice to letters attributed to males.

I chose to test Hypothesis 5 using two different indicators of directiveness. First, I calculated the average number of pieces of advice each advisor gave across the 13 scenarios. Second, I calculated the number of different categories of advice (minimum = 1; maximum = 5) each advisor gave across the 13 scenarios. The first indicator reflected how extensive the advice was (e.g., "talk to your parents." = one piece of advice, is considered not extensive, and "talk to your parents, but if this did not work then think about a compromise, or consider leaving home. Meanwhile you can talk to a counsellor" = 4 pieces of advice, is considered extensive). The second indicator reflected the variety of options that advisors gave. The correlation between these indicators was $r(62) = 0.37$, $p = 0.00$.

As noted previously (see p.131 above), a 2x2 (Culture of advisors-by-Gender of advisees) ANOVA on the average number of pieces of advice given showed a significant culture main effect: Iranians gave fewer pieces of advice than did Canadians. This result

supported Hypothesis 5; Iranian advice was more directive than was Canadian advice. The main effect for gender of letter writers and the interaction effect were not significant.

The results of the 2 x 2 (Culture of advisors-by-Gender of advisees) ANOVA on the average number of different advice categories used by advisors also showed a significant culture main effect, $F(1, 59) = 4.73, p = 0.03$. Supporting Hypothesis 5 that Iranian advice is more directive than Canadian advice, Iranian advisors offered fewer options to the advisees ($M = 3.75$ of five categories) than did Canadians ($M = 4.11$). This is consistent with the idea that Iran's culture is more collectivist and hierarchical than is Canada's. Neither the main effect of gender of letter writers, $F(1, 59) = 0.83, p = 0.34$, nor the interaction effect, $F(1, 59) = 0.53, p = 0.47$, were significant.

Religiosity and Advice

Recall that I proposed two hypotheses about religion. Hypothesis 6 stated that Iranians will be more religious than would Canadians. And Hypothesis 7 stated that religiosity will be positively correlated with advice to change the self and tolerate, but negatively correlated with advice to change the situation and reach a compromise.

In order to determine if Iranians are more religious than Canadians, I conducted a between-groups *t*-test on the average ratings of religiosity given by Iranians and Canadians (see item 9 of the Background Questionnaire, Appendix L). The *t*-test showed a marginally significant main effect for culture, $t(58) = 1.69, p = 0.09$. Weakly consistent with Hypothesis 6, Iranians rated themselves on average as marginally more religious ($M = 4.9$ out of 9) than did Canadians ($M = 3.8$).

Next I tested Hypothesis 7 that religiosity is positively correlated with advice to change the self and tolerate, but negatively with advice to change the situation and reach

a compromise. Although I did not have any hypothesis about the categories of reaching a compromise and seeking further advice, I also tested the significance of correlations between religiosity and these two categories of advice. I calculated a total of 15 correlations: five using scores on all participants' religiosity and the categories of advice; five using only Iranians' scores on religiosity and on the categories of advice; and five using only Canadians' scores on religiosity and on the categories of advice. Table 4 summarizes the results of the correlations.

Table 4. Correlations between Categories of Advice and Religiosity.

Category of advice	Correlation with religiosity		
	Iran <i>df</i> = 39	Canada <i>df</i> = 35	Both cultures <i>df</i> = 59
Change self to suit the situation	0.35*	0.27	0.35**
Tolerate the situation	-0.22	0.11	0.14
Change situation to suit the self	-0.30	-0.27	-0.32*
Compromise	-0.18	0.07	-0.16
Seek further advice	0.18	0.06	0.02

** $p < 0.01$. * $p < 0.05$.

Partially supporting Hypothesis 7, the results shown in Table 7 reveal there was a positive correlation between religiosity and giving advice to change self, and a negative correlation between religiosity and giving advice to change the situation. This is consistent with ascetic characterizations of religion as a means of adapting the self. However, the relationship between religiosity and advice to tolerate the situation was not significant. This part of Hypothesis 7 was not supported.

While most of the correlations in Canada and Iran were not significant (Table 4), the pattern of these correlations was suggestive and interesting. The correlations in both

countries show that the more religious participants were, the more they advised others to change themselves to suit the situation and the less they advised others to change situation to suit themselves. Interestingly, the more religious Iranians were, the less they advised compromise (supporting Hypothesis 7) or toleration (opposite Hypothesis 7). The latter result is consistent with Islamic beliefs not to compromise one's values. Of course, these are only trends and patterns. But they suggest that further research should be done in this area.

The RIC Scale: A Second Try

Finally, I again tested the ability of the RIC scale to reveal the culture differences between Iran and Canada in collectivism-individualism previously documented by several researchers (for example, Hofstede, 1999, 2001). As in Study 2, if the RIC Scale were consistent with the literature, it would reveal that Iranians are more collectivist and relational than are Canadians (Hypothesis 8), while Canadians are more individualistic than are Iranians (Hypothesis 9). I also explored whether there was a relationship between measurements of relationalism, individualism, and collectivism and religiosity (Question 1).

As in Study 2, I calculated the averages for the RIC scale's measures of collectivism, individualism and relationalism. Then I conducted three independent samples *t*-tests between cultures. As the sample sizes of male advisors were small, I chose not to test for gender differences.

None of the three independent-samples *t*-tests was significant. The RIC scale failed to reveal the differences between Iranians and Canadians in relationalism, $t(61) =$

1.11, $p = 0.27$, individualism, $t(61) = 0.89$, $p = 0.38$, and collectivism, $t(61) = 0.25$, $p = 0.80$. Therefore the RIC scale could not support Hypotheses 8 and 9.

There were significant positive correlations between Iranian's scores on relationalism and collectivism, $r(35) = 0.79$, $p = 0.00$. But there were no significant correlations between Iranian's scores on individualism and relationalism, $r(35) = 0.25$, $p = 0.14$, or between individualism and collectivism, $r(35) = -0.10$, $p = 0.54$. There were significant and positive correlations between Canadians scores on individualism and relationalism, $r(26) = 0.97$, $p = 0.00$, individualism and collectivism, $r(26) = 0.76$, $p = 0.00$, and relationalism and collectivism, $r(26) = 0.74$, $p = 0.00$. The puzzling and inconsistent results indicate that, especially in Canada, it is quite possible to be high or low on all three cultural dimensions. The high correlation between Canadians individualism and collectivism is contrary to the ideas of most researchers who consider individualism and collectivism to be either mutually exclusive or independent features of cultures.

In order to answer Question 1 about relationships between religiosity and measurements of relationalism, individualism, and collectivism, I computed three correlations on the scores of all participants' level of religiosity and their scores on relationalism, individualism, and collectivism. I conducted six more correlation tests on the corresponding measurements for Iranian and Canadians participants separately. None of the nine correlations were significant (for all, $r < 0.27$, $p > 0.12$).

Summary

Study 3 examined culture difference in the content and directiveness of advice given by Iranians and Canadians, and explored how advice might change with the gender

of the person requesting advice. The content of advice was classified into five categories:

a) Adapt the self to the situation b) Adapt the situation to the self; 3) Tolerate the situation; 4) Reach a compromise; 5) Seek further advice.

The results showed that Iranians gave more advice to change the self to suit the situation and to tolerate the situation than did Canadians, consistent with arguments that Iran is more collectivist than is Canada. Canadians gave more advice to change the situation to suit the self and to reach a compromise, consistent with arguments that Canada is more individualist than Iran (e.g., Hofstede, 2001). Iranians less than Canadians advised people to seek advice of others, perhaps because Iranians are more family oriented than Canadians, and more prone to solve their problems seeking advice of family members, rather than of outside the family. Iranian advice was more directive than Canadian advice; Iranians offered fewer pieces of advice and fewer options or alternatives to their advisees. This gives support to the idea that Iranians are more hierarchical than Canadians (e.g., Hofstede, 2001; Mortazavi, 2006; Yeganeh, 2007).

Males and females advisees did not receive different rates of advice to change themselves to suit the situation, tolerate, change their situation to suit them, reach compromise, and to seek further advice. Nor did advice to females and males significantly differ in directiveness. The RIC Scale again failed to distinguish between a collectivist culture (Iran) and an individualistic culture (Canada).

Study 4: The Social Dynamics of Conflicting Advice

Studies 1 and 2 emphasized advice from the perspective of advisees, examining the sources of advice and the level of social pressure that advice can bring. Study 3 emphasized advice from the perspective of advisors, examining the content and nature of the advice given, including the directiveness of advice. The present study explored the antecedents of conflict and the social consequences of giving and receiving advice, in particular, the conflicts between advisor and advisee that advice often brings. To do so, I interviewed a new sample of participants in Canada and in Iran about their memories of two situations: one in which they received advice that created a high degree of interpersonal conflict with advisors; and one in which they gave advice that created a high degree of interpersonal conflict with advisees. Participants' responses allowed me to test hypotheses and to answer questions about what caused the conflicts, how participants reacted to the conflicts, and how they were resolved. It also allowed me to examine whether conflicts from giving advice were different than conflicts from receiving it. In addition, I once more explored the culture and gender differences in religiosity, and the relationship of religiosity to resolutions of advice-induced conflicts.

My research questions and hypotheses fit into four general categories. The first and second categories concerned the antecedents of conflicts arising from advice and the emotional reactions to the conflicts. The third category concerned the duration and means of resolving the conflicts. The fourth category concerned religiosity and its possible relation to conflict and conflict resolution.

Antecedents of Conflict

Ask anyone in any culture to recall a situation in which giving or receiving advice led to conflict, and the story is likely to be complex and variable. Regardless of culture, conflicts can arise from requested or unrequested advice, or from advice about minor decisions (for example, what to wear) or major ones (whom to marry). It seemed reasonable to expect that, in both Canada and Iran, more conflicts would result from receiving unwanted and unrequested advice than from wanted and requested advice, simply because the act of wanting or requesting advice suggests (1) a weaker commitment to any course of action, and (2) a desire to be influenced. In contrast, people who receive unwanted or unrequested advice are likely to react with what Brehm and Brehm (1981) define as *psychological reactance* leading to resistance or hostility to unwanted attempts at influence or control. Hypotheses 1 and 2 were derived from this reasoning. Question 1 reflected my curiosity about culture and gender differences in receiving advice about major vs. minor decisions.

- Hypothesis 1. Conflicts more often result from receiving unwanted advice than from receiving wanted advice.
- Hypothesis 2. Conflicts more often result from receiving unrequested advice than from receiving requested advice.
- Question 1. Do Iranians or women receive conflict-inducing advice about minor or major decisions more often than Canadians or men do?

Emotional Reactions

As noted in my Introduction, most of the psychological literature on advice considers giving and receiving advice to be matters of “cool cognition” – a simple

transfer of information from one emotionless brain to another. My three previous studies, and casual observation of reactions to advice, show that advice often carries considerable emotional baggage as well. In line with the research suggesting that people in individualist cultures express (1) more intense emotions and (2) more emotions than do people in collectivist cultures (Kitayama & Markus, 1999; Matsomoto et al., 1988), I made two predictions:

- Hypothesis 3. Canadians will rate their emotional reactions to advice-induced conflict as more intense than will Iranians;
- Hypothesis 4. Canadians will express more variety of emotional reactions to advice-induced conflict than will Iranians.

Curiosity again prompted me to ask one more questions about gender differences in emotional reactions.

- Question 2. Is there a gender difference in the intensity and variety of emotional reactions to receiving or giving conflict-inducing advice?

Conflict Duration and Resolution

Study 3 showed that Iranian advisors prefer to tell advisees to change themselves or tolerate their situation, and that they are more directive in the advice they give, while Study 2 showed that Iranian advisees feel less pressure to take advice given. Combining these tendencies in situations of advice-induced conflict should lead anyone to suspect that Iranian attempts to resolve the conflict will be long and heated relative to the more relaxed combination of opposites that Canadians showed in Studies 2 and 3. In short, Iranians in conflict should have longer and more intense debates than would Canadians in

conflict, indicated by the number and nature of their persuasive communications. This reasoning led to the following two hypotheses.

- Hypothesis 5. Persuasive communications for resolving Iranian conflicts will be more frequent, and will have longer duration, than those for resolving Canadian conflicts.
- Hypothesis 6. Persuasive communications of Iranians arising from advice will be more intense than will Canadian conflicts.

Curiosity once again led me to three final research questions, two related to possible gender differences in the intensity and duration of conflicts, the other related to cultural differences in satisfaction with the outcome of the conflict.

- Question 3. Are there gender differences in the frequency and duration of persuasive communications to resolve conflicts?
- Question 4. Is there a gender difference in the intensity of persuasive communications to resolve conflicts?

According to theories of collectivism and hierarchy (e.g., Triandis, 2004), collectivist cultures require more compliance with norms and hierarchical cultures require more compliance to authorities than do cultures high in individualism and egalitarianism. Therefore I hypothesized that, in Iran, conflict resulting from advice will more often be resolved by compliance and less often by compromise than in Canada. I also hypothesized that their hierarchical culture will lead Iranian advisors more than Canadian advisors to expect their advice must be taken. When it is not, frustration or anger should occur. This led to my Hypothesis 9. My hypotheses (5 and 6) about longer and stronger

persuasive communications in Iran additionally led me to hypothesize that fewer conflicts will be resolved there (Hypothesis 8).

- Hypothesis 7. Iranians will report a greater frequency of compliance to resolve their conflicts than will Canadians, while Canadians will report a greater frequency of compromise.
- Hypothesis 8. Iranians will report more unresolved conflicts than will Canadians.
- Hypothesis 9. Iranian advisors more frequently than Canadians show anger when their advice is ignored.

Here too, curiosity led me to address another research question for which I had no hypothesis. It concerned the level of satisfaction about the resolution of conflicts.

- Question 5. Is there a difference between Canadians and Iranians in the level of satisfaction with the decision they make subsequent to the conflict?

Religiosity and Advice

The results of Studies 2 and 3 showed that Iranians were generally more religious than Canadians. Hypothesis 10 predicted the same result in the present study. Religiosity is often associated with inflexibility – an unwillingness to concede or compromise stemming from a firm belief in the correctness of one’s own interpretation of the religious values and duties, a belief that religious duties can be applied to advice as education, and a belief that religious values must not be compromised. This suggests that the more religious people are in any culture, the longer they would hold to their side of a conflict and the more intense they would argue their side. Questions 6 and 7 flowed from this reasoning.

- Hypothesis 10. Iranians are more religious than Canadians.
- Question 6. Is religiosity correlated with the duration of persuasive communications?
- Question 7. Is religiosity correlated with the intensity of persuasive communications?

Methods

Participants

New samples of undergraduate university students (14 female and three male Canadian undergraduates; eight female and eight male Iranian undergraduates) were interviewed. The Canadian participants were Carleton University students born and living in Canada; the Iranian participants were Tehran University and Shahid Beheshti University students, born and living in Iran. All the participants were granted a course credit in exchange for participating in the study.

Fourteen additional participants (four males, 10 females) were excluded from my group of Canadian participants because they were not born and raised in Canada. They had lived in Canada between seven months and 16 years. As with Studies 1-3, their exclusion from Study 4 reduced the sample size of Canadian males.

Canadian participants. As in my three previous studies, the Canadian participants, aged 18-23 (median = 20), were recruited from the Introductory Psychology course volunteer participant pool. The first language of all participants and their parents was English.

Iranian participants. The Iranian participants, aged 18-25 (median = 20), were

recruited from Introduction to Social Psychology and Experimental Psychology courses at Shahid Beheshti University. Their spoken language was Farsi.

Materials

All participants in Iran and Canada answered my *Background Questionnaire* (BQ), then participated in a structured interview based on my *Advice Receiving Questions* (ARQ; Appendix S) and *Advice Giving Questions* (AGQ; Appendix S). A tape-recorder was used to record the interviews. I also used a printed copy of the questionnaire to keep written notes of participants' answers to the ARQ and AGQ questions as they were given.

The BQ asked questions about the socio-demographic features of participants (see Appendix S). The ARQ first asked participants to recall one decision in which they received advice that caused them the most severe conflict. I then asked them questions about the events related to the advice. For example, I asked, "What was your decision about?" "Whom did you receive advice from?" "What was the advice?" "Did you want that person's advice" and "Did you request advice?" There were also questions about the conflict and the strategies of conflict resolution that participants and advisors adopted. Some of these questions were: "What happened when you received the advice?" "Did you argue? If yes, how many times and for how long did you argue?" and "Was the conflict ever resolved?" (see Appendix S).

My AGQ asked participants to recall an occasion in which they gave advice that caused the most severe conflict they had ever experienced; then asked several questions about the occasion. AGQ complemented those I asked in ARQ (see my previous paragraph). For example, participants were asked "Whom did you give advice to?" rather than "Who did you receive advice from?" (see Appendix S).

In order to interview Iranian participants, Farsi versions of the same questionnaires were used. I translated the English version of the questionnaires to Farsi, and an Iranian Translator did a back-translation. We discussed and resolved all translation differences.

Procedure

Canadian participants. After obtaining ethics approval, I again posted a recruitment form on the Carleton website for the Introductory Psychology participants' pool at <http://carleton.sona-systems.com> (see Appendices T to X). As before, participants signed up through the web, but I allowed only one person to participate at a time. Two days before the interview, I e-mailed the AGQ and ARQ to the participants and asked them to read and think about the questions. When each participant arrived for the interview, I asked him/her to read and sign the informed consent form (Appendix W) and requested permission to tape-record the interview (all agreed). Participants first completed the BQ; then I interviewed them, asking the AGQ and ARQ, counterbalancing for order. While I tape-recorded their replies, I also kept brief written notes of their answers. After the interview, I gave each participant a signed copy of the debriefing form (Appendix X) and thanked them for their participation. It took participants 40-80 minutes to complete the study. All Canadian interviews were conducted in English, and all Iranian interviews in Farsi.

Iranian participants. The same procedure was followed for interviewing participants in Iran, except for the approval of an ethics committee, which is not required in Iran (ethics committees do not exist). The interviews were conducted by Asefeh Tavakoli, a sociology graduate student at Tehran University and my niece. She recruited Iranian participants by reading a research announcement in the classrooms and asking

interested students to sign up for this study. She also tape-recorded the interviews and took notes while the participants' answered the questions.

In order to reduce culture-interviewer confounds, I devised a means for Asefeh to learn my style of interviewing. Asefeh arranged for the first two Iranian participants to come to a place where I could interview them on the phone from Canada while Asefeh listened on a telephone extension line. Then Asefeh conducted the rest of interviews.

Though tedious, I developed the English transcripts of the Canadian interviews in the MSWord format, and entered the BQ information into an Excel spreadsheet. My research assistant in Iran did the same in Farsi for Iranian interviews and e-mailed them to me. I content analysed the transcripts using the *Simple Concordance Program (SCP)*, and used SPSS, PAST and Open-Stat to analyse the data.

Results and Discussion

Antecedents of Conflicts

In order to test the Hypothesis 1 that conflicts more often result from unwanted than wanted advice, I counted the number of participants who, in response to the questionnaire item asking "Did you want that advice?", answered Yes or No. Then I conducted a binomial test to see if there was a significantly higher proportion of participants reporting No. Of the 33 participants in this study, 21 reported their receiving-advice conflict as originating from unwanted advice, and 12 reported it originating from wanted advice. The difference was significant from a 50-50 split, $p = 0.00$. Confirming Hypothesis 1 and supporting the theory of psychological reactance (Brehm, 1966), significantly more conflicts came from unwanted advice.

In order to test the Hypothesis 2 that conflicts more often result from receiving unrequested advice than from receiving requested advice, I similarly counted the number of participants who answered Yes or No to the questionnaire item “Did you request that advice?” Then I conducted a second binomial test to see if a significantly higher proportion of participants reported receiving unrequested advice. Of the 33 participants in this study, 20 reported conflict as originating from receiving unrequested advice, and 13 reported it originating from receiving requested advice. The difference was marginally significant, $p = 0.08$, weakly supporting Hypothesis 2 and the theory of psychological reactance (Brehm, 1966).

Though sample sizes were small, I was curious to know if there were cultural differences in the proportions of wanted vs. unwanted, and requested vs. unrequested conflict-inducing advice. I conducted two separate G -tests to determine if there were significant main effects for culture. Seven of the 17 Canadians reported experiencing conflicts with wanted advice and 5 of the 16 Iranians did. A 2×2 (Culture-by-un/wanted advice) G -test showed no significant difference in these proportions, $G(1) = 0.35$, $p = 0.55$; indicating that Iranians and Canadians are not significantly different in their propensity to experience conflict from wanted vs. unwanted advice. Similarly, 6 of the 17 Canadians reported experiencing conflicts with requested advice and 7 of the 16 Iranians did. A 2×2 (Culture-by-un/requested advice) G -test showed no significant difference in these proportions, $G(1) = 0.13$, $p = 0.72$, indicating that Iranians and Canadians are not significantly different in their propensity to experience conflict from requested vs. unrequested advice.

To answer Question 1 asking whether Iranians or women receive conflict-inducing advice about minor or major decisions more often than Canadians or men do, I first counted the number of minor vs. major decisions that Iranian vs. Canadian participants reported. To do so, I first had to define my categories of *minor* and *major* decisions. I defined the category of *major* as decisions that led to activities continuing over time that could have long term effects on the participants' future. Some examples of this category include: Marriage, being in a relationship, involvement in political activities, and choosing a university major. By contrast, I defined *minor* as decisions about short-term activities that happen once and most likely would not have much influence on a participant's future -- deciding to visit a friend, choosing a dress to buy, etc. While 5 of the 16 Iranians reported a conflict resulting from advice about minor decisions, none of the Canadians did. The results of a *G*-test on these frequencies showed a significant difference between Iranian and Canadian participants, $G(1) = 6.26, p = 0.01$. Iranians experienced significantly more conflicts with their advisors over minor decisions than did Canadians.

I followed a similar procedure to examine gender differences in how many conflicts resulted from advice about minor vs. major decisions. First, I counted how many of the 11 males and 22 females reported a conflict resulting from advice about a major vs. minor decision. Then I conducted a 2×2 *G*-test for a Gender-by-minor/major contingency table on the relative frequencies. Five of the 22 females reported a conflict resulting from advice about minor decisions, none of the males did. The results of 2×2 *G*-test showed a marginally significant difference in these frequencies, $G(1) = 2.95, p = 0.08$. Women reported a marginally higher rate of experiencing conflict from advice

about minor decisions than did men. All of the five women reporting a conflict over a minor decision were from Iran, consistent with the idea that women in Iran are more closely monitored and controlled than are Iranian men.

Emotional Reactions

I next tested Hypothesis 3 that Canadians will rate their emotional reactions to advice-induced conflict as more intense than will Iranians, and addressed Question 2 about gender differences in emotional reactions. To do so, I used the self ratings of participants in response to the questionnaire item, "If you felt emotions when you received advice, on a rating scale from 0 (= not at all) to 9 (= very much), please rate how much was the highest level of the emotion you felt?" I chose to ask about the highest level rather than the average because I was interested in the extremes of their emotions rather than their mean. I then conducted two 2 x 2 (culture-by-gender) ANOVA, one for results from the advisor questionnaire and one for results from the advisee questionnaire.

Neither of the two 2 x 2 ANOVAs testing these ratings showed a significant main effect of culture, gender, or their interaction, giving no support for Hypothesis 3 that Canadians show more intense emotional reactions to advice-induced conflict than would Iranians, and showing no gender differences. This finding is inconsistent with the results of Studies 1 and 2 showing Canadians reported feeling more *pressure* than did Iranians. Answering Question 2, males and females did not report different intensity of emotional reactions to advice. Perhaps my questionnaire item was insensitive to differences.

In order to test Hypothesis 4 that Canadians will express more emotional reactions to advice-induced conflict than will Iranians, and to answer Question 2 about gender differences in the number of emotional reactions, I examined the number of emotion

words/phrases each person listed in response to my questionnaire items asking, “When you received the conflict-inducing advice, did you feel emotions? If yes, what emotions did you feel? [I scored a No as 0] And “When you gave the conflict-inducing advice, did you feel emotions? If yes, what emotions did you feel (e.g., angry, frustrated, sad, etc.)?” Some participants mentioned only one emotion, for example, “angry” or “depressed”. Other participants mentioned several, for example, “angry and sad and frustrated and frightened and anxious.” I counted the total number of emotions a participant listed and conducted another two 2 x 2 (Culture-by-Gender) ANOVAs on the counts, one ANOVA for receiving advice, one for giving it.

The first 2 x 2 ANOVA on the average number of words/phrases given revealed a significant main effect for culture on the number of negative emotions participants felt when *receiving* conflict-inducing advice, $F(1, 29) = 4.80, p = 0.04$. Supporting Hypothesis 4 and consistent with their individualism, Canadians, on average, mentioned a greater number of emotional reactions when they received conflict-inducing advice ($M = 1.65$), than did Iranians ($M = 1.12$). Addressing Question 2, the main effect for gender was also significant, $F(1, 29) = 11.06, p = 0.00$. Female participants reported feeling a greater number of emotions when they received advice ($M = 2.14$) than did males ($M = 1.10$). The gender difference is consistent with research showing males have less insight about their emotions than do females (Levant, 2003). The interaction effect was not significant, $F(1, 29) = 2.45, p > 0.05$.

The results for *giving* advice were similar to those for receiving advice reported above. A second ANOVA on the average number of words/phrases participants used to describe *giving* conflict-inducing advice revealed a significant main effect for culture, F

(1, 29) = 6.11, $p = 0.02$. Supporting Hypothesis 4, Canadian participants, on average, reported a greater number of emotional reactions when they gave conflict-inducing advice ($M = 1.35$) than did Iranian participants ($M = 0.94$). Answering Question 2, there was no significant main effect for gender, $F(1, 29) = 1.04$, $p = 0.32$, and no significant interaction effect, $F(1, 29) = 1.32$, $p = 0.26$.

In summary, the two ANOVAs indicate that Canadians express more emotions than do Iranians when faced with conflicts resulting from giving or receiving advice. The result is consistent with the finding from Studies 1 and 2 that Canadians rated their emotional reactions to advice higher than do Iranians and supports Kitayama and Markus's (1999) suggestion that individualist culture express more emotions.

Conflict Duration and Resolution

Frequency and duration of persuasive communications. I tested Hypothesis 5 and answered Question 3 about culture and gender differences in the frequency and duration of persuasive communications to resolve conflicts by analysing participants' responses to two questions: (a) "During the conflict, how many times did you communicate about the advice?" (b) "How long did you communicate each time?" I conducted four 2 x 2 (Culture-By-Gender) ANOVAs; two on the average frequency of arguments for each person when receiving and when giving advice, and two on the average number of hours that each participant communicated about the advice when receiving and when giving advice.

The 2 x 2 ANOVA that tested the average frequencies of persuasive communications when participants *received* advice revealed significant main effects for culture, $F(1, 25) = 4.91$, $p = 0.04$, and for gender, $F(1, 25) = 7.29$, $p = 0.01$. Supporting

Hypothesis 5, Iranian conflicts arising from advice produced more persuasive communications ($M = 46.73$) than did Canadian conflicts ($M = 6.13$). Some of the enormously high Iranian average was due to one of the eight Iranian males who reported daily communications for over a year with his mother who did not agree with his choice about marriage. His reports are likely not exaggerations. Marriage in Iran is considered as an extremely important life decision that can affect the whole family -- parents, siblings, and frequently grandparents -- and usually mothers are deeply involved with the marriage decision-making of their children. If the choice that children make is not approved by mother, a conflict can arise between the mother and child. In that case, conflicts between mother and son can be bigger or longer than conflicts between mother and daughter, as Iranian girls may more easily comply with the wishes of the family. Omission of the data related to this male, considering him an outlier, produced an average frequency of 28.23 persuasive communications per Iranian conflict-- still over four times as many as for Canadians.

In answer to Question 3, males more frequently reported persuasive communications ($M = 62.67$) than did females ($M = 9.15$) when their conflicts arose from *receiving* advice. However, the male average again was affected by one of Iranian males' extremely high number of persuasive communications. Eliminating this outlier resulted in an average frequency of 39.20 persuasive communications per male conflict, which is about four times as many as for females. The interaction effect of gender and culture was marginally significant, $F(1, 25) = 3.52, p = 0.07$. Iranian females and males reported using persuasive communications on average 12.14 and 60.22 times per conflict,

respectively; but Canadian females and males reported using persuasive communications 7.21 and 6.03 times, respectively.

The data on conflicts from *giving* advice paralleled the data on conflicts from *receiving* advice reported above. The 2 x 2 ANOVA that tested the average frequencies of using persuasive communications when participants *gave* advice showed significant main effects for culture, $F(1, 25) = 4.55, p = 0.04$, and for gender, $F(1, 25) = 7.72, p = 0.01$, and a significant interaction effect, $F(1, 25) = 4.71, p = 0.04$. Supporting Hypothesis 5, Iranians reported more persuasive communications ($M = 42.29$) than did Canadians ($M = 6.13$) after giving advice. Males also more frequently reported persuasive communications ($M = 51.60$) than did females ($M = 3.63$) after giving advice.

Iranian females and males reported persuasive communications on average 9.24 and 72.33 times, respectively, while Canadian females and males reported persuasive communications 2.17 and 1.04 times during the conflict. As with receiving advice, the Iranian data were distorted by a one of the eight Iranian males – this one reporting hundreds of persuasive communications with his sister, skewing the distribution and increasing its variance. Still, the participant's estimate is not surprising, as it likely reflects a cultural norm in Iran allowing persuasive communications to be repeated for months or years before a resolution – if, indeed, there is a resolution at all. Omission of the data related to this male resulted in an average frequency of 17.46 for Iranians persuasive communications – still about three times the Canadian rate.

The 2 x 2 ANOVA that tested the total hours of persuasive communications when participants *received* advice revealed significant main effects for culture, $F(1, 23) = 6.41, p = 0.02$, and for gender, $F(1, 23) = 9.62, p = 0.00$. Supporting Hypothesis 5, Iranian

persuasive communications had longer duration ($M = 68.23$ hours) than did Canadians ($M = 3.08$ hours). Males reported longer durations of persuasive communications ($M = 98.33$) than did females ($M = 10.98$). The interaction effect of gender and culture was marginally significant, $F(1, 23) = 3.69, p = 0.06$. Iranian males and females, on average, estimated persuasive communications 112.13 and 24.33 hours, respectively, during the conflict, $t(12) = 1.78, p = 0.10$. Canadian females and males on average estimated persuasive communications 3.08 and 0.94 hours. The parallel 2 x 2 ANOVA testing differences in the hours of persuasive communications when participants gave advice did not reach significance, likely due to the extremely large variability (SD) of Iranians' time estimates.

Taken together, the consistent ordinal pattern of the above results regarding number of persuasive communications and their duration indicate a substantially higher proportion of Iranians than Canadians, especially males, reported persuasive communications frequently and long with their advisors and advisees when the advice conflicts with the advisee's decision. Perhaps the lower pressure that Iranians felt about receiving conflict inducing advice also made them feel less pressure to resolve conflicts quickly.

Intensity of persuasive communications. In order to test Hypothesis 6 and to answer Question 4 about the intensity of persuasive communication, I analysed the content of participants' answers to the questionnaire items asking if they argued and how they argued when they received and gave advice. Three categories of the intensity of the interaction/persuasive communication emerged from their responses: (1) *Intense arguments* that included words such as quarrelling, shouting, or yelling (2) *Moderate*

arguments that included arguing, showing emotional or physical distance, or talking with a voice louder than usual, and (3) *Discussion* that included reasoning and talking without showing negative verbal or nonverbal emotional behaviours. Next, I assigned the numbers 1 to 3 to the three categories, 1 = Discussion, 2 = Moderate argument, and 3 = Intense argument. Finally, I conducted two, 2 x 2 (Culture x Gender) ANOVAs to determine if there were culture differences in the average intensity of persuasive communications during the conflict when participants *received* advice, and when they *gave* advice.

The 2 x 2 ANOVA testing the intensity of persuasive communications when participants *received* advice showed a significant main effect for culture, $F(1, 28) = 11.00, p = 0.00$, and for gender, $F(1, 28) = 8.13, p = 0.00$. Supporting Hypothesis 6, Iranians reported more intense persuasive communications ($M = 2.40$ out of 3) than did Canadians ($M = 1.68$) when receiving advice. Males reported more intense persuasive communications ($M = 2.41$ out of 3) than did females ($M = 1.84$). The interaction effect was not significant, $F(1, 28) = 1.97, p = 0.17$.

Partly reproducing the above analysis about receiving advice, the 2 x 2 ANOVA, testing the intensity of persuasive communications when participants *gave* advice, showed a significant main effect for culture, $F(1, 28) = 4.14, p = 0.05$, but no significant main effect for gender $F(1, 28) = 8.13, p = 0.12$, and no significant interaction, $F(1, 28) = 2.57, p = 0.41$. Supporting Hypothesis 6, Iranians reported more intense persuasive communications when they gave advice ($M = 2.27$ out of 3) than did Canadians ($M = 1.71$).

In sum, Iranians reported more intense persuasive communications than did Canadians. This is congruent with the greater number and duration of persuasive communications reported by Iranians as analysed above. It also seems congruent with the results of Studies 1 and 2 that Canadians feel more pressure of advice than do Iranians, and with Kitayama and Markus's (1999) suggestion that individualist cultures express more ego-focused emotions than collectivist cultures. The greater pressure may cause Canadians to seek a resolution quickly, likely through compromise, to minimize the agony that continued conflict would bring. Feeling less pressure, Iranians may be less motivated to resolve the conflict quickly and therefore might argue longer.

Compliance and compromise with advisor. I next tested Hypothesis 7 that Iranians will report a greater frequency of compliance to resolve their conflicts than will Canadians, while Canadians will report a greater frequency of compromise. I used for the test responses to the questionnaire items that asked participants when they received advice "Did you decide to do what you wanted (non-compliance), what your advisor wanted (compliance), or some compromise?", and when they gave advice "Finally did your advisee decide to do what you wanted (compliance), what him or herself wanted (non-compliance), or some compromise?" I counted the frequencies of compliance, non-compliance, and compromise when participants received, and when they gave advice. Then I conducted four 2 x 2 *G*-tests on the frequencies of compliance and of compromise when participants received and gave advice. I did not conduct any *G*-test on the frequencies of non-compliance, as they complemented the frequencies of compliance and compromise.

The 2 x 2 *G*-test that examined the culture difference in compliance of advisees with advisors when participants received advice was significant, $G(1) = 5.71, p = 0.02$. Supporting Hypothesis 7, Iranian participants receiving advice reported a greater frequency of compliance to resolve their conflicts (8 out of 16) than did Canadians (2 out of 17). The result is similar to the results of Chen and Lan (1998) showing Chinese students, compared to American students, had more willingness to accept their parents' advice and to care more about fulfilling their expectations. However, the 2 x 2 *G*-test that examined the culture difference in compliance of advisees with advisors when participants gave advice was not significant, $G(1) = 2.34, p = 0.12$.

To summarize, Iranian participants complied with their advisors more often than did Canadian participants. However, the advisees of Iranian participants did not comply more than did advisees of Canadian participants. What might cause this result? The question led me to some detective work about who advised, and was advised, by participants. Data showed that all participants received 80.5% of the conflict-inducing advice from their parents (78% in Canada; 83% in Iran); while they gave the 73% (71% in Canada; 75% in Iran) of their advice to friends. Indicative of a greater level of hierarchy (power distance) in Iran, this suggests that Iranians, more than Canadians, complied with an advisor more powerful than themselves, but show a rate of compliance similar to that of Canadians when they receive advice from an advisor equal with themselves.

The 2 x 2 *G*-tests examining a cultural difference in compromising with advisors supplemented the results of the *G*-test that examined the culture difference in compliance. The difference between Iranians and Canadians in compromise was not significant when

participants *received* advice, $G(1) = 0.00, p = 0.95$. But when participants *gave* advice, the difference was significant, $G(1) = 4.28, p = 0.04$. Though frequencies were small, their pattern supported Hypothesis 7 -- when participants gave conflict-inducing advice, the conflicts led to a resolution of compromise more frequently in Canada (4 out of 17) than in Iran (0 out of 16).

Recall that Iranians complied more and compromised less with high status advisors (mostly their parents) than did Canadians, but showed equal frequencies of compliance and compromise than did Canadians to the advice of their peers. The findings likely reflect how power dynamics work in conflict resolution. One consequence of the hierarchical nature of Iranian culture is that parents believe they should control their children and expect their children to obey them. The more egalitarian relationships between parents and children in Canada likely lead to lower parental expectations of compliance, and a greater tolerance for compromise.

Unresolved conflicts. In order to test Hypothesis 8 that Iranians will report more unresolved advice-induced conflicts than will Canadians, I relied on the data from the questionnaire item asking participants, "Was the conflict finally resolved?" Recall that participants answered this question twice: once in the *Receiving Advice* interview and again in the *Giving Advice* interview. I counted the frequencies of "yes" and of "no" in receiving advice and giving advice interviews separately and conducted two 2×2 *G*-tests: one on the frequencies of "yes" and of "no" in the *receiving* advice interview, and the second on the frequencies of "yes" and of "no" in *giving* advice interview.

The 2×2 *G*-test examining the culture difference in the rate of unresolved conflicts when participants *received* advice was not significant, $G(1) = 0.97, p = 0.32$.

However, the 2 x 2 *G*-test that examined unresolved conflicts when participants *gave* advice was significant, $G(1) = 4.5, p = 0.03$. Supporting Hypothesis 8, when giving advice, more Iranians reported unresolved conflicts (11 out of 16) than did Canadians (5 out of 16; the 17th Canadian did not answer the question). In this case also, the resolution of conflict seems to be related to the hierarchical nature of Iranian culture as compared to Canadian. When participants gave advice to friends (as equals with participants), more Iranian conflicts remained unresolved. But when participants received advice from parents (as high status, powerful advisors), Iranian conflicts were resolved as often as Canadian conflicts.

Reactions of advisors to ignoring advice. In order to test Hypothesis 9 that Iranian advisors feel more anger than do Canadian advisors when their advice is ignored, I counted the number of participants who answered Yes or No to the questionnaire items that asked “Was your advisor angry or upset that you decided not to take her/his advice?” in the receiving advice interview, and “Were you angry or upset that your advisee decided not to take your advice?” in the giving advice interview. The first of my two 2 x 2 *G*-test, examining the cultural difference in recalled emotional reactions of *advisors* when participants ignored their advice, was significant, $G(1) = 6.11, p = 0.05$. More Iranians reported their advisors becoming upset or angry when their advice were ignored (5 out of 6 advisors whose advice was ignored), than did Canadians (3 out of 13 advisors whose advice was ignored). A similar *G*-test examining the cultural difference in recalled emotional reactions participants had when their own advice was ignored by *advisees* was not significant, (Canadians = 75%; Iranians = 71%; $G(1) = 0.65, p = 0.42$).

Why, when participants received advice, did more Iranian advisors' become upset than did Canadians', but when participants gave advice the equal number of Iranian and Canadians advisors became upset? There are probably several possible answers, including cultural differences in actor-observer biases. A hint of an answer again comes from the data that showed from whom participants received advice and to whom they gave advice. Iranian reports of more frequent emotional reactions of advisors who were ignored may reflect cultural differences in hierarchy. Most people whose advice participants ignored were parents, and most people who ignored participants' advice were peers (friends). Consistent with theories of hierarchical cultures, parents in Iranian are accustomed to being influential and to have the right to be upset when their influence fails; while parents in egalitarian Canada do not seem to expect to be so influential. In contrast, Iranian participants, like Canadians, likely had no great expectation of influence with peers, and thus might have been less upset when their advice was ignored.

Satisfaction with the outcome of the conflict. In order to answer Question 5 concerning a difference between Canadians and Iranians in the level of satisfaction with the outcome of the conflict, I analysed the responses of participants to the questionnaire item asking if they were happy with their final decision after receiving the conflict-inducing advice. I counted the frequencies of "yes" or "no" answers of participants to this question and conducted another 2 x 2 *G*-test on the related frequencies. The frequencies of satisfaction of Canadians (14 of 17) and Iranians (8 of 14, 2 missing) with the decisions they made following advice and conflict were not significantly different, $G(1) = 2.37, p = 0.12$. The result seemed paradoxical. Iranian participants experienced more intense and longer persuasive communication, together with more compliance, and angry advisors

when their advice was ignored. Why, therefore, would a similar proportion of Iranians and Canadians feel happy? Perhaps the result can be explained by recalling that Iranians felt less pressure from advice than did Canadians, and that the reduced pressure may allow them to calm their emotions more quickly or completely. There are probably other explanations as well, but none could be tested without further data.

Religiosity and Advice

For my final analyses, I addressed my hypothesis about culture difference in religiosity and my questions about the relationship between religiosity and resolutions of advice-induced conflict. As in Studies 2 and 3 a 2x2 ANOVA on religiosity ratings showed Iranians to be more religious ($M = 5.50$ out of 9) than were Canadians ($M = 3.70$), $F(1, 29) = 4.11, p = 0.05$, but the main effect of gender, $F(1, 72) = 1.97, p = 0.17$, and the interaction effect were not significant, $F(1, 72) = 0.95, p = 0.34$. This supported Hypothesis 10 that Iranians are more religious than Canadians.

Question 6 asked whether religiosity is correlated with the duration of persuasive communications. The correlation among the Iranian participants, $r(13) = 0.08, p = 0.78$, and the correlation among the Canadian participants, $r(14) = 0.29, p = 0.30$, were not significant. Question 7 asked whether religiosity is correlated with the intensity of persuasive communications. Similar to the answer to Question 6, data showed that religiosity was not significantly correlated with the intensity of persuasive communications -- for Iranians, $r(15) = 0.07, p = 0.80$, and for Canadians, $r(14) = 0.38, p = 0.13$. The results do not support the stereotype that more religious people are more inflexible than are less religious people.

Summary

Study 4 examined the conflicts between advisor and advisee resulting from receiving and giving advice. Results showed that unwanted and unrequested advice tended to create more conflict than did wanted and requested advice, consistent with Brehm's (1966) theory of psychological reactance. There were no culture differences between Iranians and Canadians in the frequencies of conflict resulting from unwanted and unrequested advice. However, Iranians experienced more conflicts with their advisors over minor decisions than did Canadians, supporting the suggestion (Triandis, 1994) that collectivist cultures encourage more compliance to cultural norms – including norms about minor issues.

Study 4 showed that Canadians reported more variety of emotions to conflicts resulting from giving or receiving advice, than did Iranians. This finding is consistent with Kitayama and Markus's (1999) suggestion that individualist culture express more ego-focused emotions. However, the results showed no cultural difference in the intensity of the most intense emotions.

More Iranians than Canadians reported that their advisors (mostly parents) became upset or angry when their advice was ignored, but no more Iranians than Canadians reported themselves becoming upset when their own advice to others (mostly friends) was ignored. The finding supports the idea that, in Iran, parents expect their advice to be taken, but friends do not. The suggestion, in turn, seems to reflect cultural differences in hierarchical roles in the family and in the weight given to tradition – in this case the tradition of respecting elders (e.g., Mortazavi, 2006).

Iranians, especially males, had more intense, frequent, and longer persuasive communications with advisors than did Canadians. Iranians receiving advice reported a greater frequency of compliance with their advisors (mostly their parents) to resolve their conflicts than did Canadians. This replicates research showing collectivist Chinese more than individualistic Americans accepted their parents' advice and cared about fulfilling their expectations (Chen & Lan, 1998). However, when participants *gave* advice, the cultural difference in reported compliance of advisees (mostly friends) was not significant. The pattern of results is congruent with a more hierarchical (larger power-distance) relationship between parents and children, relative to a less hierarchical relationship between peers, in Iran than in Canada. Another finding of Study 4 that supports this idea is that more Iranian conflicts than Canadian conflicts remained unresolved when participants *gave* advice (mostly to friends), but Iranian conflicts were resolved as often as Canadian conflicts when participants received advice (mostly from parents).

Canadians more frequently reported resolving their conflicts by compromise than did Iranians when they gave advice, congruent with the results of Study 3 that Canadians advised compromise more often did Iranians. Although Iranian conflicts were longer, more intense, and more frequently unresolved, there was not a significant difference between Iranian and Canadian participants frequencies of feeling satisfied with their final decision. The results are consistent with the findings of Study 1 and 2 that showed Iranians felt less pressure from advice, and with the findings of the current Study showing Iranians felt fewer emotions as a result of conflict inducing advice. This

suggests that collectivist Iranians do not take the conflicts as seriously as do Canadians, and therefore suffer less than Canadians when they are involved in a conflict.

Only a few gender differences were found. Consistent with Levant's (2003) suggestion that males have less insight about their emotions than do females, female participants reported feeling a greater number of emotions when they received conflict-inducing advice than did males. And consistent with Carli and Bukatko's (2000) finding that men show more disagreement, and women showing more positive communicative and social behaviours towards, others, Study 4 showed that males reported more frequent, intense, and longer persuasive communications than did females.

Recapitulation and Conclusions

The primary purpose of my dissertation was to examine characteristics and cultural differences of non-professional, unpaid advice in real life situations from the perspective of advisors and advisees. Although the vast majority of research on advice approached the topic from a cognitive point of view, treating advice information useful for decision making, I was more interested in the emotional aspects of advice and the social contexts in which advice was given and received, taken or ignored. I chose to examine cultural differences in social and emotional aspects of advice for two reasons. First, I wanted to answer questions about advice stimulated by my own experiences in two cultures: Iran and Canada. Second, I wanted to test predictions about cultural differences in advice derived from theories of culture relating many superficial cultural differences to a few deep or fundamental cultural dimensions.

I chose to evaluate three cultural dimensions from which predictions about cultural differences in advice could be derived: collectivism-individualism, hierarchical-egalitarian, and masculine-feminine. Fortunately, the two cultures I chose were at opposite ends of these three dimensions. Iran exemplified a relatively collectivist, hierarchical and masculine culture; Canada represented a relative individualistic, egalitarian and feminine culture.

I was also interested in gender differences in advice – differences noted by many observers in Canada and in Iran -- that could be predicted by cultural theories related to collectivist-individualistic, hierarchical-egalitarian, and masculine-feminine cultural dimensions. The paucity of males volunteering to participate in my research limited the

conclusions I could draw about gender differences. Even so, the pattern of differences was remarkably consistent with derived predictions and previous research.

I conducted four studies, each examining different aspects of advice. Study 1 examined the types of personal decisions participants made, the amount of requested and unrequested advice they received about the decisions, and the social pressure resulting from the advice. Study 2 examined advice wanted and requested, sources of requested and unrequested advice, and social pressure of both kinds of advice. Study 3 examined the content of advice given and its directiveness. Study 4 investigated the antecedents, social dynamics, and resolutions of conflict induced by advice. Studies 2, 3 and 4 also examined differences between Iranians and Canadians in the level of religiosity and how religiosity is related to the advice and the conflict resulting from advice. Studies 2 and 3 additionally tested the capability of the Relationalism, Individualism, Collectivism (RIC) Scale (Kashima & Hardie, 2000) in reflecting cultural differences between Iran and Canada documented in the literature.

Individualism-Collectivism

Individualism is linked to autonomy and social independence of the self, while collectivism is associated with an interdependent and inseparable self (Vinken et al., 2004). Cultural theories of individualism-collectivism (e.g., Triandis, 1994) indicate that people in individualistic cultures are relatively tolerant of others deviating from cultural norms, but people in collectivist cultures emphasize tradition, obedience, and conformity to social norms, and react more harshly to nonconformity. In addition, people in collectivist cultures tend to have larger families and closer family networks, and to foster more traditional family norms, than do people from individualistic cultures. Based on

these characteristics of Individualism-Collectivism, and on the literature that defines Iran as collectivist culture and Canada as an individualistic culture (e.g., Hofstede, 1999, 2001; Mortazavi, 2006; Yeganeh, 2007), I predicted that Iranians make fewer decisions, request more advice, receive more unrequested advice, and feel less pressure of advice than Canadians do.

Consistent with these predictions, Study 1 showed that Canadians made more decisions than did Iranians, and Study 2 showed Iranians wanted and requested advice about a greater proportion of decisions than did Canadians. Study 1 showed that Iranians requested advice from more advisors than did Canadians, indicating Iranians' higher level of interdependency and concern for social rejection if social norms were violated. Another indication of Iranian's concern for social rejection was provided by the results of Study 2 that showed Iranians requested advice more than they wanted advice, while Canadians requested the same amount of advice that they wanted.

Study 2 showed that participants in both cultures received the highest proportion of requested and unrequested advice from parents – likely reflecting the young age of the participants. After parents, Canadians more than Iranians requested advice from friends, while Iranians more than Canadians requested advice from counsellors, and teachers, and siblings. Iranians received unrequested advice from extended family more often and from friends, and the media and society, less often than did Canadians. The pattern of results is consistent with the relative importance collectivist cultures such as Iran place on family, family size, and the frequency of family interactions.

Theory and research suggesting that individualist cultures express more ego-focused emotions (Kitayama & Markus, 1999; Matsomoto, et al., 1988) than do

collectivist cultures, was supported by the findings of Studies 1 and 2 that Canadians' ratings of pressure were generally higher than that of Iranians. Additional support for this theory and research came from the results of Study 4 showing that Canadian participants reported more intense and varied emotional reactions to conflicts resulting from giving or receiving advice than did Iranians.

Study 3 showed that Iranians gave more advice to change the self to suit the situation or tolerate the situation, while Canadians gave more advice to change the situation to suit the self or seek a compromise. Iranians less than Canadians advised to seek advice of others. These results are consistent with the idea of Rothbaum et al. (1982) that individualist cultures specifically rely on primary control (i.e., changing the situation to fit one's wishes); but collectivist cultures specifically rely on secondary control (i.e., changing the self to fit the situation).

Study 4 showed that a higher proportion of Iranian conflicts than Canadian conflicts came from advice about minor decisions. This is congruent with Triandis's (1994) argument that collectivist cultures produce numerous means of fostering compliance with their cultural norms. More Iranian than Canadian participants reported advisors becoming angry when their advice was ignored, again consistent with Triandis's (1994) suggestion that collectivist cultures show harsher reactions to nonconformity than do individualist cultures. Iranians more often complied with their advisor's advice than did Canadians, while Canadians more often resorted to compromise, both results consistent with Triandis's (1994) claim that collectivist cultures encourage compliance more than do individualistic cultures.

In sum, four studies and several measures of advice show remarkable consistency with predictions derived from theories about differences in collectivist vs. individualistic cultures, and with previous research. Measures of advice, it seems, are sensitive indicators of differences in collectivism-individualism.

Hierarchy-Egalitarianism

My studies found cultural differences in advice that supported several hypotheses derived from research and theory about differences in hierarchical cultures such as Iran (e.g., Mortazavi, 2006; Yeganeh, 2007) vs. egalitarian cultures such as Canada (e.g., Hofstede, 2001). Study 3, for example, revealed that advice in Iran was more succinct and directive than in Canada—Iranians offered fewer pieces of advice and fewer alternatives to their advisees, as would be predicted when a powerful boss tells a powerless employee what to do. Study 4 showed additional influences of hierarchy. Though somewhat confounded with giving vs. receiving advice, the results indicated that Iranians resolved advice-induced conflicts by compromising with higher-status parents more often than by compromising with equal-status friends; Canadians showed no such status difference in rates of compromise. The pattern of results is congruent with ideas that people in hierarchical cultures are more deferential to people of higher status than to people of lower status, and that parents retain a higher status than friends. Study 4 also showed that Iranians more often than Canadians reported that their parents became angry when their advice was ignored. This again reflects the high status, power, and expectations of Iranian parents in a hierarchical culture.

As with predictions from theories of collectivism-individualism, measures of advice seem to parallel theoretically derived predictions about differences in hierarchical

vs. egalitarian cultures. Though samples are small, the patterns of their data are consistent.

Masculinity-Femininity

I also examined how the relative masculinity of Iranian culture and femininity of Canadian culture was related to advice. Recall that masculine cultures such as Iran perpetuate gender inequality and double standards, while feminine cultures such as Canada do not. Though, again, small samples of males made generalizations to the population impossible, my four studies revealed gender differences in Iranian advice that were consistently larger than the corresponding gender differences in Canadian advice. For example, Studies 1 and 2 showed that Iranian females wanted advice about significantly more topics, and requested advice about marginally more topics, than did Iranian males; no such gender differences occurred among Canadian participants. In addition, Study 4 showed that all of the five women reporting a conflict over a minor decision were from Iran; none were from Canada. This suggests that Iranian women are controlled more than are Canadian women, consistent with the masculine-feminine cultural distinction. Again, though samples are small, there is a notable congruency between predictions about masculine-feminine differences in cultures and relevant measures of advice.

Other Findings

My dissertation also explored Iranians and Canadians differences in religiosity and how religiosity is related to advice. In addition, I examined if the RIC Scale (Kashima & Hardie, 2000) could reveal well-documented cultural differences between Iran and Canada.

Religiosity and Advice. Not surprisingly, Studies 2, 3, and 4 showed that Iranians rated themselves as more religious than did Canadians. Religiosity in Iran was positively correlated to requesting advice and receiving requested and unrequested advice about topics such as visiting relatives and marriage, but uncorrelated among the Canadians. The significant Iranian correlations shows that in Islamic Iran, family affairs such as visiting relatives and choosing the right person as a mate are strongly monitored. In addition, religiosity in Iran was positively correlated with requesting advice from parents, especially mothers, and negatively correlated with receiving unrequested advice of males. This is consistent with the fact that Islam encourages obedience of children to parents, especially mothers. Study 2 also showed that, among all participants, the level of religiosity was positively correlated with receiving unrequested advice from extended family, but negatively correlated with requesting advice from friends, suggesting a link between religiousness and family orientation. Study 3 revealed a positive relationship between religiosity and giving advice to change the self among Iranians. These correlations were not significant among Canadians.

I was not able to derive predictions about Iranian-Canadian differences in the relationships between religiosity and measure of advice from theories of collectivist-individualistic, hierarchical-egalitarian, or masculine-feminine cultures. But I suspect the differences may reflect some other cultural dimension. Possible dimensions include traditional vs. progressive cultures, conservative vs. liberal. Alternatively, the differences may reflect non-dimensional differences in culture such as family traditions or religious teachings (see below). Such is the stuff of future research.

The RIC Scale. Studies 2 and 3 examined the sensitivity of Relationalism-Individualism-Collectivism (RIC) scale, a typical rating scale, in revealing Iran and Canada's differences in individualism-collectivism as documented by the literature. Contrary to the literature documenting the relative collectivism of Iranians and individualism of Canadians (e.g., Hofstede, 2001; Mortazavi, 2006), the RIC Scale results of Study 2 showed that Canadians were marginally more collectivist than Iranians, and equally individualistic. The results of Study 3 also failed to reveal any significant differences between Iranians and Canadians in relationalism, individualism, and collectivism.

The inability of the RIC Scale in revealing that Iranians are more collectivist than Canadians would probably not surprise Heine et al. (2002) who argue that, "whereas cultural experts agreed that East Asians are more collectivistic than North Americans, cross-cultural comparisons of trait, attitude, and value measures failed to reveal such a pattern.... people from different cultural backgrounds within the same country (thus those who should have more similar referents) exhibited larger differences in collectivism than did people from different countries" (p.903). Heine et al suggest that Likert scales are frequently ineffective in grasping culture differences because participants in one culture compare themselves to standards and similar others (i.e., reference groups) that are different from those in another culture. Heine et al suggest that the different reference groups in different cultures can act as confound, resulting in biased measurements of cultures. Triandis et al. (1990) also acknowledge the fallibility of these measurements in revealing cultural differences and recognize a need for structuring instruments that use a combination of different methodologies.

Conclusions

Using quantitative and qualitative methods of measuring cultures, my dissertation is among the first to explore the social context in which the giving and receiving of advice occurs. It shows that many social expectations are attached to giving and receiving advice, that advice is much more than an exchange of information or expertise. My dissertation also made a distinction between requested and unrequested advice, showing that advice can be an instrument of social control. Advice often brings with it pressure to comply or conform, to change attitudes, and it can induce conflicts and power struggles, negotiation and compromise, and other elements of social influence. Many of these are documented in my results.

By studying the above topics about advice in two cultures, my dissertation also showed that the social processes of requesting, giving, receiving, and taking advice are not universal. My research shed light not only on culture similarities but also differences in the content of advice and the social dynamics of giving and receiving it. Studying advice in two different cultures reminds us how much the exchange of advice is tied to the norms of each culture. Answers to questions about who gives and receives advice, what kind of advice is popular, and how conflicts between advisor and advisee are resolved gives us new insights into cultural differences and similarities.

Had I relied on the RIC scale results, I would have predicted that Canadians and Iranians are equivalent in collectivism and individualism, and therefore should show no differences in many measures of advice. But my results show several significant differences, most of them interpretable by considering the literature that documents cultural differences in three dimensions: individualism-collectivism, hierarchy-

egalitarianism, and masculinity-femininity. The consistent patterns of interpretable results across my four studies indicates that measures of advice can provide sensitive indicators of cultural differences in social networks and expectations.

Implications

I believe the results of my research have important conceptual, methodological, and practical implications. The research demonstrates that it is possible to study and to compare across cultures social aspects of advice long neglected in the advice literature. The cultural and sex differences I found confirmed my thesis that the effects of advice depend as much on the social context in which advice is given and received as on the nature or content of advice. My research also shows that information about advice can be used as a sensitive instrument for detecting cultural differences in collectivism-individualism, hierarchy-egalitarianism, and masculinity-femininity. The results show that cultural differences in advice reveal themselves in sources of advice, the content of advice, emotional or behavioural reactions to advice, gender differences in receiving advice, conflict resulting from advice, and conflict resolution.

My research also has practical implications for planning and communicating advice in multicultural societies. As the results show, Iranians experience advice differently than do Canadians. Similar differences are likely to exist in other cultures with similar combinations of individualism-collectivism, hierarchy-egalitarianism, and masculinity-femininity. This implies that, to be most effective, the sources and content of advice in places such as work, schools, health and counseling centers in multicultural societies needs to be tailored to the cultural backgrounds of employees and clients. For example, the findings show that Canadians receive more advice from friends than do

Iranians, while Iranians receive more advice from family members. This suggests that Iranians would be more responsive to family therapy, health advice from family members, education advice from parents, etc. than would Canadians and less responsive to group therapy (where peers interact), health advice from the internet, or education advice from school counselors.

My findings also show that Iranian advice is more directive than is Canadian advice. This suggests that non-directive techniques of psychotherapy such as a Rogerian (i.e., person centered) therapy would not be effective for Iranians, but may be more effective for Canadians. Iranians' preference for advice to tolerate their situation or to change themselves to suit their circumstances suggests that Iranians would respond better to cognitive approaches to psychotherapy, which encourage cognitive restructuring and delay of gratification. In contrast, Canadians' preference for advice to seek a compromise or to change their circumstances to suit themselves suggests that Canadians would respond better to behavioural approaches to therapy that are action oriented and emphasize changes in the environment.

The cultural differences in advice also have implications for conflicts that may arise between first generation immigrants from collectivist cultures and their children. The children may adopt from their new culture individualistic strategies of seeking or responding to advice that are different than those of their parents, amplifying their conflicts. In this case, multicultural family counselling is needed that improves awareness of cultural differences in giving and receiving advice.

The cultural differences in advice I found in my research also have implications for advice beyond therapy and in other social settings, such as a workplace or school.

Consider, for example, an Iranian mother seeking advice from a Canadian teacher about improving her son's grades. The mother is likely to expect the teacher to be directive, "Tell Ali to...!" The Canadian teacher, however, is likely to be consultive and provide different options, "Do you think Ali would respond well to... or to?" The mother's reaction might well be to reject the teacher as weak, confusing, or incompetent to give advice because the teacher does not direct her. The practical importance of cultural differences in these kinds of assumptions and expectations about advisors and advice suggests that assessing these differences should be a topic of future research.

Limitations and Future Research Directions

My dissertation revealed many interesting differences and similarities among Iranians and Canadians. But it was among the first studies that investigated the social and cultural context of advice, so many of my research decisions relied on trial and error. Because of limitations of time, money, and human participants, I had to concentrate on specific geographical regions and populations of participants. This in turn limited the empirical generalizability of my results. But it also inspired several ideas and orientations for future research. Below I describe some of my research limitations and explain how they lead to new ideas and areas of further studying of advice.

My research studied advice only among middle-class, city-dwelling Iranian and Canadian university students, a restricted sample of people from a collectivist culture and an individualistic culture. It is somewhat risky to generalize my findings beyond Iran and Canada or even beyond middle-class, city-dwelling university students. Future research should study a wider range of countries, cultures, and people -- for example, people in a wider range of age groups from Arab countries, known to be more collectivist than Iran,

the from the United States, known to be more individualist than Canada, as well as people from countries with less pronounced individualism and collectivism. More comparative studies may reveal new dimensions of cultural comparison.

All of my Iranian participants lived in Tehran, which is a large city with arguably the lowest level of collectivism among all places in Iran. In Canada I collected data only in Ottawa, which is arguably more multicultural and perhaps less individualist than other cities or regions of the country. Further cross-cultural study of advice should concentrate on other regions of Iran and Canada to examine possible sub-cultural differences and similarities. In addition, it would be worthwhile to compare advice among people with different religious backgrounds and different levels of religiosity, including Jews and Buddhists, or to compare advice from different branches of a religion such as Shia vs. Sunni Muslims or Catholic vs. Protestant Christians.

All psychology research is influenced by the participants' characteristics and developmental stages. My sample of university students likely respond differently than would their parents or grandparents. Most of my participants were unmarried, did not have children, lived with parents or were financially dependent on them. All of these characteristics almost certainly influence the kinds of decisions they make, the amount of advice they request and receive, the types of advisors and advisees they encounter, as well as the dynamics of conflict-inducing advice that they give and take.

Because of university demographics, it was extremely difficult to find Iranian and Canadian males for my studies. The paucity of male participants relative to female participants made me incapable of doing many analyses of gender differences in advice; many insignificant gender differences were likely the result of low statistical power from

unequal samples rather than lack of sex differences themselves. Future research, better funded, should collect data from larger and equal numbers of male and female participants from more cultures to provide more powerful tests of cultural and gender differences.

Many other variables that might affect advice deserve further enquiry. For example, I studied the social pressure that participants felt. Future research should study the strategies that advisors use to impose pressure on their advisees. I also studied cultural differences in receiving requested and unrequested advice, measuring the frequencies of advice about each decision topic. Future studies should also examine how often requested and unrequested advice is repeated. Judging from my own observations, I would expect advice in Iran to be repeated much more often than in Canada.

My search for recent research measuring cultural norms on dimensions such as individualism-collectivism or hierarchical-egalitarianism with a psychometrically proper instrument ended in frustration and failure. I could find no such research for Iranians or for Canadians, or for any other country. Hofstede's research, conducted in the early 1970s using a somewhat crude questionnaire, has become the standard reference for cultural differences. But cultures change, and it is likely that their changes affect scores on cultural dimensions. Further and periodic research is needed to plot the changes in these dimensional representations from year to year. To do the research, however, a psychometrically proper instrument still needs to be developed; something to improve upon the RIC Scale and similar scales. Is it worth the effort? As noted in my Introduction, there is healthy disagreement about whether or not it is fruitful to posit or seek dimensions on which to locate various cultures (e.g., see Cray, 2007). Dimensional

representations of personality and individual differences have proliferated for about 100 years, with modest gain in understanding personality and individual differences. There is something vaguely tautological in stretching dimensional explanations to cultural differences. Why do Iranians have larger families than do Canadians? Because Iranians are more collectivist. How do we know Iranians are more collectivist? Because they have larger families.

The many features of advice that showed cultural differences in my research make it tempting to add the features to a growing list of dimensional exemplars – “What is the difference between masculine and feminine cultures? Well, among other things, masculine cultures give more advice to women about minor decisions.” But I am not convinced that growing such lists provides a satisfying explanation. Dimensional representations do not reveal why the dimensions exist or how cultures came to be located here or there on each dimension. By locating cultures as points in some dimensional space, dimensional representations offer little more than a variation of cultural stereotypes, prompting the venerable question of how a culture can be defined. There are at least 14 different languages spoken in an equal number of regions in Iran, so it is difficult to describe Iran as a single culture. I eliminated almost half of my sample of Canadian data because the participants were not born in Canada. Is “born in Canada” a good definition of a Canadian when 40% of Canadian citizens were born in another country?

I am not sure what alternatives to a dimensional representation of culture would improve upon it. Narrative representations (short stories) hold some promise but are not suitable for number crunching. Still, my research teaches me that alternatives should be

considered and tried, especially when trying to understand the origins and evolution of cultural traditions.

Despite its limitations, I believe my research has shown that giving and receiving advice provide fertile sources of sensitive measures of social networks and dynamics, and that the study of advice is a fruitful way to explore these aspects of culture. There is much to be gained by future research on advice.

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Appendix A

Background Questionnaire

1. What is your age? _____ Gender? _____
2. Level of Education _____ Country or City of birth _____
3. If you were not born in Canada, how many years have you lived here? _____
4. What language do you speak most often at home with your parents? _____
5. How many brothers do you have? ____ How many sisters? ____
6. Are you now living with anyone? ____ If yes, who (for example: mother, father, brother, sister, aunt, husband, wife, child)? _____

* * * * *

Advice for Making Personal Decisions

We all make dozens of decisions each day. Most of these decisions are small; for example a decision about what to eat for lunch. A few decisions are big, for example a decision about whom to marry. Sometimes we ask other people for advice when making decisions, and sometimes people give us advice even though we do not ask them for it. The purpose of this research is to compare people from different cultures, what kind of advice seek, how much advice they receive, and how much pressure they feel to take advice they receive when making different kinds of decisions.

Below is a list of 40 different kinds of decisions. For each of the 40 decision topics please do the following:

- 1) Ask yourself: "Have I ever made this kind of decision at least once in my life?" write Yes, or NO in column 1
 - o If your answer is NO, then go to the next decision topic.
 - o If the answer is YES, then answer the following questions.
- 2) Did you ask for advice?
 - a. If yes, please write the names of the persons whom you asked for advice, for example: Mina, Sima, Karen, Jack, etc.
 - b. If yes (you asked for advice), how much pressure did you feel to take the advice of these people? Please rate with a number on the following scale: Not at all 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 Very much.
- 3) Did some people give you advice without you asking for it?
 - a. If yes, please write the names of the persons whom you asked for advice, for example: Kathryn, Noah, Karen, Sima, etc.
 - b. If yes, how much pressure did you feel to take the advice of these people? Please rate with a number on the following scale: Not at all 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 Very much.

	Question 1	Question 2.a	Question 2.b	Question 3.a	Question 3.b
Decision	Have you ever made this decision (Yes/No)	Whose advice Did you ask for?	how much pressure (0 to 9)	Who gave you advice without being asked?	how much pressure (0 to 9)
1.Choosing a university		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
2.Choosing a university major		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
3.Deciding when to marry		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
4.Deciding whom to marry		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
5.Choosing a career		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
6.Deciding to change your job or not		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			

	Question 1	Question 2.a	Question 2.b	Question 3.a	Question 3.b
Decision	Have you ever made this decision (Yes/No)	Whose advice Did you ask for?	how much pressure (0 to 9)	Who gave you advice without being asked?	how much pressure (0 to 9)
7.Deciding to break up or not to break up with your fiancé or spouse (or partner)		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
8.Practicing your religion		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
9.Deciding to live independent of parents		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
10.Deciding where to live		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
11.Deciding to study in another country or not		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
12.Choosing your friends		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			

	Question 1	Question 2.a	Question 2.b	Question 3.a	Question 3.b
Decision	Have you ever made this decision (Yes/No)	Whose advice Did you ask for?	how much pressure (0 to 9)	Who gave you advice without being asked?	how much pressure (0 to 9)
13.Continuing or ending your education		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
14.Deciding how to plan your work schedule		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
15. Whether or not to go out with friends		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
16. Whether or not to bring home friends		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
17.Choosing which books to read or not to read		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
18.Whether or not to smoke		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			

	Question 1	Question 2.a	Question 2.b	Question 3.a	Question 3.b
Decision	Have you ever made this decision (Yes/No)	Whose advice Did you ask for?	how much pressure (0 to 9)	Who gave you advice without being asked?	how much pressure (0 to 9)
19. Whether or not to drink alcohol		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
20. Choosing what kind of clothes to wear or not to wear		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
21. Deciding whether or not to lose your weight		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
22. Deciding how to spend your free time		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
23. Choosing which films to watch or not to watch		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
24. Deciding whether or not to use cosmetics		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			

	Question 1	Question 2.a	Question 2.b	Question 3.a	Question 3.b
Decision	Have you ever made this decision (Yes/No)	Whose advice Did you ask for?	how much pressure (0 to 9)	Who gave you advice without being asked?	how much pressure (0 to 9)
25.Choosing which parties to attend or not to attend		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
26.Deciding how often to visit relatives		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
27.Deciding how to behave with people at home or school		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
28.Deciding how to solve your communication problems with others		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
29.Deciding whether or not to have a boyfriend or a girlfriend		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
30.Deciding how to spend your money		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			

	Question 1	Question 2.a	Question 2.b	Question 3.a	Question 3.b
Decision	Have you ever made this decision (Yes/No)	Whose advice Did you ask for?	how much pressure (0 to 9)	Who gave you advice without being asked?	how much pressure (0 to 9)
31.Deciding when to have children		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
32.Choosing which names to give your children		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
33.Deciding how to raise your children		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
34.Choosing a school for your child		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
35.Choosing clothing for your children		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
36.Deciding which social values to teach your children		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			

	Question 1	Question 2.a	Question 2.b	Question 3.a	Question 3.b
Decision	Have you ever made this decision (Yes/No)	Whose advice Did you ask for?	how much pressure (0 to 9)	Who gave you advice without being asked?	how much pressure (0 to 9)
37.Deciding where to go for your vacation		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
38.Deciding whom to vote for		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
39.Deciding how much time to spend with your family		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			
40.Deciding which sport to play or not		1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____			

Thank You for Your Participation

Appendix B

Ethics Approval Cover page (Study 1)

Experiment number _____

Department of Psychology Proposal for Research with Human Participants

Please Submit Two Copies of This Form and Two Copies of the Supporting materials to the Ethics Committee (Janet Mantler Mail Box in B550 Loeb Building). Please Consult Ethics Guidance Before Submission. Failure to Follow Guidelines Will Delay the Approval.

Date of this submission: May 2005**Faculty Sponsor:** Professor Warren Thorngate (warrent@ccs.carleton.ca, Ext: 2706)**Principal Investigator:** Mahin Tavakoli (mtkhomei@connect.carleton.ca)**Other research personnel:** In Iran: Professor Javad Hatami (hatmijm@hotmail.com, Phone: 9821 245-5685)**Project title:** A Pilot Study of Advice and Personal Decisions**Type of research:** Ph.D. Thesis**Approximate starting and completion dates:** June to July 2005**Approximate length of testing session(s):** 45 to 60 minutes (1 session)

Number, age, and source of participants: Maximum of 50 undergraduate students will be recruited from Carleton University. 50 undergraduate students will also be recruited from Tehran University.

Will participants be paid or given course credit? The Canadian students will be given course credit. The Tehran University students will earn credit for psychology course taught by Dr. Javad Hatami.

Checklist: Are the following included?

Procedure (including materials)	YES
Description of Purpose	YES
Announcement for Recruiting	YES
Informed Consent	YES
Written Debriefing	YES

Does the study involve anything that might cause anxiety, pain or embarrassment to participants? No
Does the study involve deception? NO

We (I) acknowledge that participants will be treated in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the Canadian Psychological Association. In accordance with the CPA ethical guidelines, we (I) acknowledge that it is our (my) responsibility to respect COPYRIGHT laws.

Principal Investigator: _____

Project Supervisor: _____

The departmental Ethics Committee has _____ your application.

Date: _____ Chair, Ethics Committee: _____

Appendix D

Informed Consent Form (Study 1)

This informed consent form is to clarify the objectives, requirements, and consequences of our current project. We provide you with enough information so that you can freely decide about your participation in this study.

Project title: A Pilot Study of Advice and Personal Decisions.

Purpose of the Study: Few studies have explored advice giving and taking behaviour, when making decisions for real life plans and decisions. This study tries to explore this kind of advice taking and advice giving, and tries to compare these finding in two cultures: Canada and Iran. This study attempts to compare how much advice people want vs. how much advice people receive in two countries: Canada and Iran. Also it examines what group of people frequently give advice in both countries. The major research question is how much advice is given to people to meet their needs, and whether advice can play the role of social pressure, or social support.

Procedure: Each student will answer the questionnaire (Advice and Personal Decisions). You will be given **1 course credit** for participating in this study.

Duration: It takes students about 45-60 minutes to complete the questionnaire.

Location: Loeb Building room A401 and Tehran University, Department of psychology.

Anonymity/Confidentiality: Any information that is obtained during this study will be kept confidential. Knowledge of your identity is not required. You will not be required to write your name or any other identifying information on the research materials. We finally code the data and the coded data are made available only to the researchers associated with this project.

This study will not expose you into any harm or risk. If you feel uncomfortable answering the questions, you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, or skip the questions, without penalty.

Consent

Are you willing to participate in this study? If so, please sign this form below.

Researcher's name and address: Tavakoli, PhD Candidate, Psychology Department, Carleton University, 1125 Colonel by Drive, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, K1S5B6 E-mail: mtkhomei@connect.carleton.ca. **Signature** _____

If you have any questions before, while, or after the study, please feel free to contact me or my supervisor Professor Warren Thorngate (warrant@ccs.carleton.ca, phone 520-2600, ext: 2706). Or if you have any concern regarding the ethical issues you can contact Chair of the Ethics committee, Professor Christopher Davis (chris_davis@carleton.ca; phone 520-2600, ext. 2251). Regarding ethical issues of this study, Iranian students can contact the Dean of Faculty of Psychology and Education, Dr. Zamani, 825-5031.

Participant's Name (Please print) _____

Participant's Signature _____ **Date** _____

Appendix E

Debriefing Form (Study 1)

Thank you again for participating in this study. The purpose of a debriefing form is to help you understand the exact nature of the study. The purpose of this study is to compare how much advice people need vs. how much advice people receive in two countries: Canada and Iran. Also it examines what group of people frequently give advice in both countries. We assume that young adults in Iran receive advice from more number of people and they receive advice from the same person more frequently, as compared to young adults Canada. Also, we assume that in Iran as compared to Canada, advice giving is entailed with the expectation from source of advice that advice must be taken and obeyed. This expectation creates social pressure. There are many studies done that have explored advice giving behaviour when doing cognitive tasks to make decisions in the laboratories. But few studies have explored advice giving and taking behaviour, when making decisions for real life plans and decisions. This study tries to explore this kind of advice taking and advice giving, and tries to compare these findings in two cultures: Canada and Iran.

If you have any questions or comment about this research, please feel free to contact Mahin Tavakoli, Psychology Department, Carleton University, Colonel by Drive, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, K1S5B6 E-mail: mtkhomei@connect.carleton.ca. Or if you have any concern regarding the ethical or other issues in this study you can contact Chair of the Ethics committee, Professor Christopher Davis (chris_davis@carleton.ca; phone 520-2600, ext. 2251), or Chair of Department of Psychology, Professor Mary Gick (mgick@ccs.carleton.ca, phone 520-2600, ext. 2664).

The experimenter's name : _____

Date (DD/MM/YY) _____ / _____ / _____

Appendix F

Background Questionnaire

1. What is your age? _____ Gender? _____
2. Country of birth _____
3. If you were not born in Canada, how many years have you lived here? _____
4. What language do you speak most often at home with your parents? _____
5. What language do your parents speak most often at home? _____
6. Please rate how religious you are on the following rating scale:
not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 very much
7. How many brothers do you have? ____ How many sisters? ____

Where Does Advice Come from?

We all make dozens of decisions each day. Most of these decisions are small; for example, decisions about what to wear or what to eat for lunch. Sometimes we make big decisions, for example, decisions about what to study or whom to marry. Sometimes we ask other people for advice when making decisions, and sometimes people give us advice even though we do not ask them for it. I am interested in how the amount and kind of advice might vary across cultures.

On the following pages are questions about the advice you have received about each of six decisions that almost everyone your age has made. The decisions are:

1. Choosing a university major
2. Choosing your friends
3. Choosing what to wear
4. Deciding how to spend your time
5. Deciding how to spend your money
6. Deciding how often to visit your relatives

Please answer all questions about the advice you received as best as you can.

Thank you

Decision 1. Choosing a university major

1. Did you want advice about choosing a university major? _____
2. Did you ask for advice about choosing a university major? _____
3. If you asked for advice about choosing a university major,
 - a. Please recall each person you asked for advice about choosing a university major and indicate his/her relationship to you (examples: mother, sister, cousin, mother in law, child, friend, teacher, counsellor, boss, work colleague, the Internet, television, magazines, and books)
 - b. Rate how much pressure you felt to take the advice of each person. Please rate on the following scale: no pressure 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 extreme pressure

	<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Pressure</u>
Person A:	_____	_____
Person B:	_____	_____
Person C:	_____	_____
Person D:	_____	_____
Person E:	_____	_____
Person F:	_____	_____
Person G:	_____	_____

4. Did anyone give you advice about choosing a university major without you asking them? _____
5. If yes,
 - a. Please recall the people who gave you advice about choosing a university major without asking and indicate their relationship to you (examples: mother, sister, cousin, mother in law, child, friend, teacher, counsellor, boss, work colleague, the Internet, television, magazines, and books)
 - b. Rate how much pressure you felt to take the advice of each person. Please rate on the following scale: no pressure 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 extreme pressure

	<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Pressure</u>
Person H:	_____	_____
Person I:	_____	_____
Person J:	_____	_____
Person K:	_____	_____
Person K:	_____	_____
Person M:	_____	_____
Person N:	_____	_____

Decision 2. Choosing your friends

1. Do you usually want advice about choosing your friends? _____
2. Do you usually ask for advice about choosing your friends? _____
3. If you usually ask for advice about choosing your friends,
 - a. Please recall each person you asked for advice about choosing your friends and indicate his/her relationship to you (examples: mother, sister, cousin, mother in law, child, friend, teacher, counsellor, boss, work colleague, the Internet, television, magazines, and books)
 - b. Rate how much pressure you usually feel to take the advice of each person. Please rate on the following scale: no pressure 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 extreme pressure

	<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Pressure</u>
Person A:	_____	_____
Person B:	_____	_____
Person C:	_____	_____
Person D:	_____	_____
Person E:	_____	_____
Person F:	_____	_____
Person G:	_____	_____

4. Does anyone give you advice about choosing your friends without you asking? _____
5. If yes,
 - a. Please recall each person who gave you advice about choosing your friends without asking and indicate his/her relationship to you (examples: mother, sister, cousin, mother in law, child, friend, teacher, counsellor, boss, work colleague, the Internet, television, magazines, and books)
 - b. Rate how much pressure you usually feel to take the advice of each person. Please rate on the following scale: no pressure 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 extreme pressure

	<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Pressure</u>
Person H:	_____	_____
Person I:	_____	_____
Person J:	_____	_____
Person K:	_____	_____
Person K:	_____	_____
Person M:	_____	_____
Person N:	_____	_____

Decision 3. Choosing what to wear

1. Do you usually want advice about choosing what to wear? _____
2. Do you usually ask for advice about choosing what to wear? _____
3. If you usually ask for advice about choosing what to wear,
 - a. Please recall each person you asked for advice about choosing what to wear and indicate his/her relationship to you (examples: mother, sister, cousin, mother in law, child, friend, teacher, counsellor, boss, work colleague, the Internet, television, magazines, and books)
 - b. Rate how much pressure you usually feel to take the advice of each person. Please rate on the following scale: no pressure 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 extreme pressure

	<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Pressure</u>
Person A:	_____	_____
Person B:	_____	_____
Person C:	_____	_____
Person D:	_____	_____
Person E:	_____	_____
Person F:	_____	_____
Person G:	_____	_____

4. Does anyone give you advice about choosing what to wear without you asking? _____
5. If yes,
 - a. Please recall each person who gave you advice about choosing what to wear without asking and indicate his/her relationship to you (examples: mother, sister, cousin, mother in law, child, friend, teacher, counsellor, boss, work colleague)
 - b. Rate how much pressure you usually feel to take the advice of each person. Please rate on the following scale: no pressure 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 extreme pressure

	<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Pressure</u>
Person H:	_____	_____
Person I:	_____	_____
Person J:	_____	_____
Person K:	_____	_____
Person K:	_____	_____
Person M:	_____	_____
Person N:	_____	_____

Decision 4. Deciding how to spend your time

1. Do you usually want advice about how to spend your time? _____
2. Do you usually ask for advice about how to spend your time? _____
3. If you usually ask for advice about how to spend your time,
 - a. Please recall each person you asked for advice about how to spend your time and indicate his/her relationship to you (examples: mother, sister, cousin, mother in law, child, friend, teacher, counsellor, boss, work colleague, the Internet, television, magazines, and books)
 - b. Rate how much pressure you usually feel to take the advice of each person. Please rate on the following scale: no pressure 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 extreme pressure

	<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Pressure</u>
Person A:	_____	_____
Person B:	_____	_____
Person C:	_____	_____
Person D:	_____	_____
Person E:	_____	_____
Person F:	_____	_____
Person G:	_____	_____

4. Does anyone give you advice about how to spend your time without you asking? _____
5. If yes,
 - a. Please recall each person who gave you advice about how to spend your time without asking and indicate his/her relationship to you (examples: mother, sister, cousin, mother in law, child, friend, teacher, counsellor, boss, work colleague, the Internet, television, magazines, and books)
 - b. Rate how much pressure you usually feel to take the advice of each person. Please rate on the following scale: no pressure 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 extreme pressure

	<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Pressure</u>
Person H:	_____	_____
Person I:	_____	_____
Person J:	_____	_____
Person K:	_____	_____
Person K:	_____	_____
Person M:	_____	_____
Person N:	_____	_____

Decision 5. Deciding how to spend your money

1. Do you usually want advice about how to spend your money? _____
2. Do you usually ask for advice about how to spend your money? _____
3. If you usually ask for advice about how to spend your money,
 - a. Please recall each person you asked for advice about how to spend your money and indicate his/her relationship to you (examples: mother, sister, cousin, mother in law, child, friend, teacher, counsellor, boss, work colleague, the Internet, television, magazines, and books)
 - b. Then, rate how much pressure you usually feel to take the advice of each person. Please rate on the following scale: no pressure 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 extreme pressure

	<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Pressure</u>
Person A:	_____	_____
Person B:	_____	_____
Person C:	_____	_____
Person D:	_____	_____
Person E:	_____	_____
Person F:	_____	_____
Person G:	_____	_____

4. Does anyone give you advice about how to spend your money without you asking? _____
5. If yes,
 - a. Please recall each person who gave you advice about how to spend your money without asking and indicate his/her relationship to you (examples: mother, sister, cousin, mother in law, child, friend, teacher, counsellor, boss, work colleague, the Internet, television, magazines, and books)
 - b. Rate how much pressure you usually feel to take the advice of each person. Please rate on the following scale: no pressure 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 extreme pressure

	<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Pressure</u>
Person H:	_____	_____
Person I:	_____	_____
Person J:	_____	_____
Person K:	_____	_____
Person K:	_____	_____
Person M:	_____	_____
Person N:	_____	_____

Decision 6. Deciding how often to visit your relatives

1. Do you usually want advice about how often to visit your relatives? _____
 2. Do you usually ask for advice about how often to visit your relatives? _____

3. If you usually ask for advice about how often to visit your relatives,
 a. Please recall each person you asked for advice about how often to visit your relatives and indicate his/her relationship to you (examples: mother, sister, cousin, mother in law, child, friend, teacher, counsellor, boss, work colleague, the Internet, television, magazines, and books)
 b. Then, rate how much pressure you usually feel to take the advice of each person. Please rate on the following scale: no pressure 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 extreme pressure

	<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Pressure</u>
Person A:	_____	_____
Person B:	_____	_____
Person C:	_____	_____
Person D:	_____	_____
Person E:	_____	_____
Person F:	_____	_____
Person G:	_____	_____

4. Does anyone give you advice about how often to visit your relatives without you asking? _____

5. If yes,
 a. Please recall each person who gave you advice about how often to visit your relatives without asking and indicate his/her relationship to you (examples: mother, sister, cousin, mother in law, child, friend, teacher, counsellor, boss, work colleague, the Internet, television, magazines, and books)
 b. Rate how much pressure you usually feel to take the advice of each person. Please rate on the following scale: no pressure 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 extreme pressure

	<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Pressure</u>
Person H:	_____	_____
Person I:	_____	_____
Person J:	_____	_____
Person K:	_____	_____
Person K:	_____	_____
Person M:	_____	_____
Person N:	_____	_____

Now I would like to ask you a question about a decision that you may or may not have made: **Decision 7. Assume that you are making a decision to marry**

1. Would you want advice about whom to marry? _____
2. Would you ask for advice about whom to marry? _____
3. If you asked for advice about whom to marry,
 - a. Whom would you ask? Please list each person you would ask for advice about whom to marry and indicate his/her relationship to you (examples: mother, sister, cousin, mother in law, child, friend, teacher, counsellor, boss, work colleague, the Internet, television, magazines, and books)
 - b. Rate how much pressure you might feel to take the advice of each person. Please rate on the following scale: no pressure 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 extreme pressure

	<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Pressure</u>
Person A:	_____	_____
Person B:	_____	_____
Person C:	_____	_____
Person D:	_____	_____
Person E:	_____	_____
Person F:	_____	_____
Person G:	_____	_____

4. Would anyone give you advice about whom to marry without you asking? _____

5. If yes,
 - a. Who would give it? Please list each person who would give you advice about whom to marry without you asking and indicate his/her relationship to you (examples: mother, sister, cousin, mother in law, child, friend, teacher, counsellor, boss, work colleague, the Internet, television, magazines, and books)
 - b. Rate how much pressure you would feel to take the advice of each person. Please rate on the following scale: no pressure 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 extreme pressure

	<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Pressure</u>
Person H:	_____	_____
Person I:	_____	_____
Person J:	_____	_____
Person K:	_____	_____
Person K:	_____	_____
Person M:	_____	_____
Person N:	_____	_____

Appendix G

Ethics Approval Cover page (Study 2)

Experiment number _____

Department of Psychology Proposal for Research with Human Participants

Please Submit Two Copies of This Form and Two Copies of the Supporting materials to the Ethics Committee (Janet Mantler Mail Box in B550 Loeb Building). Please Consult Ethics Guidance Before Submission. Failure to Follow Guidelines Will Delay the Approval.

Date of this submission: January 2006**Faculty Sponsor:** Professor Warren Thorngate (warrent@ccs.carleton.ca, Ext: 2706)**Principal Investigator:** Mahin Tavakoli (mahin_tavakoli@carleton.ca)**Other research personnel:** In Iran: Professor Javad Hatami (hatmijm@hotmail.com, Phone: 9821245-5685) & Asefeh Tavakoli (asefeh_tavakoli@yahoo.com, phone: 98216509886)**Project title:** Sources and Nature of Advice.**Type of research:** Ph.D. Thesis**Approximate starting and completion dates:** January to April 2006.**Approximate length of testing session(s):** 50 to 80 minutes (1 session).

Number, age, and source of participants: Maximum of 50 undergraduate students will be recruited from Carleton University. 50 undergraduate students will also be recruited from Tehran University.

Will participants be paid or given course credit? The Canadian students will be given 1.5% course credit. The Tehran University students will earn credit for social psychology course taught by Dr. Javad Hatami.

Checklist: Are the following included?

Procedure (including materials)	YES
Description of Purpose	YES
Announcement for Recruiting	YES
Informed Consent	YES
Written Debriefing	YES

Does the study involve anything that might cause anxiety, pain or embarrassment to participants? No

Does the study involve deception? NO

We (I) acknowledge that participants will be treated in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the Canadian Psychological Association. In accordance with the CPA ethical guidelines, we (I) acknowledge that it is our (my) responsibility to respect COPYRIGHT laws.

Principal Investigator: _____

Project Supervisor: _____

The departmental Ethics Committee has _____ your application.

Date: _____ Chair, Ethics Committee: _____

Appendix H

Procedure (Study 2)

In Canada, first each participant will be given a consent form to read and sign. Then they will be asked to complete two questionnaires called “*Where does advice come from*” and the “*RIC Scale*”. The first questionnaire includes questions such as whether they wanted or did not advice and why, from whom they received advice with and without asking for it, whether they felt pressure to take the advice and how, and whether they ignored the advice. The RIC Scale includes 10 multiple-choice questions, which measures people’s social orientations (i.e., how much they are individualistic, collectivist, and relational). After answering the questions, participants will be thanked, debriefed, and excused. I will attend to one to maximum of 10 participants at any specific time. I will recruit different participants for each of the three studies. However, if a participant requests to do a second study, I allow it. I expect that few will do two, but if they do, it will give me a small sample of within-participant data to compare to the much larger between-participant sample.

In Iran, there is no ethics committee at Tehran University, and no university in Iran has any formal procedure for checking research ethics. However, researchers when designing their studies informally consider the ethics and the students trust the research process and trust their professors. Informed Consent forms and Debriefing forms do not exist in Iran; research descriptions are given orally before prospective participants volunteer and debriefings are given orally as well. When the authorities of the university or school, where the participants are recruited, do not know a researcher or his/her reputation a chair, dean or committee will check the researcher’s procedures and materials. In my case, the Dean of the Faculty (Dr. Zamani) knows and trusts Dr. Hatami and me very well. If he feels he needs to check my proposed research, Dr. Hatami would give him a copy of my questions.

For the purpose of my research, participants in Iran will be recruited by an oral announcement in class. The research will be done as an optional activity that Dr. Hatami announce. The students will be given extra credit by Dr. Hatami, which will be added to their final mark. So, students who do not participate would not lose any marks and feel no pressure to participate. A female research assistant, Asefeh, will serve as my experimenter. Dr. Hatami introduce her in his class and will tell the students that everybody who is willing to participate in the research can contact her. Asefeh will describe the research in class and invite the students to participate in the research. She will give her contact information and ask the potential participants to contact her to book a time. Those who contact Asefeh, will be invited to go to the Psychology Department Laboratory at that specific time. At each time, one to maximum of 5 participants will be attended by Asefeh. First she will declare that responses are confidential and that participants can leave the experiment at any time. Then, Asefeh will give the questionnaire to the participants and will describe it for them. At the end of the session, she will give the debriefing to the participants under this heading “Information about the Cross-Cultural Study of Advice”, in which the participants will be given my contact information.

Appendix I

Description of Purpose (Study 2)

This study tries to examine what advice people seek and how much they receive in two countries: Canada and Iran. It also examines what kinds of people are frequently asked for advice, and what kind of people give advice without being asked, in both countries. Many studies have explored advice giving in laboratory decision-making tasks, but few studies have explored advice seeking and giving when making real-life decisions. This study explores advice seeking and giving in real life, and compares them in two cultures: Canada and Iran.

Announcement for Recruiting (Study 2)

This study tries to examine how much advice people receive, what kinds of people are frequently asked for advice, and what kind of people give advice without being asked. In this study you will answer a questionnaire about who gave you advice, whose advice you wanted, why you wanted or did not want advice, from whom did you receive advice with and without asking for it, and whether you felt pressure to take the advice and how. Depending on your experiences with advice, it will take you about 50 to 80 minutes to answer the questionnaires. Participation in this study will give you 1.5% course credits.

Appendix J

Informed Consent Form (Study 2)

This informed consent form is to clarify the objectives, requirements, and consequences of our current project. We provide you with enough information so that you can freely decide about your participation in this study.

Purpose of the Study: There are many studies done that have explored advice giving behaviour when doing cognitive tasks to make decisions in the laboratories. But few studies have explored advice giving and taking behaviour, when making decisions for real life plans and decisions. This study tries to explore this kind of advice taking and advice giving, and tries to compare these findings in two cultures: Canada and Iran. This study attempts to compare how much advice is received in two countries: Canada and Iran. Also it examines what group of people frequently give advice in both countries, and if advice can play the role of social pressure.

Procedure: Participants will answer the questionnaires (Where does advice come from: A Cross-Cultural Study) and the RIC scale. You will be given 1.5% course credits for participating in this study.

Duration: It takes students about 50 to 80 minutes to complete the questionnaire (1 session).

Location: Loeb Building room A401 and Tehran University, Department of psychology.

Any information that is obtained during this study will be kept confidential. You will not be required to write your name or any other identifying information on the research materials. We finally code the data and the coded data are made available only to the researchers associated with this project. This study will not expose you into any harm or risk. If you feel uncomfortable answering the questions, you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, or skipping the questions, without penalty.

Consent

Are you willing to participate in this study? If so, please sign this form below.

Researcher's name and address: M. Tavakoli, PhD Candidate, Psychology Department, Carleton University, 1125 Colonel by Drive, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, K1S5B6
E-mail: mtkhomei@connect.carleton.ca **Signature** _____

If you have any questions before, while, or after the study, please feel free to contact me or my supervisor Professor Warren Thorngate (warrant@ccs.carleton.ca, phone 520-2600, ext: 2706). Or if you have any concern regarding the ethical issues you can contact Chair of the Carleton University Ethics Committee for Psychological Research, Professor Janet Mantler (janet_mantler@carleton.ca; phone 520-2600 ext 4173), or Chair of Department of Psychology, Professor Mary Gick (mgick@ccs.carleton.ca, phone 520-2600, ext. 2664). Regarding ethical issues of this study, Iranian students can contact the Dean of Faculty of Psychology and Education, Dr. Zamani, 825-5031.

Participant's Name (Please print) _____

Participant's Signature _____ **Date** _____

Appendix K

Debriefing Form (Study 2)

Thank you again for participating in this study. The purpose of a debriefing form is to help you understand the exact nature of the study. The purpose of this study is to compare how much advice people need vs. how much advice people receive in two countries: Canada and Iran. Also it examines what group of people frequently give advice in both countries.

We assume that young adults in Iran receive advice from more number of people and they receive advice from the same person more frequently, as compared to young adults Canada. Also, we assume that in Iran as compared to Canada, advice giving is entailed with the expectation from source of advice that advice must be taken and obeyed. This expectation creates social pressure. There are many studies done that have explored advice giving behaviour when doing cognitive tasks to make decisions in the laboratories. But few studies have explored advice giving and taking behaviour, when making decisions for real life plans and decisions. This study tries to explore this kind of advice taking and advice giving, and tries to compare these findings in two cultures: Canada and Iran.

If you have any questions or comment about this research, please feel free to contact Mahin Tavakoli, Psychology Department, Carleton University, Colonel by Drive, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, K1S5B6 E-mail: mahin_tavakoli@carleton.ca. Or if you have any concern regarding the ethical or other issues in this study you can contact Chair of the Carleton University Ethics Committee for Psychological Research, Professor Janet Mantler (janet_mantler@carleton.ca; phone 520-2600 ext 4173), or Chair of Department of Psychology, Professor Mary Gick (mgick@ccs.carleton.ca, phone 520-2600, ext. 2664).

The experimenter's name : _____
Date (DD/MM/YY) _____ / _____ / _____

Appendix L

Background Questionnaire

1. What is your age? _____
2. Gender? _____
3. Level of Education _____
4. Country of birth? _____
5. If you were not born in Canada, how many years have you lived here? _____
6. What language do you speak most often at home? _____
7. What language do your parents speak most often at home? _____
8. Are you now living with anyone? If yes, whom (for example: mother, father, brother, sister, aunt, husband, wife, child)? _____
9. On the following rating scale, please highlight how much religious are you?
not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 very much

Advice Giving Questionnaire

[male version shown below; female version changed pronouns of writer]

When people have problems, they often seek the advice of others. Below are letters from 13 real people who are seeking advice about a personal problem. Please, read the letters and write your advice to them.

1. A 16-year-old male

My father did not like me from the time I was born. He wanted to have a daughter, rather than a son. He always swears at me. My mother also says lots of bad words and swears. My father and mother have been married for 20 years and during these 20 years they have argued and quarrelled with each other. They did not like each other from the beginning. Now I witness their arguments or their swearing at me every day. They do not give me money to buy what I need. I am sad and depressed. Sometimes I have tried to commit suicide, using medicine and electrical shock. Would you please advise me what can I do?

2. A 17-year-old male

I was 40 days old when I lost my father and my mother accepted all the responsibilities at home. Now I am in third year of high school and I am very affected by the problems that are created by the lack of a father. I like and know different kinds of art: poetry, calligraphy, making carpets. And I love sports. But my family does not pay attention to my capabilities. I love basketball so much that I broke my arm three times while playing. When I told my mom about it, she slapped me. She did the right thing, because all the expenses in our home are paid by my sister who makes carpets. I wish a person could come and discover my talents. I am dying. I feel suffocated by the people around me. Please advise me what I can do.

3. A 23-year-old male

My ambitions were to study in the university and then find a job. I successfully entered the university and, with an average of A+, I got my degree. Now the more I look for a job, the less I am able to find one. In order to find a job, you must have important connections and I have none. I feel disappointed. I do not have motivation to study for a Masters degree. I am tired of being dependent on my family and taking money from my parents. I feel this is end of my life. Please tell me what I can do.

4. A 17-year-old male

My parents are very controlling and traditional. I do not have the right to make decision for myself or to like something. They always control what I wear, where I go, whom I go with, talking to others, visiting others, going to gatherings, walking with someone, sitting with some one, choosing my major, and whatever else I do. They judge me like I am in court, and easily accuse me of doing wrong things. So I show reactions in other aspects of life to make them angry. For example, I go and sit under the rain until I become sick. Then they condemn me, but I do not care. I love freedom. I would like to make my own decision; I would like to be responsible for my own behaviour. What should I do?

5. A 23-year-old male

I married a woman I love, though my family did not agree with my marriage. Now my wife is addicted to drugs and she is irresponsible. She is also suspicious of me having affairs with others. She wants a divorce but I love her and do not want to divorce. What should I do?

6. A 15-year-old male

My mother and father won't let me go on dates with girls. They won't even let me group date. An end-of-year party is coming up and I am not allowed to go. All the other classmates are there with their girlfriends. I have a girlfriend but it's a secret from my parents. She wants me to go to the dance. She will break up with me if I don't go. How can I convince my parents that I have to go?

7. A 17-year-old male

My best friend has gone off the deep end over a girl he met. They both are fifteen and they are really, really involved. They are planning a great weekend away at his parent's Summer home. He is going to steal the key and he is getting a friend to lie and say he is spending the weekend at his friend's house. He found a big kid who will drive them to the Summer house and pick them up. It is all he talks about. They will be drinking; this girl drinks a lot. All our friends think is very romantic. I am worried. Ever since he met this girl, he has changed. We used to talk about books and music and have fun but now he seems so shallow. I think his mother should know but I don't want to do it. He would never talk to me again. Should I tell his mother?

8. A 17-year-old male

My brother is taking a lot of drugs. He moved out about a year ago but stops back to wash his clothes and hang around a couple of times a month. he works in a kitchen at a restaurant. After the last time he visited I found I was missing a lot of money (about

\$200) I was saving for a new competition bicycle. I know he took it but I can't prove it. When I told my parents they seemed upset, but didn't really say anything to him. I haven't said anything either. What should I do?

9. A 21-year-old male

I am having a problem dealing with my fiancé's parents. To make a long story short, they disapprove of me because I am not of the same ethnic background as they are. My fiancé has never cared about our ethnic differences but her parents are really getting to her and now she is having second thoughts even though she knows her parents are wrong. I want to get married soon but her parents are not supportive at all. Now, what am I or my fiancé to do? I personally think she should just stand up to her parents.

10. A 20-year-old male

I have never dated a girl. At my age many have begun to speculate that I never marry. Is that true? Daily I see myself becoming a sceptic of romance and prospects of falling in love. Although I do not reveal it to my family and friends, I am terrified of never experiencing love. What should I do?

11. A 19-year-old male

Last year I had to decide what to major in at university. I didn't have any special preference, but my family and friends all told me that I should major in engineering. Now I am in engineering and I hate it. Also, my grades are terrible. What should I do?

12. A 19-year-old male

Last year I had to decide what to major in at university. I wanted to study engineering, and my family and friends all told me that I should major in engineering. Now I am in engineering and I hate it. Also, my grades are terrible. What should I do?"

13. A 19-year-old male

Last year I had to decide what to major in at university. I wanted to study psychology, but my family and friends all told me that I should major in engineering. Now I am in engineering and I hate it. Also, my grades are terrible. What should I do?"

Thank you for your participation

Appendix M

A Sample of Persian Handwriting (Study 3)

۱ - يك دختر ۱۶ ساله

من از وقتی به دنیا آمدم پدرم مرا دوست نداشت. او مایل بود به جای دختر يك پسر داشته باشد (مادرم هم همینطور). او همیشه به من فحش می داد. و يك عالم حرف های بد به من می زد. پدر و مادر من ۲۰ سال است که با هم ازدواج کرده اند و در عرض این ۲۰ سال با يكديگر بحث و جدل داشته اند.
پدر و مادرم از اول يكديگر را دوست نداشته اند. حالا من شاهد جنل های هر روز آنها یا فحش های آنها به خودم هستم.
آنها به من پول نمی دهند که چیزی را که نیاز دارم بخرم و من غمگین و افسرده ام. چندباري هم سعی کرده ام با برق خودمرا بکشم لطفا مرا نصیحت کنید که چه کنم.

برای من خودمرا کور استباه محض است و اینم حاصل عصبانیت من در این روزها که با مادرم
تا اینده چون خودم را با مادرم تا آخر عمرم خلاص می شود.
من آنرا جای تو بودم. رفیق من مادرم با این از اقوام خودم عمل می پورم و مادرم می گویم که آنها
زندگی من و مادر من که همان کور استباه محض است و این را به من و مادرم که کنار آمدن
ادامه می دهد چون علاقه من به این سال است و ازدواج می کند و در صورتی که صورت من روی
رو من توانی از این مصلحت در حالی پیدا کنی است. مادر من که محسن عورت است به
عورت را با کارهای من که با او می بینم که آن علاقه من در حسی است که من

روي مقیاس زیر لطفا مشخص کنید این شخص چقدر مسوول مشکل خودش است.
(دور گزینه مناسب دایره بکشید.)
اصلا مسوول نیست () ۱ ۲ ۳ ۴ ۵ ۶ ۷ ۸ ۹ کاملا مسوول

Appendix N

Ethics Approval Cover page (Study 3)

Experiment number _____

Department of Psychology Proposal for Research with Human Participants

Please Submit Two Copies of This Form and Two Copies of the Supporting materials to the Ethics Committee (Janet Mantler Mail Box in B550 Loeb Building). Please Consult Ethics Guidance Before Submission. Failure to Follow Guidelines Will Delay the Approval.

Date of this submission: January 2006**Faculty Sponsor:** Professor Warren Thorngate (warrent@ccs.carleton.ca, Ext: 2706)**Principal Investigator:** Mahin Tavakoli (mahin_tavakoli@carleton.ca)**Other research personnel:** In Iran: Professor Javad Hatami (hatmijm@hotmail.com, Phone:9821245-5685) & Asefeh Tavakoli (asefeh_tavakoli@yahoo.com)**Project title:** Giving Advice.**Type of research:** Ph.D. Thesis**Approximate starting and completion dates:** January to April 2006.**Approximate length of testing session(s):** 50 to 80 minutes (1 session).

Number, age, and source of participants: Maximum of 30 undergraduate students will be recruited from Carleton University. 30 undergraduate students will also be recruited from Tehran University.

Will participants be paid or given course credit? The Canadian students will be given 1.5% course credit. The Tehran University students will earn credit for social psychology course taught by Dr. Javad Hatami.

Checklist: Are the following included?

Procedure (including materials)	YES
Informed Consent	YES
Written Debriefing	YES
Announcement for Recruiting	YES
Description of Purpose	YES

Does the study involve anything that might cause anxiety, pain or embarrassment to participants? NO

Does the study involve deception? NO

We (I) acknowledge that participants will be treated in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the Canadian Psychological Association. In accordance with the CPA ethical guidelines, we (I) acknowledge that it is our (my) responsibility to respect COPYRIGHT laws.

Principal Investigator: _____

Project Supervisor: _____

The departmental Ethics Committee has _____ your application.

Date: _____ Chair, Ethics Committee: _____

Appendix O

Procedure (Study 3)

In Canada, first each participant will be given a consent form to read and sign. Then they will be asked to write to a number of scenarios, written by young people who are asking for advice about how to react to such problems as living with controlling or discriminating parents, a problematic sibling or friends, and an abusive spouse, etc. Every student will read the same set of letters/scenarios. Half of the male and female participants will be told that the letters were written by a male, and the other half will be told the letters were written by a female. Also participants will answer the RIC Scale, which includes 10 multiple-choice questions, measuring people's social orientations (i.e., how much they are individualistic, collectivist, and relational). After answering the questions, participants will be thanked, debriefed, and excused. I will recruit different participants for each of the three studies. However, if a participant requests to do a second study, I allow it. I expect that few will do two, but if they do, it will give me a small sample of within-participant data to compare to the much larger between-participant sample.

In Iran, there is no ethics committee at Tehran University, and no university in Iran has any formal procedure for checking research ethics. However, researchers when designing their studies informally consider the ethics and the students trust the research process and trust their professors. Informed Consent forms and Debriefing forms do not exist in Iran; research descriptions are given orally before prospective participants volunteer and debriefings are given orally as well. When the authorities of the university or school, where the participants are recruited, do not know a researcher or his/her reputation a chair, dean or committee will check the researcher's procedures and materials. In my case, the Dean of the Faculty (Dr. Zamani) knows and trusts Dr. Hatami and me very well. If he feels he needs to check my proposed research, Dr. Hatami would give him a copy of my questions.

For the purpose of my research, participants in Iran will be recruited by an oral announcement in class. The research will be done as an optional activity that Dr. Hatami announce. The students will be given extra credit by Dr. Hatami, which will be added to their final mark. So, students who do not participate would not lose any marks and feel no pressure to participate. A female research assistant, Asefeh, will serve as my experimenter. Dr. Hatami introduce her in his class and will tell the students that everybody who is willing to participate in the research can contact her. Asefeh will describe the research in class and invite the students to participate in the research. She will give her contact information and ask the potential participants to contact her to book a time. Those who contact Asefeh, will be invited to go to the Psychology Department Laboratory at that specific time. At each time, one to maximum of 5 participants will be attended by Asefeh. First she will declare that responses are confidential and that participants can leave the experiment at any time. Then, Asefeh will give the questionnaire to the participants and will describe it for them. At the end of the session, she will give the debriefing to the participants under this heading "Information about the Cross-Cultural Study of Advice", in which the participants will be given my contact information.

Appendix P

Description of Purpose (Study 3)

This study tries to examine advice from the perspective of advice givers and will examine its content in two countries: Canada and Iran. Advice has many features, but no content analysis scheme has yet been created to analyze them. This study explores advice giving in real life, and analysing their content, compares them in two cultures: Canada and Iran. Also gender differences in receiving and giving and advice will be examined.

Announcement for Recruiting (Study 3)

This study tries to examine advice from the perspective of advice givers and will examine its content in two countries: Canada and Iran. You will write to a number of scenarios, written by young people who are asking for your advice about how to react to such problems as living with controlling or discriminating parents, problematic sibling or friend, and abusive spouse. Also, you will answer a questionnaire, which includes 10 multiple-choice questions about your social orientation (e.g., how much do you enjoy going to concert alone or by a friend, how much do you enjoy if you or your friend are praised in a magazine, etc.). It takes you about 50 to 80 minutes to complete the questionnaire (1 session). You will be given 1.5% course credits for participating in this study. If you wish to participate in this study, please contact Mahin Tavakoli (mahin_tavakoli@carleton.ca).

Appendix Q

Informed Consent Form (Study 3)

This informed consent form is to clarify the objectives, requirements, and consequences of our current project. We provide you with enough information so that you can freely decide about your participation in this study.

Purpose of the Study: This study tries to examine advice from the perspective of advice givers and will examine its content in two countries: Canada and Iran. Advice has many features, but no content analysis scheme has yet been created to analyze them. This study explores advice giving in real life, and analysing their content, compares them in two cultures: Canada and Iran. Also gender differences in receiving and giving and advice will be examined.

Procedure: You will write to a number of scenarios, written by young people who are asking for your advice about how to react to such problems as living with controlling parents, problematic sibling, and abusive spouse. Also, you will answer a questionnaire, asking questions about your social orientation (e.g., how much do you enjoy going to concert alone or by a friend). You will be given **1.5% course credits** for participating in this study.

Duration: It takes you about 50-80 minutes to complete the questionnaire (1 session).

Location: Loeb Building room A401 and Tehran University, Department of psychology.

Anonymity/Confidentiality: Any information that is obtained during this study will be kept confidential. You will not be required to write your name or any other identifying information on the research materials. We finally code the data and the coded data are made available only to the researchers associated with this project.

This study will not expose you into any harm or risk. If you feel uncomfortable answering the questions, you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, or skipping the questions, without penalty.

Consent

Are you willing to participate in this study? If so, please sign this form below.

Researcher's name and address: M. Tavakoli, PhD Candidate, Psychology Department, Carleton University, 1125 Colonel by Drive, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, K1S5B6

E-mail: mtkhomei@connect.carleton.ca **Signature** _____

If you have any questions before, while, or after the study, please feel free to contact me or my supervisor Professor Warren Thorngate (warrant@ccs.carleton.ca, phone 520-2600, ext: 2706). Or if you have any concern regarding the ethical issues you can contact Chair of the Carleton University Ethics Committee for Psychological Research, Professor Janet Mantler (janet_mantler@carleton.ca; phone 520-2600 ext 4173), or Chair of Department of Psychology, Professor Mary Gick (mgick@ccs.carleton.ca, phone 520-2600, ext. 2664). Regarding ethical issues of this study, Iranian students can contact the Dean of Faculty of Psychology and Education, Dr. Zamani, 825-5031 or e-mail me at mtkhomei@connect.carleton.ca.

Participant's Name (Please print) _____

Participant's Signature _____ **Date** _____

Appendix R

Debriefing Form (Study 3)

Thank you again for participating in this study. The purpose of a debriefing form is to help you understand the exact nature of the study. The purpose of this study is to compare how people advise others, and to compare these findings in two cultures: Canada and Iran. We assume that Iranian's advice more than Canadians' includes tolerating the situation, seeking more advice, reaching a compromise, and changing the self to suit the situation rather than changing the situation to suit the self. There are many studies done that have explored advice giving behaviour when doing cognitive tasks to make decisions in the laboratories. But few studies have explored advice giving and taking behaviour, when making decisions for real life plans and decisions. This study tries to explore this kind of advice giving, and tries to compare these findings in two cultures: Canada and Iran.

If you have any questions or comment about this research, please feel free to contact Mahin Tavakoli, Psychology Department, Carleton University, Colonel by Drive, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, K1S5B6 E-mail: mahin_tavakoli@carleton.ca. Or if you have any concern regarding the ethical or other issues in this study you can contact Chair of the Carleton University Ethics Committee for Psychological Research, Professor Janet Mantler (janet_mantler@carleton.ca; phone 520-2600 ext 4173), or Chair of Department of Psychology, Professor Mary Gick (mgick@ccs.carleton.ca, phone 520-2600, ext. 2664). If you are experiencing any of the issues, mentioned in the scenarios, and would like someone to talk to, please contact Carleton University Health and Counselling Services, phone 520-6674.

The experimenter's name: _____
Date (DD/MM/YY) _____ / _____ / _____

Appendix S

Background Questions

1. What is your age? _____
2. Gender? _____
3. Level of Education _____
4. Country or City of birth _____
5. If you were not born in Canada, how many years have you lived here? _____
6. What language do you speak most often at home? _____
7. What language do your parents speak most often at home? _____
8. On the following rating scale, please rate how much religious are you?
not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 very much
9. Are you now living with anyone? _____ If yes, who (for example: mother, father, brother, sister, aunt, husband, wife, child)? _____

I would now like to ask you several questions about advice. Everyone gives and receives advice. I am interested in learning more about the advice people give and receive. Let me begin with some questions about the advice you have received, and then ask questions about the advice you have given to others.

Advice Receiving Questions

Please think of one situation in which you made a decision that created the highest level of conflict between you and one advisor. I will ask you several questions about this situation.

1. What did you want to do?
2. When did you make this decision?
3. Did you want advice?
4. Did you ask for advice?
5. Who gave you the conflicting advice?
6. What was his/her advice?
7. What happened when you received the conflicting advice? For example, did you argue?
8. Did you feel emotions? If yes please mention what emotions did you feel (e.g., angry, frustrated, guilt, etc.)? If yes, how much was the highest level of the emotion you felt? Please rate: not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 very much
9. Did the advisor feel angry, frustrated, guilt or some other emotion? If yes, how much? Please rate: not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 very much
10. Did you feel pressure to take their advice? If yes, how much? Please rate: no pressure 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 extreme pressure
11. Finally was the conflict resolved? If so, how?
12. How long did it take for the conflict to be resolved?

13. Finally, did you decide to do what you wanted, or what your advisors wanted, or some compromise?
14. If compromise, what was the compromise?
15. If you decided to do what you wanted, how did the advisor react to your decision? Was s/he angry about your decision?
16. If you finally took advisors' advice, was it because you really changed your attitude toward your decision or you just complied with the advisor?
17. Were you happy with your decision?

Advice Giving Questions

Please think of one situation that you gave an advice, which created the highest level of conflict between you and the receiver of advice. I will ask you several questions about this situation.

1. What did s/he want to do?
2. When did s/he make this decision?
3. Did s/he want advice?
4. Did s/he ask for advice?
5. Whom did you give the conflicting advice?
6. What was your advice?
7. What happened when you gave the conflicting advice? For example, did you argue?
8. Did the advisee feel angry, frustrated, guilt or some other emotions? If yes, how much? Please rate: not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 very much
9. Did you feel angry, frustrated, guilt or some other emotion? If yes, how much? Please rate: not at all 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 very much
10. Did s/he feel pressure to take your advice? If yes, how much? Please rate: no pressure 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 extreme pressure
11. Finally was the conflict resolved? If so, how?
12. How long did it take for the conflict to be resolved?
13. Finally, did your advisee decide to do what s/he wanted, or what you wanted, or some compromise?
14. If compromise, what was the compromise?
15. If s/he decided to do what s/he wanted, how did you react to his/her decision? Were you angry about his/her decision?
16. If the advisee finally took your advice, was it because s/he really changed her/his attitude toward her/his decision or s/he just complied with you?
17. Was s/he happy with her decision?

Appendix T

Ethics Approval Cover page (Study 4)

Experiment number _____

Department of Psychology Proposal for Research with Human Participants

Please Submit Two Copies of This Form and Two Copies of the Supporting materials to the Ethics Committee (Janet Mantler Mail Box in B550 Loeb Building). Please Consult Ethics Guidance Before Submission. Failure to Follow Guidelines Will Delay the Approval.

Date of this submission: December 2005**Faculty Sponsor:** Professor Warren Thorngate (warrent@ccs.carleton.ca, Ext: 2706)**Principal Investigator:** Mahin Tavakoli (mahin_tavakoli@carleton.ca)**Other research personnel:** In Iran: Professor Javad Hatami (hatmijm@hotmail.com, Phone: 9821245-5685) & Asefeh Tavakoli (asefeh_tavakoli@yahoo.com)**Project title:** The Social Dynamics of Conflicting Advice: A Cross-Cultural Study.**Type of research:** Ph.D. Thesis**Approximate starting and completion dates:** January to April 2006.**Approximate length of testing session(s):** 40-80 minutes (1 session).

Number, age, and source of participants: Maximum of 20 undergraduate students will be recruited from Carleton University. 20 undergraduate students will also be recruited from Tehran University.

Will participants be paid or given course credit? The Canadian students will be given 1.5% course credit. The Tehran University students will earn credit for social psychology course taught by Dr. Javad Hatami.

Checklist: Are the following included?

Procedure (including materials)	YES
Description of Purpose	YES
Announcement for Recruiting	YES
Informed Consent	YES
Written Debriefing	YES

Does the study involve anything that might cause anxiety, pain or embarrassment to participants? **NO**
Does the study involve deception? **NO**

We (I) acknowledge that participants will be treated in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the Canadian Psychological Association. In accordance with the CPA ethical guidelines, we (I) acknowledge that it is our (my) responsibility to respect COPYRIGHT laws.

Principal Investigator: _____

Project Supervisor: _____

The departmental Ethics Committee has _____ your application.

Date: _____ Chair, Ethics Committee: _____

Appendix U

Procedure (Study 4)

In Canada, first potential participants will sign up and then will confirm their participation in the experiment. Next, I send them an electronic copy of the interview questions, which asks them to narrate two stories: 1) the story of a major decision they made and a conflicting advice they received; 2) the story of a major decision that another person made and the participant gave her/him an advice that created conflict or tension between them. At home, participants will read and think about the questions and will answer the background questions, including such questions as: what is their age, gender, major, first language, etc. At the time of interview, first each participant will be given a consent form to read and sign. Then they will be asked to submit their answers to the background questionnaire; and to narrate their stories orally and to answer a 10 multiple-choice questionnaire, asking about their social values (e.g., how much do they enjoy going to concert alone or by a friend). Then they will be asked to complete the *RIC* Scale, which includes 10 multiple-choice questions, measuring people's social orientations (i.e., how much they are individualistic, collectivist, and relational). After answering the questions, participants will be thanked, debriefed, and excused. I will recruit different participants for each of the three studies. However, if a participant requests to do a second study, I allow it. I expect that few will do two, but if they do, it will give me a small sample of within-participant data to compare to the much larger between-participant sample.

In Iran, there is no ethics committee at Tehran University, and no university in Iran has any formal procedure for checking research ethics. However, researchers when designing their studies informally consider the ethics and the students trust the research process and trust their professors. Informed Consent forms and Debriefing forms do not exist in Iran; research descriptions are given orally before prospective participants volunteer and debriefings are given orally as well. When the authorities of the university or school, where the participants are recruited, do not know a researcher or his/her reputation a chair, dean or committee will check the researcher's procedures and materials. In my case, the Dean of the Faculty (Dr. Zamani) knows and trusts Dr. Hatami and me very well. If he feels he needs to check my proposed research, Dr. Hatami would give him a copy of my questions.

For the purpose of my research, participants in Iran will be recruited by an oral announcement in class. The research will be done as an optional activity that Dr. Hatami announce. The students will be given extra credit by Dr. Hatami, which will be added to their final mark. So, students who do not participate would not lose any marks and feel no pressure to participate. A female research assistant, Asefeh, will serve as my experimenter. Dr. Hatami introduce her in his class and will tell the students that everybody who is willing to participate in the research can contact her. Asefeh will describe the research in class and invite the students to participate in the research. She will give her contact information and ask the potential participants to contact her to book a time. Those who contact Asefeh, will be invited to go to the Psychology Department Laboratory at that specific time. At each time, one to maximum of 5 participants will be attended by Asefeh. First she will declare that responses are confidential and that participants can leave the experiment at any time. Then, Asefeh will give the questionnaire to the participants and will describe it to them. At the end of the session, she will give the debriefing to the participants under this heading "Information about the Cross-Cultural Study of Advice", in which the participants will be given my contact information.

Appendix V

Description of Purpose (Study 4)

This study is designed to understand the dynamics and mechanisms of advice giving and receiving, and the personal and situational correlates of these mechanisms, from the perspectives of advice giver and receiver of advice. This Study emphasizes situations in which giving or receiving advice about an important decision has created tension and conflict between advice giver and receiver of advice in two countries: Canada and Iran.

Announcement for Recruiting (Study 4)

First you will confirm your participation in the experiment. Then, you will receive an electronic copy of the interview questions, which ask you to narrate two stories: 1) the story of a major decision you made and a conflicting advice you received; 2) the story of a major decision that another person made and you gave her/him a conflicting advice. At home, you will read and think about the questions and will answer the first part of questions about your background (i.e., age, gender, major, first language, etc.), which you will bring with yourself to the researcher. At the time of interview, you will narrate your stories orally and will answer a multiple-choice questionnaire, asking you about your social values (e.g., how much do you enjoy going to concert alone or by a friend, etc.) All the stages of this experiment (at home and at school) will take you about 50 to 80 minutes. Participation in this study will give you 1.5% course credits. If you wish to participate in this study, please contact Mahin Tavakoli (mahin_tavakoli@carleton.ca).

Appendix W

Informed Consent Form (Study 4)

This informed consent form is to clarify the objectives, requirements, and consequences of our current project. We provide you with enough information so that you can freely decide about your participation in this study.

Project title: The Social Dynamics of Conflicting Advice: A Cross-Cultural Study.

Purpose of the Study: This Study emphasizes situations in which giving or receiving advice about an important decision has created tension and conflict between advice giver and receiver of advice in two countries: Canada and Iran.

Procedure: First you will receive an electronic copy of the interview questions, which ask you to narrate two stories: 1) the story of decision you made and a conflicting advice you received; 2) the story of a decision that another person made and you gave her/him a conflicting advice. At the time of interview, you will narrate your stories orally and will answer a questionnaire, called RIC Scale, which asks you about your social values (e.g., how much do you enjoy going to concert alone or by a friend, etc.). You will be given 1.5% course credits for participating in this study.

Duration: It will take you about 40-80 minutes to complete the questionnaire.

Location: Loeb Building room A400 and Tehran University, Department of psychology.

Anonymity/Confidentiality: Any information that is obtained during this study will be kept confidential. You will not be required to write your name or any other identifying information on the research materials. We finally code the data and the coded data are made available only to the researchers associated with this project. This study will not expose you into any harm or risk. If you feel uncomfortable answering the questions, you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time, or skipping the questions, without penalty.

Consent

Are you willing to participate in this study? If so, please sign this form below.

Researcher's name and address: M. Tavakoli, PhD Candidate, Psychology Department, Carleton University, 1125 Colonel by Drive, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, K1S5B6

E-mail: mtkhomei@connect.carleton.ca **Signature** _____

If you have any questions before, while, or after the study, please feel free to contact me or my supervisor Professor Warren Thorngate (warrant@ccs.carleton.ca, phone 520-2600, ext: 2706). Or if you have any concern regarding the ethical issues you can contact Chair of the Carleton University Ethics Committee for Psychological Research, Professor Janet Mantler (janet_mantler@carleton.ca; phone 520-2600 ext 4173), or Chair of Department of Psychology, Professor Mary Gick (mgick@ccs.carleton.ca, phone 520-2600, ext. 2664). Regarding ethical issues of this study, Iranian students can contact the Dean of Faculty of Psychology and Education, Dr. Zamani, 825-5031 or e-mail me at mtkhomei@connect.carleton.ca.

Participant's Name (Please print) _____

Participant's Signature _____ **Date** _____

Appendix X

Debriefing Form (Study 4)

Thank you again for participating in this study. The purpose of a debriefing form is to help you understand the exact nature of the study. The purpose of this study is to discover the dynamics and mechanisms of advice giving and receiving, and the personal and situational correlates of these mechanisms, from the perspectives of advice giver and receiver of advice, and tries to compare these findings in two cultures: Canada and Iran. We assume that Iranians will report a larger number of conflicts over minor decisions (e.g., about using cosmetics, reading books, watching a movie, and spending time with friends) than will Canadians. Also Iranians will report receiving more unwanted and unsolicited advice than will Canadians.

If you have any questions or comment about this research, please feel free to contact Mahin Tavakoli, Psychology Department, Carleton University, Colonel by Drive, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada, K1S5B6 E-mail: mahin_tavakoli@carleton.ca. Or if you have any concern regarding the ethical or other issues in this study you can contact Chair of the Carleton University Ethics Committee for Psychological Research, Professor Janet Mantler (janet_mantler@carleton.ca; phone 520-2600 ext 4173), or Chair of Department of Psychology, Professor Mary Gick (mgick@ccs.carleton.ca, phone 520-2600, ext. 2664). If you are experiencing any similar unresolved conflicts and would like someone to talk to, please contact Carleton University Health and Counselling Services, phone 520-6674.

The experimenter's name: _____
Date (DD/MM/YY) _____ / _____ / _____

Appendix Y

RIC Scale

On a Rating Scale from (Not at All True 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Completely True),
Please Mention How Much Each Statement Is True about You.

1. I think it is most important in life to
 - a) Have personal integrity/be true to myself _____
 - b) Have good personal relationship with people who are important to me _____
 - c) Work for causes to improve the well-being of my group _____
2. I would teach my children
 - a) To know themselves and develop their own potential as a unique individual _____
 - b) To be caring to their friends and attentive to their needs _____
 - c) To be loyal to the group to which they belong _____
3. I regard myself as
 - a) Someone with his or her own will, individual _____
 - b) A good partner and friend _____
 - c) A good member of my group _____
4. I think honour can be attained by
 - a) Being true to myself _____
 - b) Being true to people with whom I have personal relationships _____
 - c) Being true to my group such as my extended family, Work group, religious, and social groups _____
5. I would regard someone as a good employee for a company if
 - a) He or she takes personal responsibility for the task assigned _____
 - b) He or she gets on well and works cooperatively with other colleagues _____
 - c) He or she works for the development of the organization or the work group _____
6. The most satisfying activity for me is
 - a) Doing something for myself _____
 - b) Doing something for someone who is important to me _____
 - c) Doing something for my group (e.g., my family, my school, church, club, neighbourhood, and community) _____
7. When faced with an important personal decision to make
 - a) I ask myself what I really want to do most _____
 - b) I talk with my partner or best friend _____
 - c) I talk to my family and relatives _____
8. I would feel proud if
 - a) I was praised in the newspaper for what I have done _____
 - b) My best friend was praised in the newspaper for what she or he has done _____
 - c) A group to which I belong was praised in the newspaper for what they have done _____
9. When I attend a musical concert
 - a) I feel that enjoying music is a very personal experience _____
 - b) I feel enjoyment if my company (partner, friend, guest) also enjoys it _____
 - c) I feel good to be part of the group _____
10. I am most concerned about
 - a) My relationship with myself _____
 - b) My relationship with a specific person _____
 - c) My relationship with my group _____