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ABSTRACT

Subjective culture is a human group's characteristic way of perceiving the man-made part of its environment. It includes the group's model attitudes, norms, values, and roles. The study of subjective culture is likely to make a contribution to our understanding of the way various groups in any culture interact with members of other groups. The present field guide may be useful to persons undertaking such studies. No research program or methodology proceeds without a general meta-theory. We therefore describe some general attributes of the present theoretical framework and some general relations between this framework and the procedures and tests made in the study of subjective culture. The present field guide presents the essential points of the theoretical framework and a discussion of the methodological issues, together with explicit statements and examples of the way subjective culture data might be collected in different cultural settings. It is hoped that the treatment of the methodological issues is sufficiently detailed, here, to allow other investigators to do similar work with cultural groups, or in settings which are easily available to them. The main examples of this field guide were taken from a study of black and white interaction in job settings. The appendices include the questionnaire employed in a study of black and white subjective culture. (Author/JM)

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**Illinois Studies of the Economically Disadvantaged**

**FIELD GUIDE FOR THE STUDY OF ASPECTS OF SUBJECTIVE CULTURE**

**Harry C. Triandis and Roy S. Malpass**

**University of Illinois**

**Technical Report No. 4**

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## Preface

This report is part of a series which will be concerned with the economically disadvantaged. We plan to test the assumption that economic disadvantages create characteristic ways of perceiving and thinking about the social environment. We call such characteristic perceptions the "subjective culture" of a particular group. We expect to find characteristic differences in the subjective cultures of blacks and whites who differ in level of economic advantage. We suspect that such differences in subjective culture lead to major barriers in communication between an employee and his supervisor, his fellow employees and his subordinates. Our plan is to determine the differences in subjective culture by employing a battery of newly developed procedures, tailor-made to detect cultural differences; we then plan to incorporate this information in specially designed training programs; finally, we hope to test the effectiveness of these training programs by examining the effects of training on measures of occupational stability.

The present report discusses the meta-theoretical and methodological issues which are most central to the analysis of subjective culture. It provides background to those social scientists who wish to do similar studies. It also includes the actual questionnaires we have used. Since these questionnaires were developed extremely carefully, with a good deal of pre-testing, translations into black English and back translations into standard English, they represent a good deal of work which does not have to be duplicated by others who wish to study similar problems. They are presented in the appendix of this report. If you wish to use these questionnaires, you need not ask for our permission. If we can help in anyway, please let us know. If you do use the questionnaires, we will appreciate receiving a copy of your report.

Harry C. Triandis

## FIELD GUIDE FOR THE STUDY OF ASPECTS OF SUBJECTIVE CULTURE<sup>1</sup>

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Subjective culture is a human group's characteristic way of perceiving the man-made part of its environment. It includes the group's modal attitudes, norms, roles and values. The study of subjective culture is likely to make a contribution to our understanding of the way various groups in any culture interact with members of other groups. Since problems of intercultural understanding are among the most critical problems of our time, it is considered desirable to encourage the widespread study of subjective culture. The present field guide may be useful to persons undertaking such studies.

There is considerable evidence that culture influences perception and cognition (Segall, Campbell and Herskovits, 1966; Triandis, 1964a). The problem here is to analyze those critical aspects of cognition which characterize a whole cultural group and contrast it from other groups. To accomplish this task we need a set of concepts that might be used to analyze subjective culture. In addition, there are several methodological issues, associated with the analysis of subjective culture, which must be discussed, before sound studies of subjective culture are made possible.

No research program or methodology proceeds without a general meta-theory. This theory may be explicit in varying degrees, but even if totally

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<sup>1</sup>The development of this field guide was supported, in part, by the Social and Rehabilitation Service of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Grant No. RD-2841-G. Jack Feldman has made many valuable contributions to both the conceptualization reported here and the empirical studies that support it.

implicit its effect as a set of unacknowledged assumptions will be felt in the final form of data and their interpretation. The meta-theory is part of the method package. We shall therefore describe some general attributes of the present theoretical framework and some general relations between this framework and the procedures and tests made in the study of subjective culture. A more extended discussion of both the theory and methodology behind the study of subjective culture can be found in Triandis et al (1971). The present field guide presents the essential points of the theoretical framework and a discussion of the methodological issues, together with explicit statements and examples of the way subjective culture data might be collected in different cultural settings. It is hoped that the treatment of the methodological issues is sufficiently detailed, here, to allow other investigators to do similar work with cultural groups, or in settings which are easily available to them. The main examples of this field guide will be taken from a study of black and white interaction in job settings (Triandis and Malpass, submitted for publication). The appendices include the questionnaires employed in a study of black and white subjective culture.

#### Theoretical Framework

Anthropologists and psychologists agree that categorization is a ubiquitous human activity found in all cultures. By categorization we mean that humans give the same response to discriminably different stimuli. For example, although the human eye is capable of discriminating about 7,500,000 colors, we typically employ less than a dozen color names in describing our color environment. Cultures differ in the number of categories they utilize within a particular domain of meaning, and in the number and the kinds of criterial attributes they employ. So, although categorization is a general phenomenon which transcends cultures, the content of categories

is not. One of our tasks, then, is to develop procedures which will determine cultural differences in categorization. Some of the work of Lenneberg and Roberts (1956), Brown and Lenneberg (1954) and Landar (1960) did this for color categories, but more needs to be done for other kinds of categories. Language is intimately involved in categorization and is related to other cognitive activity. For example, research demonstrating a relationship between features of the use of language in stimulus domains (codability, communication accuracy) and recognition memory for members of the stimulus domain has been reported by Brown and Lenneberg (1954, using color chips), Lantz and Stefflre (1964, using color chips) and Frijda and Van de Geer (1961, for emotional expression in faces). One way to approach this problem in the study of subjective culture is to develop linguistic procedures which will reflect differences in categorization. A number of cognitive tasks can be presented to subjects in different cultures and they can be asked to make a variety of judgments involving concepts. For example, we might ask "Is A the same as B?" "Is A equivalent to B?" "Is A included in B?" "Is it possible for both A and B to be true at the same time?" etc.

Triandis, Kilty, Shammugam, Tanaka and Vassiliou (1968) employed such questions in a study of American, Greek, Indian and Japanese students. In phase I, they asked students to complete sentences of the form: "If you have ..., then you have JUSTICE." or "If you have JUSTICE, then you have ...". The concepts used to fill sentences of the first kind were called antecedents and the concepts used to fill sentences of the second kind were called consequents. The most frequently obtained antecedents and consequents were then presented to subjects in phase II, in a structured format. The subjects were required to choose out of a list of 5 antecedents, or 5 consequents, the one "that best completes the particular sentence." The

five antecedents or consequents were selected from among the most frequently obtained antecedents and consequents in phase I, in such a way that in each case there was one antecedent or consequent that was frequently given in America, one in Greece, one in India and one in Japan. The fifth response alternative was culture-common. The subjects responded to phase II predominately by choosing either the culture-common response or the response generated during phase I by subjects from their own culture. The frequency distributions of the choices of the subjects were compared by chi-square and it was possible to show that there are a large number of cultural differences in the perception of antecedents and consequents. Nevertheless, the similarities in responding are more overwhelming than the differences, thus encouraging us to believe that we were indeed tapping the meaning of the particular concepts. Similar studies with other logical forms appear perfectly feasible and should be carried out.

Explorations of this type can reveal substantial differences in the meaning of concepts. Another aspect of this approach is the identification of the attributes which define each domain of meaning. Here there are many highly promising approaches. Componential analysis (e.g., Wallace, 1962), multidimensional scaling (e.g., Torgerson, 1958), facet analysis (Guttman, 1959; Foa, 1965), and feature analysis (Osgood, 1968) can provide fruitful approaches to the extraction of the criterial attributes of concepts. Full development of this point is not possible here.

Verbal conditioning can lead to modifications in the amount of affect associated with a particular category. The work of Staats (1967) and others illustrates this point. A category becomes associated with other categories, as well as with affect and with behavioral intentions. For example, a teacher may respond to the category "long haired students" by making



certain associations between long hair and other characteristics, thus revealing her implicit personality theory, by experiencing negative affect and by an indication of her behavioral intentions to exclude such students from her classroom, report them to the principal, etc.

Triandis (1967) argued that interpersonal attitudes might be analyzed by examining the cognitive component by means of logical tasks such as the antecedent-consequent method, the affective component by means of Osgood's semantic differential (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum, 1957) and the behavioral intentions by means of the behavioral differential (Triandis, 1964b). Similarly, other kinds of attitudes may be examined by asking subjects to make various kinds of judgments. As we move from concrete to abstract categories we move away from attitudes into the realm of values.

The concepts of our theoretical framework can now be sketched. They are ordered at different levels of abstraction. At the most concrete level we have "discriminable stimuli." The next level consists of "elementary categories" (visual, auditory, aptic, behavioral, etc.). The phoneme is an excellent example of a concept at the elementary category level. The next level consists of "meaning categories." The morpheme is an excellent example of such a category. Meaning categories combine to form "concepts," and concepts combine into "elementary cognitive structures." A variety of elementary cognitive structures can be explored, including implication (Davis and Triandis, 1965), antecedent-consequent relations (Triandis et al, 1968), reinforcement expectations (Dulany, 1964), beliefs, stereotypes, attitudes, behavioral intentions, norms, roles, ideals, and tasks. It can be shown that each of these concepts combines two or more types of "meaning categories." At the highest level of abstraction we have "values," which are like attitudes, in that they have a cognitive, affective and behavioral



component, but deal with very abstract categories, such as man and nature. While attitudes refer to relatively specific categories, such as Negroes, international relations, or "my university", values refer to such categories as man, the relationship of man to nature, man to time, and the modes of man's existence (Kluckhohn, 1959; Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1969).

Each of these concepts can be studied by developing an appropriate cognitive task.

#### Broad Methodological Issues

A schematization of the research progression is presented in Figure 1. One begins with a meta-theory which suggests verbal elicitation procedures and/or behavior observation procedures which result in a list of concepts or behaviors which are members of categories in the theoretical framework. These categories can be used to test or generate models of category attributes or models of the interrelations of categories. More specifically, the general meta-theory may include the construct "behavior." The verbal elicitation procedures may lead to lists of concepts which people in the particular culture consider "behaviors." These concepts may have attributes, such as appropriateness or inappropriateness, which may be correlated among themselves so that models of distance among the behavior concepts may be derived from ordinary multi-variate analyses.

It should be pointed out that the model operates both in a divergent way to generate a heterogeneous set of concepts, or behaviors, or category groups specified for the general theoretical framework and in a convergent way to reduce, classify, interrelate and formalize a theory of subjective culture within the relevant populations. This general strategy has been used by Osgood et al (1962) and Triandis et al (1971) and involves a multi-step procedure. For example, if one wishes to elicit a heterogeneous

set of interpersonal behaviors one should first specify a heterogeneous set of persons who could possibly engage in interpersonal behavior, eliciting behavior categories with reference to them. If one is not certain about how to specify a heterogeneous set of persons, a three-step procedure could be used. One could sample a heterogeneous (or very large) set of behavioral environments as a means of contacting a widely divergent set of individuals. Behavior environments, according to our meta-theory, have the convenient property of being correlated with geography, which can be made amenable to sampling procedures making use of few behavioral assumptions. However many steps an elicitation procedure has, its purpose is to generate a representative set of content categories, with (hopefully) the only limitations being those imposed by the original theoretical framework (the origin of the concepts "behavior," "person," "behavioral environment") and the particular constraining features of the type of method used (verbal, obtrusive observations).

The application of these procedures results in a list of content categories subordinate to those in the structural meta-theory, but without regard to their interrelations. When this content list has been specified, a number of alternatives are open: (a) one can derive attributes of the content categories through multi-dimensional scaling or factor analyses (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum, 1957; Triandis, 1964b); (b) one might examine the relations among the categories such as, for example, whether one category implies another (Davis and Triandis, 1965); (c) one might employ facet analysis (Guttman, 1959) or feature analysis (Osgood, 1968) to test his hypothesis concerning the existing attributes. The hypotheses under (c) might be derived from having applied alternate (a) previously with a different subject population. (d) One might refer to a general model of behavior or

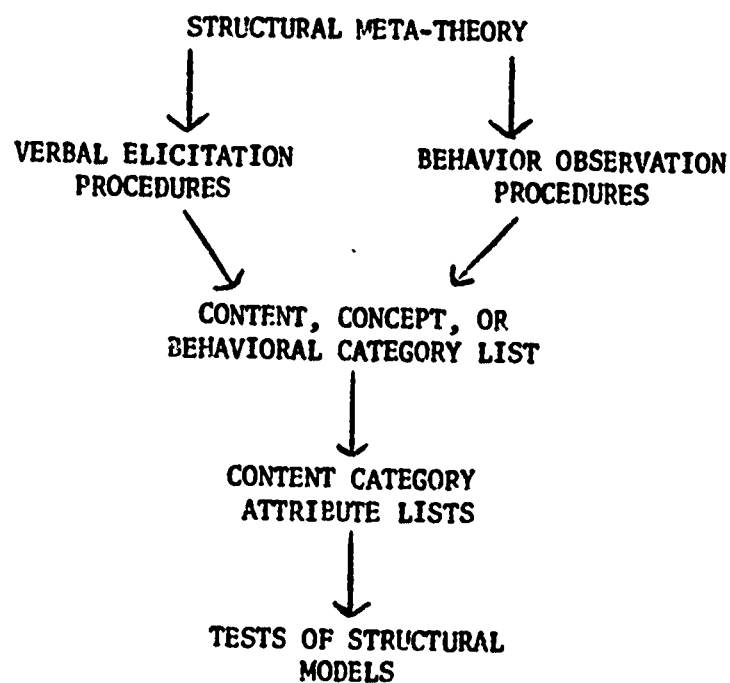


Figure 1. Outline of the progression of subjective culture research.

cognitive structure, e.g., instrumentality theory (Peak, 1955; Rosenberg, 1956) to structure further data gathering and model testing.

If the investigator wishes to remain more "inductive", he can elicit category attributes by a number of strategies employing sorting and judgment tasks. These content categories and category attributes or relations then become the materials with which tests of structural models are constructed. The outcomes of the tests of structural models are indications of the extent of understanding of another culture, and are constructed as criterion tests having varying "degrees of difficulty." For example, the first thing one may learn about another culture are sequences of events that have high probability in that culture. A higher level of understanding would involve the appropriate use of concepts which improve the prediction of behavior in the other culture. An even higher level involves the ability to correctly manipulate the behavior of others: a sort of intercultural Machiavelli. Such a person would have the "correct" structural models which work for him and which he has sufficiently tested so that they are dependently useful. The more a person can get his way in a culture, the more understanding he shows of that culture. Since in every culture a given behavior is appropriate in only a subset of cultural environments, one way of conceptualizing the effective person in intercultural encounters is to think of the person who can change his behavior as he moves from one environment to another always maintaining a high degree of effectiveness.

An assumption underlying these procedures is that by using methods that are related sequentially in discreet steps we can avoid certain biases. More specifically, by utilizing different samples of subjects and different procedures at the point of the elicitation of the categories, the derivation of the attributes, and the testing of the models, we are least likely to be vulnerable to inadvertent biases of a single method, or procedure, or subject sample.

### Partial Summary

One of the major concerns of the analysis of subjective culture is the development of procedures which will enable us to answer some rather general questions. (1) How can we come to know another culture? (2) How do we know when we know?

We have proposed a theoretical framework which includes a number of concepts and procedures which allow us to quantify the constructs of the framework. We have also proposed that understanding another culture means being able to behave effectively in different environments characteristic of that culture so that the criterion of knowing is the possession of information which leads to successful, adaptive behavior in the array of environments of the other culture.

### Specific Issues

#### Sampling

Populations. We should attempt data collections within representative samples of cultunits (Naroll, 1964). A cultunit is "a group of territorially contiguous people who not only are domestic speakers of mutually intelligible dialects, but also belong to the same state or contact group" (Naroll, 1964, p. 286). While there are difficulties with the cultunit definition (Whiting, 1968), the basic idea seems sound. When representative sampling is not feasible, another strategy which may be appropriate is the systematic sampling of groups that contrast in a number of significant dimensions, such as race, nationality, sex, religion, social economic class or language. Sampling strategies are contingent on the purposes of the research. If one wishes to encompass entire cultures, sampling requirements are very rigorous. If one wishes to limit oneself to particular groups which contrast on one or more of the sampling dimensions, for example blacks and whites in the United

States, one's sampling concerns are more limited to dimensions of variances within these groups, such as sex, socio-economic class, age, education, rural-urban background, employed-unemployed, and religiosity. Appropriate sampling depends on available resources and the nature of the problem and will not be discussed here in any greater detail. A variety of sampling designs, such as those reviewed by Kish (1965), may be used depending on the nature of the problem.

Stimuli. The sampling of stimulus classes may involve (a) attitude objects, (b) beliefs, (c) role categories, (d) stereotypes, (e) values, (f) social actions, or any other category of cultural products that a particular local population may designate. However, the sampling of stimuli within a particular stimulus class category ought to be representative; for example, if we wish to study social behaviors, we should have a representative sample of social behaviors to be used as stimuli. One strategy requires the sampling of a highly diverse set of stimulus persons which represent the major types of people in a particular social group. Subjects could then be asked to indicate the kinds of social behaviors that are likely to occur (a) between themselves and these stimulus persons and (b) between all possible combinations of these stimulus persons. This procedure is potentially an infinite regress in that one must discover a broad set of person categories before specifying stimulus persons necessary for the elicitation of behaviors.

Responses. In sampling responses it is convenient to distinguish among the format of the response, the response task, the environment of the response and the content of the response. The response format is conceived of as a transducer which converts a psychological magnitude into a magnitude observable in geometric extents or mathematical quantities. The response

task, as distinguished from the format, can involve any psychophysical method, such as rating, ranking, adjustment and comparison. The content concerns the specific psychophysical dimension. For example, given a set of 20 senators, we would ask for judgments such as the following: (a) rank order these 20 senators, (b) compare these senators to George Washington in terms of desirability as president of the United States, (c) rate these senators on dimensions such as honesty, intelligence, effectiveness, etc., (d) indicate in what way these senators will have to change in order to become as effective as Washington in the role of the president of the United States. Further examples of such tasks may be seen in Coombs (1964).

The response environment concerns the social context during measurement and its implications for the probability of a given psychological magnitude being "correctly" transduced. Demand characteristics (Orne, 1962), social desirability (Crowne and Marlow, 1964) and other concepts such as motive-to-comply in the models of Dulany (1964) and Fishbein (1967), refer to the effects of the response environment. The most gross characterization of the response environment concerns whether there are positive or negative outcomes in store for the subject contingent on how he responds, or whether he perceives the situation as being this way; does he wish to please or to displease the investigator?

Response task sampling is intimately related to the problem of equivalence of measurement since what is required is the development of some sort of equivalence in the measurement operations across samples of subjects. For example, for politicians, in a country in which the parties are divided along the dimension of pro-Mao communist vs. Moscow-communist orientation, the use of the dimension Democrat-Republican would be inappropriate. In other words in each culture one needs to use indigenous



attributes to supply content to the psychophysical tasks. To be more specific, if one is to rate political stimuli in two cultures, one would need to supply scales which reflect the major dimensions of judgment of political stimuli in each culture. These scales may be of two kinds: one set of scales may reflect underlying attributes that are culture-common, for example, honesty and competence, and other scales may reflect culture-specific attributes such as democrat-republican. The task is to employ a sufficiently representative sample of both kinds of scales so as to obtain adequate measurement of both the culture-equivalent and culture-specific attributes. Response formats and response tasks should be chosen that are either familiar to the subjects, or which can be easily and reliably taught to and performed by them. Response environments should be chosen so as to maximize cooperation in performing the task, but not constrain the outcome. Therein lies considerable pilot testing. But its importance for the outcome of the study can hardly be underestimated. The outcomes of such pilot tests may well have considerable yield for the rest of the research, and lend much experience useful in interpretation of data at a later date.

The previous example illustrates one of the distinctions suggested by Pike (1954) who argued that one can describe cultures in their own terms using dimensions which emerge from a within culture analysis or using dimensions which are culture-common. The descriptions of cultures according to the categories that emerge from within the culture analysis is called the emic approach, while the description on the culture-common dimensions is called the etic approach. We suggest that a combination of the two approaches may be most effective, one in which one begins with a emic approach and discovers some attributes which are culture-common in spite of the fact that they are indexed in culture-specific scales. The point is similar

to one made by Campbell (1964) in which he points out that between culture differences cannot be evaluated in the absence of some culture-common attributes or dimensions. The culture-common attributes can be "discovered" by inductive procedures (as in Osgood et al, 1962) or can be supplied by an a priori theory (as, for example, in Freud, 1913).

An example of the detailed procedures utilized in arriving at an instrument which involves sampling of stimuli and response tasks, as discussed above, can be found in the introduction to the Appendix.

#### Instructions

The instructions for the tasks must be given in the language that is most natural for the subjects. This can be a serious problem when studying black Americans. Should one use black English or standard English? Our view is that the critical need is to develop trust. If one has rapport with the interviewee it is not critical that he use black English. In fact, black English may be seen as a "put on" by the blacks. Ghetto dwellers have developed an elaborate procedure for faking answers and giving "whitey what he wants." It is for this reason that the interviewers will have to be trained most carefully, allowed ample time to develop rapport, and the subjects will have to be paid for their time. The interviewers should employ paralinguistic cues (intonation, style, delivery) in the pre-data-gathering phase of the interview, to help establish rapport. It is probably best to spend an introductory hour and three additional hours with each interviewee. The first hour should be primarily designed to establish rapport, and only limited data should be gathered. Reliability checks should be introduced across the three last sessions. Tape recorders may be used with a sample of interviews to cross-check the data.

When working in other cultures, where the subjects expect to use a local language, it is necessary to employ translation of the instructions into the local language. Such translations can best be done by some variant of the method of decentering, recommended by Werner and Campbell (1969). Several versions of the same instrument, for example, would allow the average response of the subjects to represent the common meaning of the words used in these versions. Translation should use a multi-stage iteration, in which one starts with language  $O_1$ , employs bilinguals to translate to  $T_1$ , a new set of bilinguals to go to  $O_2$  and monolingual judges to examine the similarity of  $O_1$  and  $O_2$ ; modifications in the original  $O_1$  are then introduced, until the match between  $O_1$  and  $O_2$  is very good. Similarly,  $T_1$  should match  $T_2$ . The translation of paragraphs, rather than single words, often avoids problems of non-equivalence in the meaning of specific words. It is desirable to avoid the use of the same word in different response tasks, since poor translation will carry to all the response tasks. Rather, the systematic sampling of synonyms and the use of instructions with several synonyms is more likely to convey the meaning of the response tasks.

#### Interpretations

The data that are obtained when judgments are made in which the stimuli produced particular responses from various populations of subjects are subjected to multi-variate analyses. Typical analyses are one, two and three-mode factor analyses (Tucker, 1966). The interpretation of these analyses is sometimes subjective and, therefore, requires the use of multiple interpreters. These interpreters should be drawn from all the cultures represented in the samples of subjects and should have adequate training in psychology and psychometric procedures in order to be able to discuss the meaning of the particular attributes which are derived from the multi-variate approaches.

### Checks of Comprehension

A major problem in studies of subjective culture is that what appears as a cultural difference may simply be a difference in the ability of subjects to understand instructions. It is, therefore, necessary to check that subjects do, in fact, have similar understandings of the nature of the tasks that they are asked to perform before they begin making their judgments. Comprehension of the task involves two components: (a) a task that is suitable for the population and clearly communicated to them on the one hand, and (b) adequate understanding of the task on the other hand. Segall, Campbell and Herskovits (1966) utilized checks to establish that the subjects could understand their response system: simple words like "longer-shorter," "red-black," "right-left." Great care must be taken to equalize the familiarity of the subjects with the instruments, by providing a certain amount of pre-training in the kinds of judgments that are required, the motivation of the subjects to perform the task, by paying them or rewarding them in equivalent ways, and the demand-characteristics of the experiment including the social desirability of the responses in the two cultures. An example of a comprehension task in a probability judgment task is the inclusion of an item such as, "How likely is it that if you cut off your hand, you will bleed?" One might reasonably expect the subjects to indicate a high probability.

### Checks of Biases

At the point of data analyses and interpretation, it is also important to check a variety of possible biases in response style which may effect the results. For example, certain cultures are higher in acquiescence response bias than others. In certain cultures extreme checking styles are frequently used. All systematic scale-checking biases should be

controlled. In addition, the anonymity of the subjects must be preserved; or not preserved depending on cultural preferences for identification.

The pattern of response in the response format due to systematic biases should be distinct from a non-biased pattern. The example given by Segall et al (1966) is clear but unusual since they delimit the range of non-biased patterns greatly by using a unidimensional Guttman scale response task.

#### Major Analyses

The data obtained from the instruments discussed above generally form a cube, with s stimuli, r response continua and N subjects. In a typical study, for instance,  $s = 30$ ,  $r = 20$ ,  $N = 200$  (100 subjects from each of two groups). In many studies the response continua are split, with some continua culture-common, and appropriate for every stimulus, and some culture specific and appropriate for only one stimulus. For example, 10 of the 20 might be appropriate for all stimuli and common across the 30 stimuli, thus giving a cube of data size  $30 \times 10 \times 200$ , and some might be specific to the particular stimuli, thus giving 30 matrices of size  $20 \times 200$ . One could then do a three-mode factor analysis of the  $30 \times 10 \times 200$  matrix (Tucker, 1966) or 30 two-mode factor analyses (Tucker and Messick, 1963) of the  $20 \times 200$  matrices. The three-mode analyses give information about the way particular types of people respond in different ways to particular types of stimuli. The two-mode analyses give information about the way particular types of persons respond in different ways to a particular stimulus; since there are 30 stimuli, there are 30 analyses.

Another approach is to do a discriminant function analysis utilizing the known groups of subjects. Here the question is which of the 20 response continua discriminate in an optimal way the perceptions of the 100 subjects

of one group, from the perceptions of the 100 subjects of the other group, for each of the 30 stimuli. This means, then, that one would do 30 discriminant function analyses.

Examples of studies which have utilized these approaches can be found in Triandis, Feldman and Harvey (1970a, b, c, d).

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APPENDIX

## Introduction

In order to explicate the procedures that we described in the body of this report, we are here going to discuss in some detail the way a particular questionnaire was constructed for the study of person perception in black and white, lower-class, male samples. The purpose of this study was to contrast blacks and whites on certain dimensions of social perception.

Our first task was to obtain a reasonable sample of stimulus persons that could be used for the elicitation of characteristics of people in each sample. A list of some 30 stimuli was produced primarily on the basis of our reading of the literature. The list was discussed with experts in the field of black and white relations, with blacks from the ghetto, with black psychologists and others who had some familiarity with the major types of people who may produce differences in perception between blacks and whites. For example, the concept Uncle Toms was presumed likely to relate to interesting contrasts in perception. After extensive discussions, 27 stimuli were retained. These 27 were the result of dropping a number of stimuli from the original list and adding stimuli after our discussions.

At this point a list of stimuli, such as black policeman, white policeman, etc., was available. These stimuli were presented in sentences such as "Black policemen are \_\_\_\_\_.", "White policemen are \_\_\_\_\_.", etc., to samples of white and black adolescent males who were in a special vocational rehabilitation class in a high school in Chicago Heights, Illinois. The samples were asked to supply characteristics which filled these sentences. Each subject was asked to supply three fill-ins for each stimulus. The responses of the subjects were then summarized. This data was listed both by stimulus and by cultural group. Examination of the responses of the

subjects suggested that certain responses occurred both across stimulus persons and across racial groups. The most frequently mentioned responses, in the judgments of the judges looking at these summary responses, were then incorporated in the questionnaire. The first ten characteristics, namely, intelligent, lazy, brave, unimportant, aggressive, active, helpful, tough, hardworking and trustworthy, were included in the questionnaire for all 27 stimuli. In addition ten more characteristics were included which were specific to each stimulus. Five of these came from the black and five from the white sample. This permits both an emic and an etic analysis. Since the first ten can be used across stimuli they can be used to make comparisons of the stimuli and to determine the dimensional structure of the 27 stimuli across all subject groups, whereas members of the last ten can be used only for the specific stimulus. For example, a two-mode factor analysis for the concept "black policeman" utilizing all 20 characteristics can be done in which one mode consists of 20 characteristics and the other mode consists of all the subjects from both cultural groups who have taken this questionnaire.

The procedures utilized with the other questionnaires which are found in the present Appendix were extremely similar. For Questionnaire No. 2, the first ten behaviors which one might undertake with each of the stimulus persons listed are common and the remaining ten are specially derived from the two cultural groups. In Questionnaire No. 3, there are 20 behaviors which might take place in different roles and in different situations. These 20 were again derived ten from the black and ten from the white pretest samples. In Questionnaire No. 4, 25 characteristics of jobs are presented together with a variety of jobs. The 25 characteristics were again derived

from both cultural groups. Questionnaires 5 and 6 measure the antecedents and perceived consequents of certain events. They involve the simultaneous presentation of a particular event with 15 antecedents or consequents. Responses to each questionnaire are preceded by a check on the understanding of the instrument which is also included in the Appendix. The instructions to the interviewers precede each questionnaire. The biographical information sheet was attached at the end of each questionnaire and is included in this Appendix. It is hoped that the attached questionnaires and instructions can be used for the collection of similar data by other investigators.

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 1

STEREOTYPES



QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 1

CONCEPTS

Black Policemen  
White Policemen  
My Mother  
Mailmen  
Black Merchants  
Janitors  
Black Militants  
White Revolutionaries  
White Men  
Black Men  
Teachers  
Black Women  
Uncle Toms  
White Women

Social Workers  
My Father  
My Friends  
Street Peddlers  
White Job Foremen  
Black Job Foremen  
Ministers  
White Merchants  
White Professors  
Black Professors  
Black Professional Men  
Insurance Men  
Hustlers

COMMON ITEMS

Intelligent  
Lazy  
Brave  
Unimportant  
Aggressive

Active  
Helpful  
Tough  
Hardworking  
Trustworthy

SPECIFIC ITEMS

Concept: Black Policemen  
Concept Specific Items:

likely to try to help blacks  
taking revenge on the white man  
honest  
sensitive  
friendly

pigs  
streetwise  
prejudiced toward whites  
more interested in getting  
promoted than in being fair to  
black people  
mellow (nice)

Concept: White Policemen  
Concept Specific Items:

efficient  
friendly  
honest  
prejudiced toward blacks  
pigs

understanding  
more interested in what people  
do than why they do it  
act brave but are scared  
sensitive  
street-wise

I (2)

Concept: My Mother  
Concept Specific Items:

sensitive  
trusting  
dominant in the household  
self-sacrificing  
responsible

weak  
suspicious  
in the know  
proud  
dependable

Concept: Mailmen  
Concept Specific Items:

friendly  
dependable  
well-paid  
honest  
smart

bring good news  
bring bills  
bring money  
talkative  
have a steady job

Concept: Black Merchants  
Concept Specific Items:

earning a good living  
satisfied with their jobs  
honest  
in business to help black people  
ambitious

have hot (stolen) goods  
Uncle Toms  
forced to act against their own  
feelings  
good salesmen  
proud

Concept: Janitors  
Concept Specific Items:

underpaid  
unskilled  
don't take pride in their work  
ashamed of their jobs  
patient

gruff  
do satisfying work  
ambitious  
moonlighters  
honest

Concept: Black Militants  
Concept Specific Items:

dangerous  
feared  
shrewd  
excessively violent  
insecure

irrational  
hurting black people's chances  
for equality  
idealistic  
bold  
power hungry

Concept: White Revolutionaries  
Concept Specific Items:

powerful  
hate black people  
dangerous  
hypocritical  
misguided

unable to make clear what they  
want  
insecure  
hostile  
self-centered  
trying to make changes too fast

I (3)

Concept: White Men

Concept Specific Items:

shrewd  
lecherous  
powerful  
men who want everything  
hated by majority of blacks

bigoted  
ambitious  
kind  
handsome  
able to get a good education  
(or job)

Concept: Black Men

Concept Specific Items:

deprived  
ambitious  
dirty  
equal to white men  
talented

troublemakers  
proud  
strong  
handsome  
too sure they are always right

Concept: Teachers

Concept Specific Items:

wise  
snobbish  
concerned with their students'  
education  
people who look at you for your  
work and as individual  
generally well-informed

stimulating  
fair  
successful  
paid well  
nice

Concept: Black Women

Concept Specific Items:

beautiful  
sensitive  
loud  
mistreated  
let downs

easy to get along with  
black and proud of it  
those who encourage their  
children to make something out  
of their lives  
unskilled  
respectful

Concept: Uncle Toms

Concept Specific Items:

disloyal  
dangerous  
sincere  
selfish  
foolish

friendly  
trying to "belong"  
unskilled  
brainwashed by the white man  
destructive

I (4)

Concept: White Women  
Concept Specific Items:

shrewd  
desirable  
off limits to black men  
beautiful  
wealthy

condescending in their attitudes  
(talk down to people)  
good wives and mothers  
proud  
prejudiced  
housekeepers

Concept: Social Workers  
Concept Specific Items:

people that can help you with  
personal problems  
concerned about others' welfare  
understanding  
perceptive  
involved in social problems

peaceful  
well paid  
dedicated  
tolerant  
idealistic

Concept: My Father  
Concept Specific Items:

limited  
dominant  
prejudiced  
ambitious  
handsome

loving  
a person who tells me the things  
I don't know  
a very honest man  
proud  
masculine

Concept: My Friends  
Concept Specific Items:

understanding  
looking for "their place in life"  
there when I need them  
sincere  
like brothers (or sisters) to me

foolish  
people I can go to for favors  
real "bad"  
good gamblers  
of all races and religions

Concept: Street Peddlers  
Concept Specific Items:

independent  
self-motivated  
unhappy  
those who have tried hard but  
failed  
talkative

likeable  
slobs  
those who have given up on life  
desperate people  
honest

Concept: White Job Foremen  
Concept Specific Items:

company men  
men who sense problems and  
frustrations and see the human  
side of people  
prejudiced  
bossy

men who get paid a lot  
too free with their power  
well-educated  
men who pick favorites  
responsible

I(5)

Concept: Black Job Foremen

Concept Specific Items:

men who think they own the world  
Uncle Toms  
responsible  
people who have pride in their  
jobs  
conservative

pressured  
promoted last  
prejudiced  
mean  
mean who preach for peace

Concept: Ministers

Concept Specific Items:

leaders  
dedicated  
understanding  
aloof from the common man  
socially uninvolved

respected  
kind  
paid well  
peaceful  
fakers

Concept: White Merchants

Concept Specific Items:

more able to serve the public  
than black merchants  
crooked  
out to get as much profit as  
possible  
concerned about people  
shrewd

wealthy  
friendly  
prejudiced  
mean to the poor  
polite

Concept: White Professors

Concept Specific Items:

leaders  
rich  
idealistic  
important  
busy

people who teach what they believe  
not prejudiced  
reliable  
wise  
people with insight into problems

Concept: Black Professors

Concept Specific Items:

gifted  
proud  
people who give their students  
a sense of purpose  
understanding  
idealistic

respected  
often used as a figurehead by  
whites  
unique  
well paid  
not prejudiced

I(6)

Concept: Black Professional Men  
Concept Specific Items:

symbols of achievement  
pace setters  
snobs  
discriminated against  
trying to help the black people

concerned  
people with a sense of purpose  
people with pride in themselves  
important  
highly paid

Concept: Insurance Men  
Concept Specific Items:

money-grabbers  
over friendly  
pushy salesmen  
paid well  
self-centered

honest  
dependable  
educated  
understanding  
interesting to talk to

Concept: Hustlers  
Concept Specific Items:

talented  
people who know how to get  
along, no matter what  
mean  
harmful  
unhappy

cool  
sharp  
witty  
people who scrape to live (make  
a living the best way they can)  
people who always have money

T

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 2  
BEHAVIORAL INTENTIONS



QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 2

CONCEPTS

Uncle Tom  
White Policeman  
Black Man  
Black Woman  
Social Worker  
My Father  
Street Peddler  
White Job Foreman  
Ministers  
Black Merchant  
White Professor  
White Revolutionary  
Black Professional  
Insurance Man

Black Policeman  
Janitor  
White Man  
White Woman  
My Mother  
My Friends  
My Teachers  
Black Job Foreman  
White Merchant  
Black Militant  
Black Professor  
Hustler  
Mailman

COMMON ITEMS

Criticize  
Go out with  
Respect  
Eat lunch with  
Listen to

Help  
Stay away from  
Trust  
Ask for advice  
Be friends with

SPECIFIC ITEMS

Concept: Uncle Tom  
Concept Specific Items:

hang him  
tell him off  
call him names  
get rid of  
hit him

try to talk him into our point  
of view  
tell him he is a disgrace  
take a camping trip with  
visit him in his home  
try not to harass him in any way

Concept: White Policeman  
Concept Specific Items:

watch him  
try to get him to understand  
some of the real problems  
remove him from the ghetto  
beat him up  
talk to him

harass him any way possible  
be on his side  
date  
argue with  
would not explain anything to  
him

II(2)

Concept: Black Man

Concept Specific Items:

set up goals  
have intellectual conversations  
with  
live with him  
leave him alone  
treat him as he treats me

participate in neighborhood  
sports with  
go places with  
steal with  
date  
become emotionally close

Concept: Black Woman

Concept Specific Items:

love  
learn from  
be seen with her  
work with her on a job  
talk very heavy

ask her to live with me  
try to treat as equal  
make her not be prejudiced  
against others  
visit at her house if invited  
invite her to my house

Concept: Social Worker

Concept Specific Items:

volunteer some of my time to help  
him (or her) with his (her)  
casework  
try to understand him  
discuss my problems with  
try to get a conversation going  
work with her (him)

talk with  
try to make a good impression  
go to party with  
have coffee with  
ask for help

Concept: My Father

Concept Specific Items:

get to know him  
communicate with him  
beat him up  
be obedient to  
argue with

make him stay out of my personal  
business  
talk my problems out with him  
try very hard to please him  
stay out of his way  
ask for money

Concept: Street Peddler

Concept Specific Items:

out talk him  
bargain with him  
would live with him  
be kind to him  
lock him up

be cool with  
try to cheat him  
sell with him  
ignore  
tell him to get a better job

II(3)

Concept: White Job Foreman

Concept Specific Items:

learn about his job  
gain his respect  
be obedient to  
do what he says if it is within  
reason  
show dislike to

work hard for  
tell him to hire more blacks  
suggest that blacks should have  
just the same jobs as whites  
respect his orders  
disagree with

Concept: Ministers

Concept Specific Items:

go to for spiritual advice  
be nice to him  
be honest with him  
discuss God with  
talk to in time of need

watch my mouth with  
try to help in church  
follow his advice  
tell him to preach the Bible  
and the Bible only  
would feel ill at ease with him

Concept: Black Merchant

Concept Specific Items:

patronize him more  
encourage him  
be unfriendly to  
be dishonest with him  
steal something from him

burn his store  
believe in him  
buy his products  
check all of his merchandise  
learn to trust him

Concept: White Professor

Concept Specific Items:

learn from him  
like him  
discuss a problem  
respect his qualities  
be very polite with

act as though we were friends  
work together  
put his theory to work  
give suggestions to  
discuss my future with

Concept: White Revolutionary

Concept Specific Items:

be seen with him  
listen to him  
join him  
try to understand the cause  
help all I can

show dislike to  
try to start a fight with  
harass them in any way  
make sure he is not brainwashing  
other whites to become what he  
is  
might agree with some ideas but  
not manner

II(4)

Concept: Black Professional  
Concept Specific Items:

learn from him  
ask him to help me  
have nothing to do with him  
use his help  
ask him questions about his  
profession

try to be like him  
treat him as someone special  
would not argue a point with him  
be his partner  
go to for help

Concept: Insurance Man  
Concept Specific Items:

be seen with him  
be nice to  
do business with  
explain financial problems to  
buy a policy from

suggest that he help his policy  
holder, but not brainwash him  
rush into a deal with  
respect his ability to offer  
the best policies  
date  
would not work with him

Concept: Black Policeman  
Concept Specific Items:

be sincere with  
beat him up  
ignore him  
call him names  
do as he says

be normal  
treat him as a brother  
have coffee with  
ask directions  
talk about the race problem with

Concept: Janitor  
Concept Specific Items:

have a drink with him  
give him inspiration to elevate  
himself beyond the status that  
he already is  
ask him how he likes his job  
tell him what to do  
ask him how to fix something

look at TV with  
shoot dice with  
gossip with about inhabitants of  
building  
date  
go to party with

Concept: White Man  
Concept Specific Items:

communicate with  
get to know him  
reason with him  
live with him (if I had to)  
would rob him

fight him  
sit at the same table with him  
recognize as an individual  
marry him  
work with him

II(5)

Concept: White Woman

Concept Specific Items:

meet all of them I can  
win her confidence, respect and  
loyalty  
beat her up  
be nice to her  
try to get her money

love her  
join her in protest march  
invite her over to dinner  
room with  
would tell all my problems

Concept: My Mother

Concept Specific Items:

give her a vacation  
buy her a home  
tell her to get lost  
love her  
be nice to her

buy her things  
be polite  
obey her  
argue with  
make her proud of me

Concept: My Friends

Concept Specific Items:

have constructive talks with  
beat them up if I get mad at  
them  
be seen with them  
suggest that they stop coming  
over so much  
steal with

drink with  
play games with  
go swimming with  
back up  
make them be reliable

Concept: My Teachers

Concept Specific Items:

get a better understanding from  
them  
learn something from them  
let them teach me instead of  
me teaching them  
beat them up  
go places with them

be cool with  
suggest new teaching methods to  
try to make good impressions  
argue with  
be nice with

Concept: Black Job Foreman

Concept Specific Items:

gain his respect  
communicate with him on a  
brotherly level  
tell him off  
do as he says if it is within  
reason  
work hard for

ask for a job  
give him a few tips  
obey his orders  
disagree with him if I do  
get acquainted with him and his  
family

II(6)

Concept: White Merchant  
Concept Specific Items:

replace him with a black merchant  
tell him I wish he wouldn't cheat  
steal something from him  
make sure that none of his  
merchandise is stolen  
get his views on world situation

have party with  
act as though I don't like him  
believe what they tell me  
invite to my house  
if they are rude, let them know  
they disgust me

Concept: Black Militant  
Concept Specific Items:

join him  
encourage him  
sympathize with him  
understand him  
wouldn't be seen with him

don't listen to him  
get him to see the other side  
better  
try to help him with his problem  
fight with him  
knock some sense into him

Concept: Black Professor  
Concept Specific Items:

learn from him  
don't listen to him  
tell him off  
put his theory to work  
act proud of him

discuss a problem with  
talk about the world with  
talk about the black man with  
treat as an individual  
would want to question him

Concept: Hustler  
Concept Specific Items:

learn his finesse  
be seen with  
would talk to  
live with  
have nothing to do with them

find out what he wanted to do  
and why he could not do it  
be one of his partners  
be cool with  
not associate with  
try not to be influenced by

Concept: Mailman  
Concept Specific Items:

protect him  
live with him  
be kind to  
get to know him  
offer refreshments to on a hot  
summer day

walk and talk with him  
help him deliver mail  
gossip at front door  
if handsome, try and get a date  
treat as equal

**QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 3**

**ROLE BEHAVIOR**

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 3

CONCEPTS

White student-black teacher (at City Hall)

White student-black teacher (at a park)

White neighbor-black neighbor (at City Hall)

White neighbor-black neighbor (at a park)

Cousin-cousin (in the house)

Cousin-cousin (at a park)

Black demonstrator-white policeman (at City Hall)

Black demonstrator-white policeman (at a park)

Black peddler-white revolutionary (at City Hall)

Black peddler-white revolutionary (at a park)

Mother-son (in the house)

Mother-son (at a park)

Black man-white revolutionary (at City Hall)

Black man-white revolutionary (at a park)

Black policeman-black man (at City Hall)

Black policeman-black man (at a park)

White foreman-white worker (at work)

White foreman-white worker (at a party)

Black policeman-white policeman (at work)

Black policeman-white policeman (at a party)

Black worker-white foreman (at work)

Black worker-white foreman (at a party)

Son-father (in the house)

Son-father (at a park)

White teacher-black student (at City Hall)

White teacher-black student (at a park)

Black student-black teacher (at City Hall)

Black student-black teacher (at a park)

White revolutionary-black man (at City Hall)

White revolutionary-black man (at a park)

Wife-husband (in the house)

Wife-husband (at a park)

Black policeman-white man (at City Hall)

Black policeman-white man (at a park)



III(3)

CONCEPTS (CONTINUED)

Father-son (in the house)  
Father-son (at a park)

White policeman-white man (at City Hall)  
White policeman-white man (at a park)

White worker-black foreman (at work)  
White worker-black foreman (at a party)

White policeman-black man (at City Hall)  
White policeman-black man (at a park)

Black foreman-white worker (at work)  
Black foreman-white worker (at a party)

White worker-white foreman (at work)  
White worker-white foreman (at a party)

Black civil rights leader-black citizen (at work)  
Black civil rights leader-black citizen (at a party)

Black teacher-black student (at City Hall)  
Black teacher-black student (at a park)

Daughter-mother (in the house)  
Daughter-mother (at a park)

Black student-white teacher (at City Hall)  
Black student-white teacher (at a park)

White civil rights leader-black man (at City Hall)  
White civil rights leader-black man (at a park)

Black man-white civil rights leader (at City Hall)  
Black man-white civil rights leader (at a park)

Black man-white policeman (at City Hall)  
Black man-white policeman (at a park)

Uncle-nephew (in the house)  
Uncle-nephew (at a park)

White policeman-black demonstrator (at City Hall)  
White policeman-black demonstrator (at a park)

Son-mother (in the house)  
Son-mother (at a park)

Black worker-black foreman (at work)  
Black worker-black foreman (at a party)

III(4)

COMMON ITEMS

Admire  
Ask permission of  
Fight with  
Love  
Take orders from  
Work together  
Call him (her) Mr. (Mrs., Miss)  
Threaten  
Discipline  
Argue with

Laugh together  
Invite to home  
Tell personal problems to  
Hit  
Treat as a brother  
Play games with (cards,  
pool, sports, etc.)  
Relax with  
Invite out to lunch  
Give orders to  
Show affection to

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 4

JOB ATTRIBUTES

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 4

CONCEPTS

Mechanics  
Gangsters  
Policemen  
Teachers  
Hustlers  
Plumbers  
Soldiers  
Supermarket clerks  
Janitors  
Foremen  
Lawyers  
Mailmen  
Construction workers  
Store managers

Writers  
Accountants  
Secretaries  
Social workers  
Peddlers  
Factory workers  
Doctors  
Truck drivers  
Bus drivers  
Unemployed men  
Maids  
Prostitutes  
Gas station attendants

COMMON ITEMS

Well-paid  
Intelligent  
Skilled  
Helpful  
Dirty  
Strong  
Proud of their work and themselves  
Respected  
Brave  
Efficient  
Polite  
Understanding of others  
Talented

Dedicated to the job  
Travel a lot  
A good future  
Good at their jobs  
Lazy  
Tough  
Often in danger  
Honest  
"On the ball" most of the  
time  
Bored a lot of the time  
A lot of training  
A steady income

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 5

ANTECEDENTS

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 5

CONCEPTS AND ITEMS

To get a good job, you have to:

have a skill  
have people recommend (say good things about) you  
go to an employment agency  
be willing to work hard  
be sure of yourself  
finish high school  
have experience  
be smart

look in a newspaper  
show the right attitude  
finish college  
be interested in ("moved" by) the job  
look around at a lot of jobs  
have ambition (want to get ahead)  
know somebody at the company

To get a bad job, you have to:

be lazy  
be unskilled  
be a high school dropout  
not look around much  
be uninterested (not "Moved" by) in the work  
be unintelligent  
act like you don't care about a job  
live someplace where there is not much work

have a bad work record  
be strong  
not have worked much  
not want to get ahead  
be fired from another job  
take the first job offered  
not know what you want to do

To get a promotion, you have to:

do good work  
be on time every day  
come to work every day  
show improvement in your work  
work hard  
not talk back to the boss  
show interest in the job  
show you can be a leader

pay attention to the boss  
accept more responsibility  
be friendly to the boss  
do extra work  
like your work  
learn new skills  
do things for the company's good

To get a raise, you have to:

learn new skills  
do a good job  
join a union  
ask for a raise  
be on time every day  
come to work every day  
do things for the company's good  
show leadership ability

be "on the ball"  
be respectful to the boss  
work overtime  
not goof off on the job  
stay with the company for a certain time  
work hard  
want to get ahead

To join a union, you have to:

work for a certain time  
be in good standing with the  
company  
be able to stand up against the  
company  
pay your fees to the union  
learn a trade  
finish high school  
be willing to go on strike  
know somebody in the union

not want to be laid off  
have a job  
not trust the company  
be trained by an older man  
believe in the union's leaders  
want to get along with others  
at work  
be willing to work for the union

To finish high school, you have to:

do the work you are given  
want to go to college  
be interested in your school work  
come to school each day, if you  
can  
please the teachers any way you  
can  
get passing grades  
be smart

stay out of trouble  
want to finish  
want to learn things  
ask for help if you need it  
study hard  
get along with teachers all right  
want a good job  
have friends who are dropouts

To finish college, you have to:

be willing to work  
have drive  
go to classes  
study hard  
know what you want to do  
have friends in college  
be interested in (dig) what you  
are doing  
have the right attitude

do the work the teachers assign  
be smart  
have money  
want to "live good"  
want to learn  
believe in yourself  
get along with the teachers

To get arrested, you have to:

be someplace at the wrong time  
get drunk  
run from the police  
have a "bad name" with the police  
hurt someone  
not care about what you do  
let someone see you doing something  
wrong

steal something  
get "high" on drugs  
"look guilty" to a policeman  
make a mistake  
fight  
gamble  
be on the corner  
break a traffic law

To skip work or leave early (often), you have to:

be lazy  
be sick  
be tired of work  
not like the job  
not like the boss  
have a date  
not care if you get fired  
be looking for another job

not like the people you work with  
have friends who will cover for  
you  
have an easy boss  
not be a dependable person  
finish your work early  
not care if you lose some pay  
have something more important to  
do

5(3)

To be late to work (often), you have to:

not care if you get fired  
be lazy  
live far away from work  
not have a good car  
drink a lot  
not like the job  
not have self-control  
have to take care of your family  
before you leave

be undependable  
have good excuses  
spend too much time getting  
ready  
miss your bus  
run into heavy traffic  
get up late  
not like the boss

To not be dependent on others, you have to:

have money  
have a skill  
believe in yourself  
be a leader  
be able to help other people  
do what you want  
not ask for favors  
have your own car

be yourself  
have good friends  
be proud  
have a good job  
have your own ideas  
like yourself  
feel safe

To be respected and admired by others, you have to:

do something better than most  
people can  
be kind to others  
respect yourself  
like other people  
be willing to help others  
be honest  
act "cool", but not stuck-up

have a lot of money  
be smarter than most other people  
be thoughtful of others  
respect other people  
be modest  
be trustworthy  
act friendly to others  
be generous with what you have

To have good friends, you have to:

be reliable  
be honest  
be a good friend to others  
be respected  
be loyal  
be helpful  
listen to their ideas  
choose friends wisely

go a lot of places with them  
keep others' secrets  
be smart  
do things for them  
have money  
share what you have  
respect them

To be robbed, you have to:

be careless  
let people know you carry money  
walk down an alley  
be unlucky  
trust people  
go places alone  
get drunk  
flash your money around

have a lot of expensive things  
have friends  
dress well  
go out of your own neighborhood  
lock your house  
carry a gun or knife  
be tough



5(4)

To have dignity, you have to:

respect yourself  
be independent  
stand up for your ideas  
believe in yourself  
conform to society  
be proud of yourself  
be modest  
don't show emotion

have money  
have a good job  
respect others  
be honorable  
be educated  
dress well  
be well known

To have your own house, you have to:

sacrifice  
want to get ahead  
be reliable  
have a good job  
have money for a down payment  
work hard  
have good credit  
find an agent to sell you a house

accept more responsibility  
be married  
have good judgment  
have a car  
get a loan  
be ready to take care of a house  
find a neighborhood you like and  
can afford

To buy a car, you have to:

find a good deal  
have money  
have a job  
need to travel a lot  
have taken care of other needs  
have a good credit rating  
shop around for one you like  
be able to bargain with the dealer

have a driver's license  
be dependable  
want status (people looking up  
to you)  
get a loan  
know how to take care of it  
be able to afford insurance  
be old enough to buy one

To buy fine clothes, you have to:

have money  
know how to budget your money  
be the kind of person who wears  
nice things  
go to a good store  
have pride in the way you look  
have good taste  
have a job

know what you want before you buy  
be good-looking  
want to impress people  
have a place to wear them  
think you are "cool"  
have friends that dress well  
want to impress women  
think they will help you get  
ahead

To use drugs (any illegal drugs), you have to:

not be able to handle your problems  
want to "find" yourself  
want some kicks  
feel inferior  
have money  
have a connection (somebody to  
supply them)  
have nerve (guts)  
have people telling you how good  
drugs are

have to know how to use the  
different kinds of drugs  
have a safe place to take them  
be curious about them  
have drugs easily available to you  
be unhappy with your life  
have friends who use drugs  
want new experiences

5(5)

To "do your own thing", you have to:

have something you like to do  
be willing to give up other things  
to do it  
be "cool"  
make sure you don't hurt anybody  
be independent  
be mature (grown up)  
try out a lot of different things,  
to find out what you want

learn how to do it well  
make the opportunity  
know what's happening around you  
have friends to help you  
want to express yourself  
not be afraid of what other people  
say  
just be yourself  
let it be natural, not forced

To get a girlfriend (or boyfriend), you have to:

be well-liked (by everybody)  
dress well  
be good looking  
be friendly to everyone  
respect yourself  
be willing to sacrifice for  
another person  
respect the other person  
be yourself (not phoney)

have a good line (rap, be "cool")  
let him (or her) know you are  
interested (dig them)  
have a good personality  
show affection (liking) for the  
other person  
have money  
meet a lot of people  
want to go with one person, in-  
stead of a lot

To get along with your boss, you have to:

be friendly to him  
do good work  
be a reliable worker (don't be  
late, come each day)  
be ambitious (show you want to  
get ahead)  
agree with his ideas  
work overtime  
show respect for him  
correct him if you think he is  
wrong

do what he tells you to  
show interest in the job (dig it)  
have a good job  
pay attention to him  
really like him (not just act like  
you do)  
laugh at his jokes  
be yourself

To get along with other people at work, you have to:

be nice to them (considerate)  
work just as hard as they do, and  
no harder  
be friendly to them  
do good work  
help them if they need it  
be interested in others' work  
"play up" to the boss  
gossip

show respect for others  
control your temper  
agree with them  
be yourself (not phoney)  
do your share of work  
do things together off the job  
be modest (don't brag)

5(6)

To steal, you have to:

need money  
want to make easy money  
have the chance to do it  
get a gun  
have somebody to help you  
see something you want  
be too lazy to work  
have low morale

not care if you get caught  
not be able to get a job  
have friends that steal  
have enough nerve  
want to see if you can do it  
be stupid  
want to "prove yourself"

To join a demonstration, you have to:

believe in the cause  
be a leader  
have a respect for authority  
know what is going on  
ask questions about the issue  
want to belong to a group  
have friends that are demonstrating  
want to change the society  
think that you cannot get results  
without it

not be afraid of getting arrested  
agree with the way the  
demonstration is run  
be angry at some situation or  
policy  
join a radical organization (like  
the Black Panthers or SDS)  
think that demonstrations are  
"the thing to do" (fashionable)  
want to convert people to your  
side

To join a militant or revolutionary group, you have to:

understand social problems  
understand what the group wants  
want to help the cause  
be willing to fight  
want revenge on another group of  
people  
believe that they (the militants)  
are right  
feel you are oppressed (put down)

have friends in such a group  
want to change the society  
be immature (not grown up)  
not care what happens to you  
feel unsure (unsafe)  
have courage (guts)  
find a group with good leaders  
have respect for authority

To pay your bills on time, you have to:

be a dependable person  
keep a budget  
know when bills are due  
have money on hand  
have a good job  
save money from your pay  
not run up big bills  
pay cash for most things

get a short-term loan  
want to have good credit  
be mature (grown up)  
appreciate the things you are  
paying for  
not want to get in trouble  
plan ahead of time  
not want to be in debt

5(7)

To not pay your bills on time, you have to:

not get paid on time  
forget when they are due  
be an unreliable person  
not care if you get in trouble  
run up big bills  
not have a budget  
not have money on hand  
spend your money for something  
else

buy too many expensive things  
lose money gambling  
drink too much  
lose your job  
have a sudden emergency (doctor  
bill, car wreck, etc.)  
be robbed  
be immature (not grown up)

To get drunk, you have to:

be curious about what it is like  
want to have a good time  
have a lot of problems  
have the money to buy liquor  
want to be "cool"  
have nothing to do the next day  
work hard that day  
be with friends

look for excitement  
not know what your limit is  
go to a party  
want to feel good  
have something to celebrate  
be unhappy about something  
have friends who drink a lot

To not finish high school, you have to:

dislike the teachers  
have a poor family  
be expelled (kicked out)  
be lazy  
think only of the present  
not have friends in school  
get bad grades  
have no goals

feel like a failure in school  
skip classes  
find a job that looks good  
get in trouble in school  
have no ambition  
not have anybody to help with  
your problems  
be dumb

To quit a job, you have to:

not get along with your boss  
get a better job someplace else  
get tired of your job  
not like the job  
be lazy  
have no ambition  
not like the other people at work  
have to work too hard for the pay  
you get

get low pay  
argue with the boss  
not be interested in the job  
have no chance to get ahead  
have bad working conditions  
not do well on the job  
travel too far to work

To get fired from your job, you have to:

do the job badly  
not get along with the boss  
be late all the time  
be unreliable  
cause an accident  
not be interested in your work  
disobey the boss' orders  
not be dependable

goof off on the job  
not get along with other people  
at work  
come to work drunk (or high)  
not have any ambition  
not understand the job  
quit work early all the time  
disagree with the boss

5(8)

To do your job as well as you can, you have to:

do only what you are told to do  
help other people  
do careful, neat work  
be interested in the work  
know why you are doing each kind  
of job  
do the work as fast as you can  
want to do a good job  
have good training

work hard  
understand what is expected of  
you  
learn new skills  
be a dependable worker  
like the job  
need to keep the job  
want to prove your ability

To goof off on your job, you have to:

want to play around  
not like your work  
not get along with the boss  
not have enough work  
lack interest in the job (it  
does not "move" you)  
be lazy  
not have ambition

have a boring job  
not have the boss watching you  
not care if you get fired  
have friends that goof off  
not be dependable  
not care about other's safety  
not be afraid of the boss  
not like the others at work

To gamble, you have to:

have money  
know how to play the games  
(poker, craps, pool, etc.)  
know where the action is  
not have anything else to do  
have a good idea what the odds  
on things are  
want to have excitement  
not care if you lose

be willing to take a chance  
be looking for "something for  
nothing"  
have nerve (guts)  
have friends who gamble  
not care about your family's  
welfare  
expect to win  
think it is the only way to get a  
lot of money  
be able to borrow the money you  
need

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 6

CONSEQUENTS

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 6

CONCEPTS AND ITEMS

If you get a good job, you:

open a bank account  
feel safe  
have money for things you need  
(food, place to live)  
find a better place to live  
feel personally satisfied  
enjoy working more  
work harder

have more responsibility  
are happier  
buy things you want most  
pay your bills  
come to work every day  
save more money  
do your best work  
want to get ahead

If you get a bad job, you:

quit  
look for a better one  
get low pay  
can't buy the things you want most  
don't have enough money for the t  
things you need (food, place to  
live, etc.)  
have to work harder  
buy more liquor

don't enjoy your work  
don't do your best work  
skip work often  
are bored with the job  
don't get along with the boss  
make excuses to your friends  
don't care if you get ahead  
or not  
aren't happy at home

If you get a promotion, you:

have more money  
change your ideas about work  
work harder at the new job  
buy the things you want most  
want to get ahead even more  
demand respect from other people  
are happier at home  
are proud of yourself

have more power  
accept more responsibility  
make plans for the future  
feel safer  
try to learn more about the job  
get more respect from people  
save some more money

If you get a raise, you:

buy the things you want most  
donate a little to charity  
save some money  
work harder  
want to get ahead even more  
feel safer  
pay off some bills  
do more things you'd like to do

are happier at home  
enjoy your work more  
make your family happy  
feel you've done something worth-  
while  
want to stay with the job  
are able to afford the things  
you need (food, shelter, etc.)  
are proud of your work

6(2)

If you join a union, you:

pay dues  
get a vacation with pay  
feel safer  
go out on strike  
go to the union meetings  
get better working conditions  
feel like part of a group  
get regular raises

work for improvements on the job  
are more satisfied with the job  
try to be a union officer  
feel you are protected against  
being fired  
get along better with the boss  
work overtime  
get union benefits (retirement,  
sick pay, etc.)

If you finish high school, you:

get a job  
go into military service  
(Army, Navy, etc.)  
go to college  
buy a car  
feel proud of yourself  
start planning your future  
get married  
feel more mature (grown-up)

get respect from others  
don't have to depend on others  
are just lazy for a while  
are glad you don't have to  
listen to teachers any more  
try to get some job training  
move into your own apartment  
are treated better by your  
parents

If you finish college, you:

get a good job  
work harder  
get better pay  
feel important  
get married  
don't have to depend on others  
have some of the "finer things  
in life" ("live good")  
get more education (law school,  
medical school)

go into military service (Army,  
Navy, etc.)  
feel that you've accomplished  
something  
get respect from other people  
plan for the future  
move into your own apartment  
have your parents treat you better  
better  
believe in yourself

If you get arrested, you:

go to jail  
have a police record  
put up bail money  
feel guilty  
are embarrassed  
make your family unhappy  
have to find money for a lawyer  
call your family for help

stop doing whatever got you  
arrested  
get beaten by the police  
are put on probation  
have trouble getting a job  
try to tell the police you are  
innocent  
tell all your friends what  
happened  
are always being watched



6(3)

If you skip work or leave early (often), you:

feel guilty  
get fired  
relax a lot  
lose the respect of the boss  
get others at work mad at you  
get a bad reputation  
get your pay docked  
are warned by the boss

have more fun  
have to make up an excuse  
lose the trust of others  
make others do your work  
try to make up for it  
lose your chance to get ahead  
in the company  
don't get tired at the end of  
the day

If you are late to work (often), you:

try to get up earlier in the  
morning  
feel like you are letting people  
down  
get a bad reputation  
get fired  
do your work badly  
are not liked by other workers  
make some excuse  
get your pay docked

have a talk with the boss  
lose your chance to get ahead  
lose your boss' trust  
aren't so tired when you get to  
work  
lose the respect of others  
feel like you are getting away  
with something  
can stay out later at night

If you are not dependent on others, you:

stay out as late as you like  
have a job  
pay your bills  
are married  
can "do your thing"  
learn to understand other people  
help others  
make your own decisions

sometimes can't get help when  
you need it  
believe in yourself  
are sometimes left out of things  
have personal satisfaction  
don't have many close friends  
are mature (grown up)  
accept your responsibilities

If people respect and admire you, you:

feel proud  
care more about people's feelings  
are concerned about other people  
are happy  
believe in yourself  
want to live up to it  
get stuck-up (think you're better  
than other people)  
can go to others for favors

want to succeed even more  
try to help other people when  
they need it  
aren't free to do anything you  
want  
feel safer  
think that things will work out  
the way you want  
can borrow money easier  
are a better person

6(4)

If you have good friends, you:

have someone to help if you need it  
do things together  
have fun  
help them if they need it  
give things to each other  
trust them  
feel safe  
feel good

are proud of yourself  
share what you have  
are loyal to them  
aren't lonely  
get respect  
get in trouble together  
depend on them

If you are robbed, you:

are hurt  
go to the police  
go to the doctor for treatment  
try to collect on insurance  
are more careful with your money  
don't go out alone at night any  
more  
get angry  
lose valuable things

lose trust in others  
move to a new neighborhood  
testify against the robber, if  
he is caught  
try to help the police all you  
can  
carry a gun  
put strong locks on your doors  
only carry a little money after-  
wards

If you have dignity, you:

try to live up to it  
are good to other people  
have more self-respect  
have respect from others  
are not liked by some people  
feel proud  
keep your cool  
are happy

can do what you like  
are trusted by people  
are polite to everyone  
respect other people  
have a sense of decency  
get beaten up  
act like you are better than  
others

If you have your own home, you:

buy furniture for it  
keep it in good shape  
are careful who you let in it  
make improvements to it  
live there for a long time  
invite neighbors over  
work hard to pay for it  
learn how to do repairs

do without other things  
are happy with it  
have privacy  
feel safe  
don't depend on others  
have more responsibilities  
have a better place to raise a  
family

If you buy a car, you:

work hard to pay for it  
keep it in good shape  
can do what you want in it  
have people looking up to you  
take your friends around in it  
impress your girlfriend (boyfriend)  
have more fun  
drive safely

get insurance  
are happy  
can get to work easier  
spend money for gas and oil  
learn how to repair it  
show it off  
race it

6(5)

If you buy fine clothes, you:

show yourself off  
impress people  
take care of them  
go to fancy places  
meet more women (men)  
get compliments from people  
look respectable  
are proud of yourself

get ahead at work  
believe more in yourself  
are happy  
look good  
save them for special occasions  
get respect  
have to give up other things

If you use drugs (any illegal drug), you:

get hooked  
lose respect for yourself  
don't feel safe  
get high  
try to get others to use them  
escape from your problems  
become unreliable  
get arrested

hurt your body  
feel sick  
spend all your money on them  
lose other's respect  
feel good  
understand things better  
improve your life

If you "do your own thing", you:

are satisfied with yourself  
feel free  
have other people putting you  
down  
are happy  
don't depend on others  
have friends  
have purpose in your life  
get in trouble

enjoy life more  
aren't tied down by society  
feel you have done something  
important  
are mature (grown up)  
ignore society's rules  
keep trying to make yourself  
better  
are responsible for yourself

If you have a girlfriend (or boyfriend), you:

share your experiences  
have sex  
have more drive  
have more fun  
try to treat her (him) well  
have someone to help with your  
problems  
feel more confident  
are happier than before

think about getting married  
lose some of your freedom  
spend money on her (him)  
worry more  
go out more often  
share personal feelings  
grow up

If you get along with your boss at work, you:

get better pay  
get to work later  
go places together  
invite him to your place  
get better working conditions  
enjoy your work more  
get help with the job when you need  
it  
do better work

feel he respects you  
try not to let him down  
get ahead faster  
don't get along well with other  
workers  
feel more confident at work  
do what he asks  
can talk to him about your

6(6)

If you get along with other people at work, you:

go places together  
make new friends  
help them if they need it  
enjoy working more  
don't skip work  
work harder  
feel like the time goes by faster  
get help if you need it

feel that you are respected  
aren't bored on the job  
play around during working hours  
get ahead faster at work  
get better pay  
keep the job longer  
are happier at home

If you steal, you:

get caught  
feel guilty  
steal again  
lose self-respect  
are afraid of getting caught  
have the money you need to live  
get sent to prison  
hide from the police

ruin your chance for a good life,  
if you're caught  
get hurt by the police  
make your family feel bad  
can buy the things you want  
feel like you've gotten away  
with something  
lose friends' respect, if they  
find out  
brag about it

If you join a demonstration, you:

get arrested  
feel you've done something good  
lose your job (or get kicked out  
of school)  
get into a fight  
feel like you're part of something,  
not alone  
learn something about the world  
are ready to demonstrate again  
have more self-respect

have trouble with parents  
make new friends  
feel frustrated (get bugged)  
get more respect from others  
feel proud  
work harder for the cause than  
before  
try to get others to join

If you join a militant or revolutionary group, you:

are in danger  
wonder if you did the right thing  
don't hear the other side  
try to get others to join  
get arrested  
get into fights  
feel like you are a part of the  
group  
stand up for what you believe

lose your job (or get kicked out  
of school)  
feel proud  
work harder for the cause  
get more respect from others  
make new friends  
have more self-respect  
learn more about the world

6(7)

If you pay your bills on time, you:

don't have to worry  
get a good credit rating  
can open charge accounts  
keep what you've bought  
plan how to spend what is left  
respect yourself  
are trusted by others  
feel independent

avoid trouble with collection  
agencies  
can buy new things  
are free of debt (have no money  
problems)  
get respect from others  
have to go without some things  
you'd like  
feel relieved  
start saving for next month's  
bills

If you don't pay your bills on time, you:

have a bad credit rating  
lose the respect of others  
need a co-signer to get credit  
lose the things you have bought  
have a collection agency after  
you  
buy some other things you want  
worry more  
feel guilty

lose others' trust  
have to pay extra charges  
lose your job  
lose some self-respect  
have money problems  
look for bargains  
try to get help with the way you  
spend money

If you get drunk, you:

feel sick  
get into an accident  
feel embarrassed  
are hung over the next day  
relax more  
feel happy  
have a good time  
lose others' respect

get arrested  
mess up your clothes  
do silly things  
get robbed  
get into a fight  
laugh about it with your friends  
the next day  
miss work

If you don't finish school, you:

can't get a good job  
work hard for low pay  
lose your friends' respect  
don't have much money  
can't get ahead  
hang around with your friends  
don't have to do school work  
try to go to night school

get married  
are more independent  
feel older (more grown-up) than  
people in school  
feel sorry you quit  
feel dumb when talking to others  
are happy you're out  
let your parents down

6(8)

If you quit your job, you:

look for another one  
relax  
feel less safe  
are unhappy  
don't have the money to take  
care of yourself and your family  
can't pay your bills  
respect yourself more  
take a better job

have a bad work record  
stop doing things you like be-  
cause you can't afford them  
have trouble finding another job  
try to collect welfare  
feel you've done the right thing  
argue with your family  
lose others' respect

If you're fired from your job, you:

can't get another job easily  
can't pay your bills  
can't afford to do the things  
you like  
lose others' respect  
loaf around for a while  
get mad at the boss  
worry  
feel embarrassed

look for another job  
feel you were treated unfairly  
can't support your family  
lose respect for yourself  
try to do a better job next time  
try to get welfare  
blame it on other people

If you do your job as well as you can, you:

feel satisfaction  
get a raise  
get promoted  
respect yourself more  
feel tired at the end of the day  
enjoy the job more  
get along with the boss  
get offered jobs by other  
companies

get more respect from others  
make other workers look bad  
feel proud of yourself  
make your family proud of you  
have a good work record  
want to do even better than  
before  
don't have time for anything else

If you goof off on your job, you:

get fired  
get hurt in an accident  
cause others to get hurt  
lose a chance for promotion  
have more fun on the job  
lose others' respect  
get "chewed out" by the boss  
lose the friendship of other  
workers

make other workers laugh  
don't do your job right  
aren't so tired at the end of  
the day  
get a reputation for being lazy  
don't get along with the boss  
feel guilty for making others do  
your work  
let down the people who depend  
on you

6(9)

If you gamble, you:

lose your money  
make enemies  
get arrested  
have fun  
win a lot of money  
make your family do without  
things  
steal to make up your losses  
get "hooked" on it and can't quit

have excitement in your life  
get hurt if you can't pay  
have a more exciting life  
argue with your family  
have to borrow money  
quit when you're ahead  
get in with a tough crowd

**BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION**



## Biographical Information Instructions

These questions are meant to tell us more about you as an individual. The information you give us will be strictly confidential - no one but the researchers will see it, and they won't know who you are. We need this information so we can tell how many people of different age, sex, etc., answer our questions. Thank you.

YOUR AGE: \_\_\_\_\_ SEX: M \_\_\_\_\_ F \_\_\_\_\_ RACE: BLACK \_\_\_\_\_ WHITE \_\_\_\_\_  
OTHER \_\_\_\_\_  
(specify)

Are you Married? \_\_\_\_\_  
Single? \_\_\_\_\_ (please check one)  
Divorced \_\_\_\_\_

Have you lived all your life in this town? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

If No, did you spend your childhood mostly in a  
farm community? \_\_\_\_\_  
small town? \_\_\_\_\_ (please check one)  
large city? \_\_\_\_\_

What is the highest grade you have completed in school?

one year high school or less \_\_\_\_\_  
two or three years of high school \_\_\_\_\_  
finished high school \_\_\_\_\_ (please check one)  
one or two years of college \_\_\_\_\_  
finished college \_\_\_\_\_

If you have not completed your education, do you plan to finish

high school ? \_\_\_\_\_  
college ? \_\_\_\_\_ (please check one)  
professional or graduate work? \_\_\_\_\_

When you were growing up, your family's income was:

higher than average for the country \_\_\_\_\_  
about average for the country \_\_\_\_\_  
less than average for the country \_\_\_\_\_ (please check one)  
very much below average for the country \_\_\_\_\_  
so low we were mostly on welfare \_\_\_\_\_

You may have seen in the paper stories about social class problems. In which  
of these classes, do you think you really belong?

upper class \_\_\_\_\_  
middle class \_\_\_\_\_  
working class \_\_\_\_\_ (please check one)  
poverty class \_\_\_\_\_