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)
Illinois Studies of the Economically Disadvantaged

FIELD GUIDE FOR THE STUDY OF ASPECTS OF SUBJECTIVE CULTURE

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Harry C. Triandis
Principal Investigator
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
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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1The 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 conceptionalization 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 our 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 is 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 x 10 x 200, and some might be specific to the particular stimuli, thus giving 30 matrices of size 20 x 200. One could then do a three-mode factor analysis of the 30 x 10 x 200 matrix (Tucker, 1966) or 30 two-mode factor analyses (Tucker and Messick, 1963) of the 20 x 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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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:

deprieved
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
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
Concept: **Black Professional Men**

Concept Specific Items:

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

Concept: **Insurance Men**

Concept Specific Items:

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

Concept: **Hustlers**

Concept Specific Items:

- talented
- people who know how to get along, no matter what
- mean
- harmful
- unhappy
- concerned
- people with a sense of purpose
- people with pride in themselves
- important
- highly paid

- honest
- dependable
- educated
- understanding
- interesting to talk to

- cool
- sharp
- witty
- people who scrape to live (make a living the best way they can)
- people who always have money
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
live with him
leave him alone
treat him as he treats me

Concept: Black Woman
Concept Specific Items:

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

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)

Concept: My Father
Concept Specific Items:

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

Concept: Street Peddler
Concept Specific Items:

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

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

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

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

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

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
Concept: Black Professional
Concept Specific Items:
- learn from him
- try to be like him
- ask him to help me
- treat him as someone special
- have nothing to do with him
- would not argue a point with him
- use his help
- be his partner
- ask him questions about his profession
- go to for help

Concept: Insurance Man
Concept Specific Items:
- be seen with him
- suggest that he help his policy holder, but not brainwash him
- be nice to
- rush into a deal with
- do business with
- respect his ability to offer
- explain financial problems to
- the best policies
- buy a policy from
- date
- would not work with him

Concept: Black Policeman
Concept Specific Items:
- be sincere with
- be normal
- beat him up
- treat him as a brother
- ignore him
- have coffee with
- call him names
- ask directions
- do as he says
- talk about the race problem with

Concept: Janitor
Concept Specific Items:
- have a drink with him
- look at TV with
- give him inspiration to elevate
- shoot dice with
- himself beyond the status that
- gossip with about inhabitants of
- he already is
- building
- ask him how he likes his job
date
- tell him what to do
- go to party with
- ask him how to fix something

Concept: White Man
Concept Specific Items:
- communicate with
- fight him
- get to know him
- sit at the same table with him
- reason with him
- recognize as an individual
- live with him (if I had to)
marry him
- would rob him
- work with him
II(S)

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

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

Concept: My Friends
Concept Specific Items:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 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
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

Concept: Black Militant
Concept Specific Items:

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

Concept: Hustler
Concept Specific Items:

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

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

Concept Specific Items:

- 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

- 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

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

- 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

- 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
Poddlers
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

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

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

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

- 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

- 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

- 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

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

- not eat 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
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, instead 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)
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
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

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

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

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

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

- 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)

- 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

- 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

- 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

- 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
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 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 worthwhile
want to stay with the job
are able to afford the things you need (food, shelter, etc.)
are proud of your work
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

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)

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)

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

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

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
- believe in yourself

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
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
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

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

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

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

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

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

- 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 afterwards

- 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

- 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

- 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
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
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

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

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

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
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

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

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

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

- 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

- 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

- 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

- 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
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

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

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

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
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 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 _____  (please check one)
working class _____
poverty class _____