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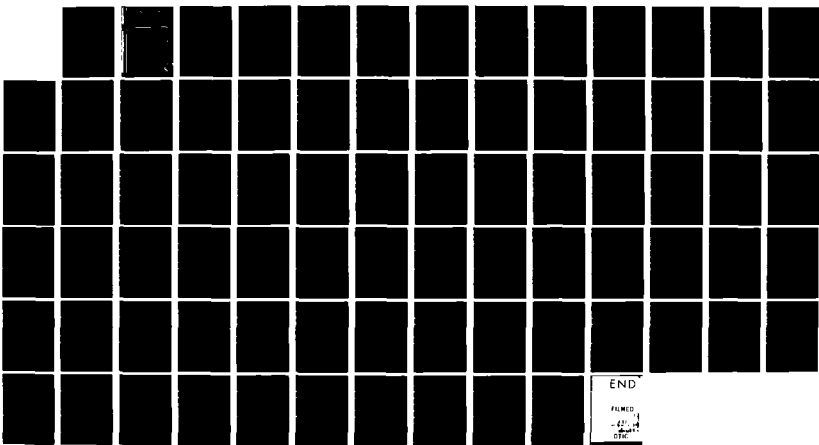
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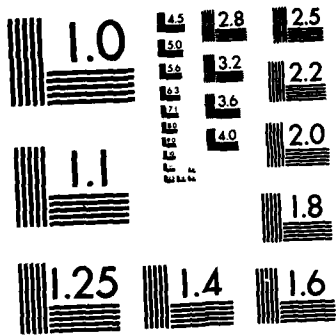
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AN EXAMINATION OF HISPANIC AND GENERAL POPULATION
PERCEPTIONS OF ORGANIZATIONAL ENVIRONMENTS
(Harry C. Triandis, Principal Investigator)

ALLOCENTRIC VS. IDIOCENTRIC SOCIAL BEHAVIOR:
A MAJOR CULTURAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN
HISPANICS AND THE MAINSTREAM

Harry C. Triandis

University of Illinois

Technical Report No. ONR-16

March, 1983

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Prepared with the support of:

The Organizational Effectiveness Research Programs of the Office of Naval Research
(Code 452) under Contract N 00014-80-C-0407; NR 170-906

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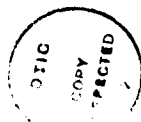
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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE		READ INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE COMPLETING FORM
1. REPORT NUMBER ONR-16	2. GOVT ACCESSION NO. AD-A126	3. RECIPIENT'S CATALOG NUMBER 200
4. TITLE (and Subtitle) Alloentric vs. Idiocentric Social Behavior: A Major Cultural Difference between Hispanics and the Mainstream		5. TYPE OF REPORT & PERIOD COVERED Interim Technical Report
		6. PERFORMING ORG. REPORT NUMBER
7. AUTHOR(s) Harry C. Triandis		8. CONTRACT OR GRANT NUMBER(s) N 00014-80-C-0407
9. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS Department of Psychology University of Illinois, 603 E. Daniel St. Champaign, Illinois 61820		10. PROGRAM ELEMENT, PROJECT, TASK AREA & WORK UNIT NUMBERS NR 170-906
11. CONTROLLING OFFICE NAME AND ADDRESS Organizational Effectiveness Research Group Office of Naval Research (Code 442) Arlington, VA 22217		12. REPORT DATE March, 1983
		13. NUMBER OF PAGES 63
14. MONITORING AGENCY NAME & ADDRESS (if different from Controlling Office)		15. SECURITY CLASS. (of this report)
		15a. DECLASSIFICATION/DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE
16. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of this Report) Approved for public release; distribution unlimited. Reproduction in whole or in part is permitted for any purpose of the U.S. Government.		
17. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of the abstract entered in Block 20, if different from Report)		
18. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES		
19. KEY WORDS (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number) Hispanics, individualism, collectivism, individual goals, group goals		
20. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number) see attached.		

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Abstract

Numerous findings, reported in previous reports of this project, converge and point to a major cultural difference between U.S. Hispanics and Mainstream individuals. Hispanics are allocentric--their behavior is strongly influenced by consideration of how it will affect other people--while Mainstream individuals are idiocentric--they give more weight to the effect that the behavior will have on them than on others. This dimension corresponds to the collectivism-individualism dimension discussed in the literature. However, collectivism has surplus meaning, and allocentricity is preferred, since it can be defined more precisely.

A broad literature is reviewed that examines data organized along the allocentric-idiocentric axis. Several kinds of allocentric perspectives can be identified: 1. The individual may perceive his own goals to be totally overlapping with those of an ingroup. In such a case idiocentrism is precluded. 2. The individual may perceive his own goals and those of an ingroup as different in some areas and not on others. In such a case the individual may subordinate his goals to the goals of the ingroup (i.e., be allocentric) or may be idiocentric and subordinate the goals of the ingroup to his own goals. Since non-overlap of goals occurs with respect to different behaviors, there are innumerable ways to be allocentric. Also, different cultures define ingroups differently, and different situations define the boundaries of ingroups differently. Thus, the analysis of the allocentric-idiocentric dimension requires the use of a theoretical framework where one parameter is the type of behavior/situation and the other parameter the relative importance given by the individual to the views, goals, and concerns of an ingroup relative to his own views, goals and concerns.

A theoretical framework is developed that specifies antecedents and consequences of allocentric vs. idiocentric behaviors. The framework suggests numerous ways to measure this dimension, and some of them are described. The appendix includes one instrument that measures it. Finally, the implications of differences between Hispanics and Mainstream on this dimension for the Navy's personnel policies as well as Hispanic recruitment and retention are explored.

Allocentric vs. Idiocentric Social Behavior:

A Major Cultural Difference between Hispanics and the Mainstream¹

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In the course of studies concerning the perception of the social environment by Hispanics and Mainstream subjects, a number of findings suggested that Hispanics pay much attention to the needs, goals, values, and points of view of others--i.e., they are allocentric. By contrast, Mainstream subjects exhibit more idiocentric behavior, that is their social behavior is largely determined by personal goals, attitudes and values which overlap only slightly or even not at all with the goals, attitudes and values of collectivities, such as their family or co-workers.

This paper will first review the data obtained from Hispanic and Mainstream samples. Then, it will present evidence found in the literature concerning the contrast between the allocentric and the idiocentric behavior patterns. Much of this literature discusses the phenomenon under the labels of collectivism vs. individualism. However, these labels have acquired much surplus meaning. The new terminology is used to avoid such surplus meaning or value judgments. Third, a theoretical framework concerning the allocentric-idiocentric dimension will be developed. This framework will use information from the literature suggesting the antecedents and consequents of this dimension. Fourth, the measurement of the dimension will be discussed, in order to suggest methods for the operationalization of the dimension in different cultures. Finally, specific hypotheses, of direct relevance to the U.S. Navy, concerning how this dimension may affect the recruitment of Hispanics, and personnel decisions concerning Hispanics and relevant to the training of Navy personnel who interact with Hispanics, will be formulated.

1. Review of Hispanic vs. Mainstream Findings

Triandis (1981) reported the results of interviews, carried out by six Hispanic interviewers, with 88 Hispanic males, and responses of 46 Mainstream males, concerning the way these subjects view the U.S. Navy. One of the findings was that the Hispanics expressed more concern that joining the Navy would result in their being missed by their families and being unable to meet their family obligations than was the case for the Mainstream sample. Both of these findings are consistent with the central construct of allocentric behavior: Paying attention to the way one's own behavior affects others.

Rojas (1981) interviewed Hispanics at recruit centers in Texas, California, New York and Illinois. He found that many indicated that a Navy career is incompatible with their intense family attachments. Such views may account, in part, for the lower rates of Hispanic recruitment by the U.S. Navy.

In a study (Triandis, Ottati & Marín, 1982) that used the Helmreich instrument that taps need for achievement, emphasis on hard work, and on competition, the factor structure of the items obtained from analyses of the responses of Navy Hispanics and Mainstream recruits showed a Hispanic factor labeled "Avoidance of Interpersonal Competition." This perspective is emphasized also in many other studies, such as those of Spencer Kagan, Ray Garza, and others too numerous to list here. Lisansky's (1981) review and the Triandis et al. (1982) report summarize these studies.

In a study of values (Triandis, Kashima, Lisansky & Marín, 1982) the Mainstream Navy recruits emphasized the values honest and moderate. Note that these are individual attributes that have little relevance to others. The Hispanic Navy recruits emphasized the values sensitive, simpatico, loyal, respected, dutiful, gracious and conforming. The latter values appear to be more allocentric than the former.

In a study by Ross, Triandis, Chang and Marín (1982), which examined the

opinions of Hispanic and Mainstream Navy recruits, about a broad range of work-related values, the Hispanics emphasized the values of cooperation and help more than the Mainstream.

Hispanics were found to be more willing to sacrifice themselves (e.g., sell their TV) in order to attend family celebrations involving second and third degree relatives than was the case for Mainstream Navy recruits (Triandis, Marín, Betancourt, Lisansky & Chang, 1982a). This suggests a broader boundary of the Hispanic family, but also a more intensive attachment to the family. Furthermore, the more acculturated the Hispanics the less familism they exhibited (Triandis, Marín, Betancourt, & Chang, 1982b). In other words not only are the Hispanics more allocentric than the Mainstream; as they become more acculturated into the Mainstream (as measured by length of residence in the U.S., liking for English radio, TV and movies, and Anglo friends and co-workers) they become less allocentric.

Hispanic Navy recruits, when compared with Mainstream Navy recruits were found to emphasize positive social behaviors (e.g., to respect) and de-emphasize negative social behaviors (e.g., to criticize) much more than Mainstream subjects (Triandis, Marín, Betancourt, Lisansky & Chang, 1982b). This is a kind of "response set," and suggests a perspective which values good interpersonal relationships more than is the case with the Mainstream. We called it the simpatico script because it is a pattern of behavior that is characteristic of persons who want to be seen as simpatico. Emphasis on good interpersonal relations is obviously important for all humans, but the greater emphasis on this factor among Hispanics suggests that they are more allocentric than the Mainstream.

Rojas (1982), in an anthropological study of the behavior of Navy recruits in the San Diego Navy Training Center, suggested that Hispanics have difficulty distinguishing the person from the role. This may be an aspect of personalismo

(Seda, 1982) characteristic of Hispanics. In other words, Hispanics see events as shaped by people, rather than by impersonal forces, such as roles, situations, or work requirements, to a greater extent than do Mainstream subjects. That too, is an aspect of being allocentric. An idiocentric person sees his own behavior, at least, shaped by the situation (Jones & Nisbett, 1972; Nisbett, Caputo, Legant & Marecek, 1973).

In a study of role perceptions, Triandis, Marín, Hui, Lisansky and Ottati (1982) found that Hispanics experienced a very strong pull toward their families. For example, in factor analyses of the behaviors associated with various roles, the behaviors associated with love, respect and intimacy accounted for a lot more variance in the case of Hispanics judging the Mother-Son, Father-Son, Son-Mother, Son-Father, and similar family roles than in the case of Mainstream subjects. For a specific example, such themes accounted for 24% of the variance in the factor structure of the Mainstream judgments of Son-Father, and 39% of the variance in the corresponding judgments of the Hispanics. Love and intimacy appear to be allocentric themes in the sense that persons who emphasize such themes with respect to their family are more likely to pay attention to family goals, values and concerns.

There is nothing especially new about the argument that Hispanics are allocentric. In fact, Lisansky's (1981) content analysis of the literature states that "There is a relatively high level of agreement in the literature regarding the relational value orientation in Hispanic culture. Most authors stress two themes: individuality and a more collectivist orientation. Hispanic individuality is generally sharply distinguished from North American style individualism. It is usually defined as emphasizing an acceptance of the value and worth of each individual which is unconnected to socio-economic status or accomplishments. Dignity and respect are two closely related concepts. According to many authors, the individual in Hispanic culture is valued not

because he is as good as everyone else but rather because he is essentially different and unique."

"At the same time, most authors emphasize that Hispanic culture is more collectivistic than Anglo American culture. The group and group membership are extremely important aspects of Hispanic life. Individuals are not expected to be autonomous and independent from others; rather, interdependence is stressed. Hispanics are frequently described as more socially embedded, more cooperative, less competitive, and more "other-oriented" than Anglos. Some authors draw attention to a basic gregariousness in Hispanic culture and a concomitant devaluation of privacy. Some authors discuss Hispanic collectivism in terms of lineality; others call it "personalism."

Thus, apparently, there is consensus about Hispanic allocentric tendencies. In the next section we will review a broader literature in order to gain a more general perspective on the meaning of this dimension.

2. Review of the Literature on Individualism-Collectivism

Hofstede (1980) includes a chapter in his book concerning this broader dimension. The most individualistic countries according to his data are the U.S., Australia, Great Britain, Canada, Netherlands, New Zealand, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, France, Ireland, Norway, Switzerland, and Germany, in that order; the most collectivist--Venezuela, Colombia, Pakistan, Peru, Taiwan, Thailand, Singapore, Chile, Hong Kong, Portugal, Mexico, and the Philippines, in that order. Hong Kong and Singapore are largely populated by people of Chinese background.

Hofstede's data contain numerous additional findings. Specifically, a country's 1970 Gross National Product per Capita correlates .82 with his individualism score (N=40 countries). (I recomputed this correlation with 1980 GNP data and it is slightly lower, but in the high seventies.) Hofstede found correlations between his individualism scores and latitude, occupational

mobility, freedom of the press, extent of support of the idea that religion is a matter of an individual's beliefs and should not be imposed by the state or the tribe, inner directedness, selfishness, less discipline, emphasis on privacy, the view that interpersonal relationships are a means to an end rather than an end in themselves, and the existence of broad ingroups consisting not only of family and friends but also unknown persons who happen to agree with oneself about political, philosophic, religious, or scientific topics.

There are also correlations in his report suggesting that countries high in individualism have many individuals high in internal control, who emphasize private goals, who pay attention to what the person does rather than who the person is (T. Parson's achievement vs. ascription dimension), have conditions favorable to technological change, and where one finds more alienated and rootless individuals, where people think that decisions made by individuals are better than decisions made by groups, where people stress variety, guilt is the mechanism of social control, where managers favor group goal setting, where the need for autonomy is high, where pleasure (fun), security, and positive affect are emphasized, where going on one's own way ("do your own thing") and not paying attention to the views of others is acceptable, where personal enjoyment is emphasized, where friendship is a matter of personal choice, where there are fewer deaths per mile in traffic, where people are more likely to agree with the statement "when I identify myself at a party I use my occupation as a key descriptor" and where people state that "when I ask a government official for some favor I expect to be treated like everybody else."

In the collectivist countries one finds, according to Hofstede's report, more acquiescence response set, more tradition- or other-directed individuals, the person is perceived as embedded in the social context (e.g., a "representative" of family, tribe, or what not) religion is the belief of the ingroup, political conversion occurs in groups rather than at the level of individuals

(e.g., China), there is the assumption that maintaining a strong group is the best guarantee of individual freedom, there is a strong emphasis on doing what the ingroup specifies (but once one has done that, one has considerable freedom to do one's "own thing" as long as it does not bother the ingroup, see Stewart, 1966), shame and loss of face are the mechanisms of social control, there is sometimes the tyranny of the group, interpersonal relations are an end in themselves, there are narrow ingroups (sometimes just the nuclear family), there is the concept of limited good (Foster, 1965) (if something good happens to an outgroup member one loses), there are more people under external control of motivation, people tend to think that planning is a waste of time, goals tend to be group rather than individual goals, who does something more important than what s/he does, organizations are responsible for members' welfare, there is much emphasis on morality; unions attempt to be included in most important decisions instead of limiting their concerns to wages, working conditions, and few other topics; people prefer to work for a large company and for a long time, loyalty to the company is a great virtue, companies feel responsible for the welfare of their employees, people emphasize having pleasant co-workers more than earnings; people emphasize security, expertness, prestige, duty; friendships are a function of family and kin-connections, people see a large difference between ingroup and outgroup members, and people are more likely to agree with the statements "I am loyal to my family and country, so in times I need help I expect to be taken care by them," "when I identify myself at a party I use my friends and family as the key descriptors," "when I ask a government official for some favor I expect to be treated better (worse) than he will treat most people because of who I am" (the response "better" given by those who are upper class and the response "worse" by those who are lower class).

Individualism is correlated in Hofstede's data $-.67$ with Power Distance which is an emotional dependence on powerful people, and a view that those

with power are very different from those without power.

Anthropologist Hsu (1981) is also helpful in understanding the individualism dimension. He contrasts the American individualism with the Chinese situationism--doing what is required by the situation, i.e., by those present. Henry Steele Commager, in the preface to Hsu's book, talks about individualism as "the master key to the American character" (Hsu, 1981, p.xiv) that distinguishes the Western world from the non-Western. He approves of Hsu's use of individualism as the construct to understand the American political system, the workings of the criminal law, the attitude toward nature, the conduct of foreign policy, and the waging of war.

Individualism is central to the relationships between parents and children, the attitude toward ancestors and posterity, the cult of youth, the fate of age, the role of sex in literature and art, the incidence of crime, the concepts of success and prestige, the psychology of games and sports. In all these areas American culture contrasts sharply with Chinese culture (Hsu, 1981, p.xv).

Hsu argues that individualism explains why competition permeates every aspect of American life; the struggle of children for the attention and affection of parents, the struggle of parents to win the approval of children; the concern of the American women for beauty and style so as to win her husband every day, the anxiety of the husband to prove that he is a success and thus deserves the respect and affection of his wife, the competition for recognition within organizations, the readiness of the churches to vie with each other for membership, etc. Keeping up with the Joneses, the readiness to abandon one organization to join a more prestigious one, the notion that everyone has the right to happiness (a right guaranteed by the constitution!) and the acceptance of the notion that happiness consists of the fulfillment of individual wishes, are intrinsically linked to individualism.

Experimentation to attain happiness is encouraged, and change is seen as

as inevitably leading to a better life. Yet all that is linked to a deep insecurity. This insecurity comes from over-dependence on self, from the lack of social support systems. This insecurity leads to the constant effort to prove oneself, to show that one is stronger and better than others. Racism is part of this insecurity: by proving superiority of white over black, whites may feel more secure.

While Hsu is critical of aspects of individualism he is also very positive. He thinks that democracy is most likely to emerge in individualistic societies (note Hofstede's finding that individualism is correlated with freedom of the press!) and that the American political system is much better than any the Chinese have devised. He approves of school systems that fit the school to the child rather than the child to the school. He notes the large number of scholars, scientists, and statesmen produced in individualistic societies. He also praises the better position of women in individualistic societies.

Finally, Hsu tries an evaluation of the two cultural themes. He notes problems such as those generated by excessive competitiveness, loneliness and crime, in the American scene, and the bondage to the past, the de-emphasis of science and music, the lack of voluntary, nonkinship organizations, in the Chinese scene.

There is also an extensive literature in philosophy, comparative religions, indigenous psychologies, and anthropology that suggests that the contrast between individualism and the conception of the person as a reflection of society is an important contrast between West and East. Western developmental assumptions include the idea that the person becomes more independent with age; Japanese assumptions include the idea that the person becomes more interdependent with age--acquires links to co-workers, and others.

A Thai psychologist (Wichiarajote, 1975) made a list of attributes that contrast what he called "an achieving" (individualistic) and an "affiliative"

(collectivist) society. These include self-assertion vs. respectfulness, equalitarian vs. hierarchical organization, peer influences vs. parental influences, free exchange of ideas vs. fear to express ideas; self-orientation vs. other-orientation, autonomy vs. mutual dependence, casual-spontaneous vs. inhibited-restricted expression, fear of failure vs. fear of rejection, principle-centeredness vs. person-centeredness, organizational loyalty vs. small group loyalty, encouragement of evaluation vs. fear of loss of face, achievement criteria for selection and promotion vs. ascriptive criteria, fairness vs. sacrifice, opportunistic use of others vs. loyalty and obligation, frankness vs. krenghchai (an untranslatable Thai term meaning approximately not telling what you feel), high on achievement motivation vs. affiliation, future oriented vs. present oriented, delay of gratification vs. immediate gratification, self-importance vs. self-effacement, responsibility vs. having fun, creative vs. conforming, material concern vs. spiritual, efficiency vs. peace of mind. In child rearing he found rationality vs. intuitiveness, rational discipline vs. harsh discipline, consistency of reward and punishment vs. inconsistency, mastery training vs. instrumental dependence training, information competency vs. information dependency, emotional competency vs. emotional dependency, and social competency vs. social dependency. Such arguments, by a Thai who has spent six years in the U.S. and hence has a deep view of both cultures, seem revealing.

The anthropological literature is rich with examples of cultures that are to be characterized by different types of collectivism. One can see that some cultures such as the Eskimos can be described by more individualist tendencies, while other cultures such as the Arapesh can be described as more collectivist. Among the Arapesh, Lee (1976) tells us that the lowest form of humanity is the hunter who eats his own kill, i.e., does not consider the needs of others when deciding how to consume. People plant seeds in the gardens of their neighbors, and enjoy most that food that was planted by others. In short, interdependence

is characteristic of the Arapesh. Lee also tells us that the Arapesh may have six isolated plots, which from an efficiency point of view should be cultivated by having six men each work on one of them. But rather than be efficient they emphasize togetherness. All six men will work one plot, then walk to the next and all six will work on the other plot, etc. Of course, all the walking between plots is wasted motion, but the society is perfectly happy to pay that price.

Banfield (1958), discussing his observations in rural Southern Italy, argues that cultures where all associations are limited to family and tribe cannot develop a modern economy. Industrialization requires corporate organizations. Such organization cannot be limited to a narrow ingroup.

He describes what he calls the "amoral familism" of that part of Italy as characterized by the action principle: "maximize the material, short-range advantage of the nuclear family; assume that all others will do likewise" (p.85). Amoral familism is due to the high death rate, the patterns of land tenure, and the lack of an extended family, characteristic of this culture. There are no voluntary organizations, so very little gets done that can benefit the community. The authorities consist of individuals whose only concern is how to enrich themselves. Writing to the authorities is considered offensive (the authority essentially says: "how dare you interfere with my work"). The upper class is highly individualistic, concerned with maximizing their own benefits. Thus, no one furthers the interests of the community, unless by chance they happen to overlap with own interests. Some officials only are concerned with the community because they perceive that as "their job." There are no checks or controls on officials, because that is perceived as the job of higher officials and the government in Rome.

In such societies there is no self-sacrifice for the organization, no trust in others. Laws are disregarded, unless punishment is probable. Bribes for officials are common. Officials who claim to be concerned with the welfare of

the community are considered frauds. Votes are cast to maximize family gain. Nothing that will benefit the community but not the self/ingroup directly is voted for. Punishment is perceived as good, because "it keeps people from sinning." Those punished do not feel guilty, only unlucky. No one feels obligated to do anything for a collective larger than the nuclear family.

Such a picture suggests a kind of collectivism that controls a very narrow band of situations (areas) and extreme individualism (maximize own benefit) in every other area. The realization that a society can be both highly collectivist (because of the great importance of the ingroup) and also individualistic, because many people behave individualistically, suggests the need for conceptual development of a clearer understanding of the meaning of this dimension, to be provided below.

The need to make distinctions among different kinds of individualism is apparent in the following anecdote: The new musical director of the Philadelphia Orchestra, one of the top 10 orchestras in the world, is Italian Riccardo Mutti. In an interview with the French magazine L'Express (September, 1982 issue) he was asked why Italy has produced such a large number of great conductors, including himself, and no major orchestras. He said that "Italians are too individualistic to play well in an orchestra." Presumably, in an orchestra one has to adjust well to others, which means adjustment in the area of work-relationships. Italians may be low in the extent they are influenced by work relationships; but high in the area of influence in family relationships. By contrast, Americans, who get the world's top individualism scores in Hofstede's (1980) work, have five of the ten top orchestras in the world, perhaps because Americans are influenced by co-workers more than Italians. Thus, we identified two types of individualism--in all relations outside the family, or in relations with individuals outside the workgroup.

Quite similar to the Italian situation described by Banfield, is the

situation in rural Greece. Triandis and Vassiliou (1972) collected multimethod data from interviews, observations, questionnaires, tests, and did experiments to obtain some impression of the cultural differences between Greece and the U.S. They identified the Greek ingroup (family and friends) as relatively narrow, a source of protection, social insurance, and the setting within which one can relax. Relations with outgroup members (everybody else) are suspicious, competitive, and uncooperative. Ingroup authorities are accepted; outgroup authorities are rejected, defied, undermined, resented. The strongest tie is the parent-child link; in the U.S. the stronger tie is the spouse-spouse link. In Greece children remain interdependent with parents as long as the parents live. In the U.S. children are encouraged to become independent, to do "their own thing," once they have reached a certain age.

In Greece there is much intimacy in ingroup roles, and much more conflict in roles such as landlord-tenant, boss-subordinate, than is perceived in the U.S. In Greece the self is entangled with the ingroup. Achievement is not individual achievement but the achievement of the ingroup. If a member of the ingroup achieves fame, that is wonderful because it elevates the ingroup and puts down the outgroup. Within the ingroup, influence such as criticism is acceptable. But criticism from the outgroup is rejected, and a facade of arrogance, dogmatism, and an all-knowing personality is presented. Social control is considered good (p. 324-325). In responding to a variety of attitude items the Greeks had lower variance than the corresponding U.S. samples and they indicated they did not mind to be judged by the organizations to which they belonged. The concepts FREEDOM and PROGRESS were conceived in collective terms (national) in Greece and individual terms in the U.S. The major values in the U.S. were found to be achievement and efficiency; the major values in Greece were good social relations and social control.

American values have been described by many. For example, Sampson (1977)

notes the emphasis on self-sufficiency. The U.S. energy policy, the emphasis on everyone having his own car, his own TV, etc. personal responsibility for success and failure, are characteristics of this American orientation. Rokeach's (1973) studies show that the highest value is honesty. Thus the person who tells another an unpleasant truth is seen favorably in the U.S. and unfavorably in most of the rest of the world. Saving face is very important in collectivist societies. In Thailand one is not even supposed to tell directly something unpleasant, so that instead of saying "your house is in flames" one is supposed to say "it may be good for you to go see your house"!

Rokeach's (1973) analysis of political systems along the axes of emphasis on the values FREEDOM (highly individualistic) and EQUALITY (collectivist) is interesting. He creates a 2 by 2 table where high emphasis on both is characteristic of socialists, low emphasis on both is characteristic of fascists, high emphasis on FREEDOM and low on EQUALITY is characteristics of conservatives like Reagan, and high emphasis on EQUALITY and low emphasis on FREEDOM is characteristic of communists. Various past U.S. presidents are in different places in the high FREEDOM, low EQUALITY quadrant, with Kennedy and Johnson in the middle between high and low emphasis on EQUALITY. Content analyses of inaugural addresses and publications supported this conceptualization. For example in Hitler's Mein Kampf the most frequent themes are racial purity, health, and national defense--i.e., having nothing to do with either FREEDOM or EQUALITY. Goldwater's acceptance speech has the famous emphasis on FREEDOM, which lost him the election. Lenin's writings say much about EQUALITY, state power (low FREEDOM) and wisdom.

Jones and Bock (1960) used abbreviated versions of Morris' 13 ways of life as stimuli, and male college student samples from the U.S. (white), U.S. (black), India, Japan, China and Norway. One of the ways of life comes closest to the meaning of collectivism, as discussed here. Its wording was "sympathy, concern for others; restraint of one's self-assertiveness." The mean ratings on a 7 = "I like

very much" to 1 = "I dislike very much" scale for the U.S. whites (52), U.S. blacks (61), Indians (76), Japanese (71), and Chinese (70) certainly suggest lesser emphasis on this variable by the U.S. whites. Choynowski (1968) added Polish and Hungarian samples and computed different scale values, which showed the U.S. and Hungary with the lowest scores on Collectivism, Poland about like China, and India still the highest.

Tanaka (1978) surveyed samples around the Pacific Ocean and found support for the view that there are differences in individualism. For example, the individualistic Australians and New Zealanders (see Hofstede's, 1980, data) selected the goal "to do whatever I think worth doing" 50% and 64% of the time, respectively, while the Indian (12%), Japanese (32%) and Pakistani (8%) percentages were lower; the Indians and Pakistanis selected to "acquire high status" 36% and 34% of the time respectively, while the Australians did so only 1% of the time (see also Triandis et al., 1972, for the Indian emphasis on status); to "do something good for society" was popular in India (30%), Indonesia (38%), Pakistan (38%) and not so popular in Australia (15%) and New Zealand (14%). Personal happiness was emphasized in Australia (70%), Japan (92%), and New Zealand (78%) but not in other countries; "growth of the country" was emphasized in India (86%), Pakistan (93%) and Vietnam (88%).

Garlow and Noll (1967) identified empirically two factors that appear to correspond to our continuum. American subjects were clustered by their responses into those who emphasized (a) reciprocal love, sensitivity to others, warm emotional responsiveness and de-emphasized managing, directing, excelling and striving; and (b) those who emphasized solitude, individuality, independence and de-emphasized humanitarian efforts, interest in other persons, loyalty to others, and sharing.

Within culture there are probably major individual differences on individualism-collectivism, which will be manifested on other kinds of dimensions. Swap

and Rubin (1983) developed a dimension of interpersonal orientation that contrasts those who are high (collectivist) with those who are low (individualist) on the extent people are interested and reactive to other people. They found that those who are low are more interested in economic relationships. Also, the highs expressed greater liking than did the lows for a partner who had self-disclosed to them. Females and highs were more concerned with equality than with equity, while males and lows tended to allocate rewards according to equity theory. Many of the items of the Swap and Rubin scale appear to be relevant to the individualism-collectivism dimension. For example on the low side is the item "I would rather think of a personal problem by myself than discuss it with others" while on the high side is the item "Other people are the source of my greatest pleasure and pain."

In summary, both cultural, cross-cultural, and individual difference measures appear to reflect the allocentric-idiocentric dimension.

3. A Theoretical Framework for the Allocentric-Idiocentric Dimension

Allocentrism is defined as greater emphasis on the views, needs, goals and concerns of the ingroup than of oneself. Idiocentrism is greater emphasis on own views, needs, goals and concerns than on the views, needs, goals and concerns of others.

Idiocentrism cannot emerge unless there is a perceived difference between the views, needs, goals and concerns of others and of the person. Thus, persons who see themselves as having totally overlapping views, needs, goals, and concerns with those of their ingroup are necessarily allocentric. However, this kind of allocentrism may be different from the kind where the person perceives a difference and chooses to give more weight to the views of the ingroup.

There are many situations where ingroup norms and the person's perceived affect toward a behavior or perceived consequences of the behavior are inconsistent. For example, the ingroup may require the person to fight its enemies,

but fighting may be a very negative behavior for the person, and the perceived consequences of such behavior are likely to be also very negative. If the person does what the ingroup specifies under this condition, the person is more allocentric than idiocentric; vice versa if the person does what is consistent with the affect toward the behavior or with the perceived consequences for the self.

The definition of the ingroup is crucial. It is almost certain that people are allocentric only with respect to specified others. In some cultures the ingroup is very narrow--say, just family and friends. In other cultures it is broader, say all those who are residents of the same city, or fellow nationals, or co-religionists. In the case of some exceptional individuals the ingroup is the whole of mankind, and the needs of mankind, as the individual perceives them, determine the individual's behavior. The basis for inclusion in the ingroup can be blood-relationship, kinship, friendship, political ideology; or territorial, racial, or religious similarity; or any other human trait that has importance in a particular situation.

Triandis and Vassiliou (1972) in discussing the Greek ingroup stated that while this is usually a very narrow group (family and friends and others who are concerned with one's welfare) it becomes the country in time of war. Thus, it is situationally, as well as culturally determined. This view is also adopted by Brewer and Campbell (1976) who wrote:

"In the preceding chapter it was suggested that the absence of convergent boundaries between social groups may have adaptive significance, permitting flexibility in adapting patterns of alliance to correspond to differing functional requirements. A similar view has been expressed by Triandis (1972:351): 'In a more general sense we might define the ingroup as the set of people with whom the person believes that it is appropriate to cooperate to achieve a particular goal. This means that for every group goal there may be a different ingroup.'

This perspective suggests that the demands of a multiethnic society would promote a cognitive flexibility of individuals that permits mobilization of alternative sympathetic responses in ways that avoid costly approach-avoidance conflict." (p. 145).

Connotations of the Dimension

Allocentrism connotes high interdependence, interpersonal sensitivity, conformity, readiness to be influenced by others, mutual sympathy, personalismo (Wanting to deal with known persons even if they are incompetent), self-sacrifice for ingroup members. It also suggests that ingroup members will be trusted and one will feel well when something good happens to them.

Idiocentrism connotes independence, low conformity, little sympathy, choice of experts over friends for partners, little readiness to sacrifice for others.

Extreme idiocentrism is narcissism. It is useful to note, however, that Waterman (1981) asks whether extreme individualism necessarily leads to narcissism, egocentrism and alienation. He answers in the negative, and states that "ethical individualism" promotes helping, cooperation, and pro-social behaviors. He takes to task critics of American individualism such as M. B. Smith (1978), Hogan (1975), Lasch (1978) and Sampson (1977) and argues that ethical individualism is not antithetical to interdependence. He argues that there may be cases of unscrupulous competition, atomistic self-containment, alienation, overemphasis on privatism, and such people may be narcissistic and characterized by "selfism." But he describes "ethical individualism" as characterized by internal locus of control, self-actualization, and principled moral reasoning. Its essence is self-honest, freedom of choice, doing what is best for you if that does not harm others, internal locus of control, personal responsibility, respect for others, reciprocity and concern for the effect of own action on others.

Waterman's "ethical individualist" is concerned for all others, thus uses

mankind as an ingroup. Furthermore, such a person is likely to emphasize equity in interpersonal relationships (Waterman, 1981, p. 766). Waterman defends the "ethical individualist" as a person who (a) can be creative and thus benefit others, (b) can be a good model for the actions of others, (c) trusts others and is trusted by others, (d) is free to cooperate and does so because of inner urges (one is reminded of Kelman's, 1958, internalization vs. compliance), (e) emphasizes equity, and (f) has had the opportunity to choose the person s/he will work with. Such a person "knows" who s/he is, and that leads to more intimacy with others. Self-actualization means concern for all mankind, altruism, generosity, and is negatively correlated with Machiavellianism. Waterman praises those cultures where individual and societal goals are consistent (high synergy cultures) where a win/win (Likert & Likert, 1976) orientation is likely to prevail, and completes the paper by admitting that American society creates "narcissists," but argues that they are not "individualists."

Rianoshek (1980, p. 105) argues that increased independence and interdependence go hand in hand. All human relationships involve both. There are some relationships that might be called symbiotic-dependent, as in the traditional male-female roles in Western society, where each depends on the other, and the relationship is symbiotic. As both partners move toward independence, by playing both the instrumental and expressive roles of a marriage, they develop more interdependence. Both can be both nurturant and dominant at different points in time. Such a conceptualization, far from seeing the individualist as influenced by the self, sees the person operating in a highly coordinated social network.

Rotenberg (1977) distinguished between "alienating individualism," often found in the West, where loneliness is reported to be a real problem, from "reciprocal individualism" which he believes is characteristic of the Japanese. In "reciprocal individualism" there is emphasis on affiliation, nurturance, and

behavior is strongly under the influence of roles and obligations. But the individual is allowed to find him/herself within the network of social relationships. As long as basic obligations to the family and work group are met, the individual is free to be her/himself.

Rakoff (1978) discusses the "illusion of detachment" and argues that in North America there is an overemphasis on individuality and self-actualization, which has resulted in a sharp reduction of social support systems and an increase in narcissistic tendencies. He condemns such trends as being promoted by psychologists and educators who misunderstand human developmental needs. Such a view is consistent with the criticisms of American society included in M. B. Smith's presidential address to APA (1978), in Hogan's (1975) concern about the erosion of traditional values, in Lasch's (1978) argument that narcissism is associated with Hobbes' "war of all against all," with Sampson's warning (1977) that extreme individualism will require an authoritarian government to control individual tendencies, and his concern for the emergence of "self-contained individualism," where the individual is not linked with others.

Toward a Conceptual Clarification

The proliferation of distinctions and qualifiers of the word individualism suggests the need for the development of a theoretical framework about the topic. What follows is an attempt to develop such a framework.

Consider two dimensions: (a) Sources of influence on a person's social behavior, and (b) social situations within which the collective is permitted to exert influence.

The Sources of Influence dimension may be defined as follows:

1. The self
2. Parents and children
3. Spouse
4. Other relatives

5. Friends
6. Co-workers
7. Neighbors
8. People in ad hoc groups who appear similar to self
9. People in ad hoc groups who appear dissimilar to oneself
10. Countrymen
11. Mankind

A person may be influenced by each of these. Furthermore, different individuals may utilize a different rank-order for those entities, in terms of how much influence they experience from each of them. As a result one can visualize a very large number of types of individuals. Some examples are shown in Figure 1.

This conceptualization suggests that some individuals may be exceptionally high in their use of a particular source of influence. For example, for the great religious or political leader or scientist mankind may be a major source of concern. Such a person may consider the views, needs and goals of all mankind, try to develop and use universal norms, develop and use beliefs shared with all mankind and be ready to cooperate with everyone to achieve such ends. A critical issue, of course, is what is the relative strength of the influence from mankind vs. the self. As Churchill put it, describing Lenin: His goal was to save the world; his method, to destroy it. Thus Lenin was an individualist imposing his conception on the world. Certainly, the romantic 19th century European personality, as exemplified in Nietzsche's Übermensch, was highly individualistic also. So, of necessity must be most national or corporation leaders. The U-shaped profile is one of leaders, just as it is that of "ethical individualists." Other profiles can readily be visualized, such as the narcissist who is very high on the self-influence and low on everything else. The flower children of the 1960s, various crusaders, would have profiles that are rather skewed toward the self.

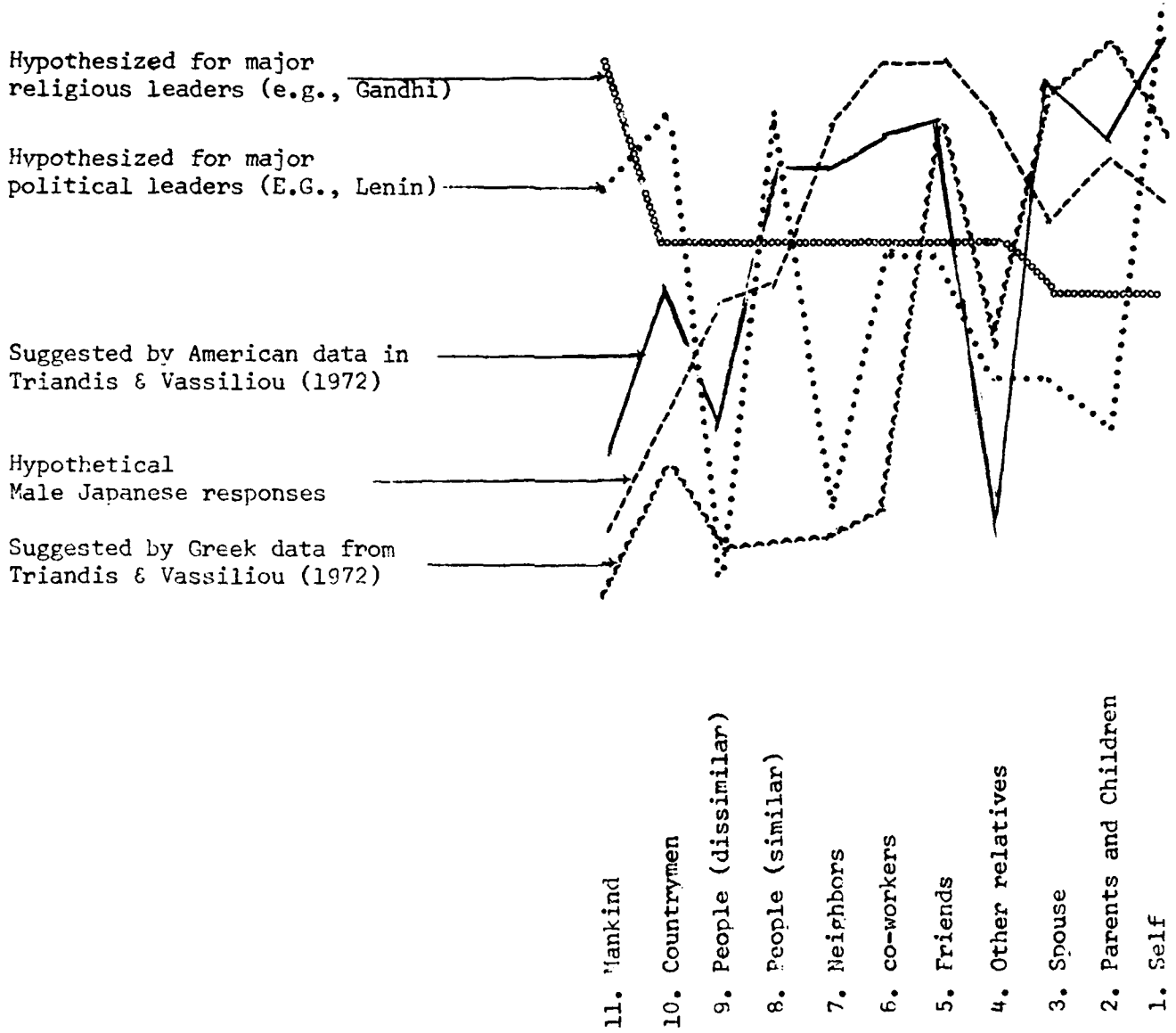


Figure 1: Profiles of Influence

One might think of profiles that are broad-shallow, i.e., receive influence from many sources, but the influence is not very great; or narrow-deep, i.e., receive influence from a few sources and it is very great. In general the Western, Northern individualist is broad-shallow. This means that such a person is susceptible to influence from a broad range of others, but only moderately so, so that the self does play a predominant role. By contrast, the East-Southern collectivist is narrow-deep. He is influenced by a few sources but very much, so that the self is eclipsed by the group. The sources might be the nuclear family (e.g., Italy), the co-workers (e.g., Japan), the party (e.g., member of the communist party in the U.S.S.R.), and so on. It seems reasonable to assume, given the limited human capacity for information processing, that the area under the curve in Figure 1 is about the same for most people. Thus, those who are deep are necessarily narrow; those who are broad are necessarily shallow.

We turn now to the second axis, the social situations within which others are permitted to exert influence. Again the rank order of these situations will vary from person to person, and hence from culture to culture. A crude ranking for most Americans may be as follows:

1. Marriage--who can a family member marry
2. Religion--what religious beliefs is one to hold
3. Language--what language is one to speak
4. Friendship--who can be one's friends
5. Education--what education is one to have
6. Work--what kind of work is one to do
7. Residence--where is one to live, what neighbors is one to have
8. Trade Relations--where is one to shop
9. Politics--what political views is one to have
10. Aesthetics--what aesthetic preferences in painting, music, folklore, cutlery, etc. is one to have

11. Technology and Food Consumption--what technological objects (computers, refrigerators, etc.) is one to have; what food is one to eat.

In highly collectivist societies--e.g., the Amish, the Dukhabors--the collectivity is permitted to exert influence on all those areas. In extreme individualism the collectivity is permitted to exert influence in none of those areas. Of course, the person's age is a crucial variable. Even in highly individualistic societies parents are assumed to have a role in at least the first five areas, as long as the child is young. But, with teenagers they may have a role in only one or two of these. There are few societies where the State (the countrymen) has much of a role in the marriage area, but there are some Muslem societies where the state has much to say about religion. There are few societies where collectivities have a role in technological decisions.

Thus, the two dimensions constitute a matrix within which we might enter the degree of influence that occurs. If we use a crude scale such as 3=much, 2=moderate, 1=slight, 0=none, a person's matrix may look like Figure 2.

The particular example shows a person whose individualistic tendencies (top row) are tempered by influences from various collectives. Thus, there are 12 units of influence in the Technology area, 14 units of influence in the Marriage area, and so on. Such a profile, then, would be that of a collectivist, since the collective influences are much greater than the self-influences. One can imagine, also, a profile with 3s on the top row and zeros everywhere else. That would be an extreme individualist.²

In some societies additional rows would be required. For example, in a kibbutz one would have to have a row to represent the other members of the kibbutz. Similarly, one would need a row for co-religionists in many cultures (Amish, etc.), or a row for members of one's commune, or ship, or school, or professional association, or club, or lodge, or trade-partners, or union, or political allies, or fellow consumers. Thus, in certain kinds of collectives

Self	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Parents	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	3
Spouse	3	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3
Relatives	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	3	2
Friends	2	3	3	3	2	2	2	3	3	1	2
Co-workers	2	1	1	1	2	3	2	2	1	0	1
Neighbors	2	0	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	0	0
Similar	1	2	2	0	1	1	2	2	0	0	0
Dissimilar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Countrymen	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
Mankind	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
	Technology and Food Consumption	Aesthetics	Politics	Trade	Residence	Work	Education	Friendship	Language	Religion	Marriage

Figure 2: Social Influences in Differing Areas of a Person's Life

additional rows are needed, while for certain cultures the existing rows could be dropped (in the example the row with dissimilar others could have been omitted).

Subjects from collectivist societies often report that they do not disagree with members of their ingroup. In such cases the views of the ingroup and the self overlap to such an extent that there is no "independent information" obtained from the self. In such a case the self row can be dropped.

On the Antecedents of Idiocentrism.

Idiocentrism is undoubtedly determined by many factors. The list of hypotheses which follows is designed to provide a framework for research on the determinants of this orientation.

Functional Significance of Interdependence

There are situations (cultures, occupations, jobs) where solitary activities are more effective than group activities. In simple cultures where food gathering or solitary hunting or fishing are the primary means of subsistence, or in complex cultures activities such as writing a book are best carried out by individuals working alone. However, there are situations where the opposite pattern is functional. For instance, in developing and implementing an irrigation system cooperation is essential.

There is a substantial body of evidence (Barry et al., 1959; Berry, 1979) indicating that agricultural societies socialize their children severely, emphasize hierarchical relationships, desire children who are reliable and obedient. By contrast, hunting and gathering, non-literate societies want their children to be self-reliant, and socialize them in lenient ways, rarely emphasizing hierarchy and obedience.

Idiocentric patterns of behavior may be more effective in free-enterprise commercial activities, and the difference in economic success between protestant and catholic countries noted by many writers (e.g., Max Weber, McClelland) may

be reflecting the greater emphasis on idiocentric behaviors permitted by the former religious viewpoint.

Thus, we have

Hypothesis 1: The more functional idiocentric behaviors are in a particular culture or situation the more likely it is that people will adopt idiocentric behavior patterns.

Population Density; Number of Persons in the Family

It seems likely that in places where population density (It should be noted that low density can be found in many situations, e.g., deserts, the arctic, high mountains, various population frontiers.) is very high survival will require the societal regulation of behavior to a greater extent than in places where people live alone and at great distances from others. Similarly, in a large family it will be difficult for rules to be developed so as to take into account the needs of specific individuals. Thus, idiocentric children will be less likely to emerge in large families. Hence the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 2: The greater the density of the population the more likely is the culture to be allocentric.

Hypothesis 3: The larger the number of children in the family the more likely is the individual child likely to be allocentric.

Hypothesis 3a: In any population, the most idiocentric adults will have been only children.³

Note: It will be interesting to watch developments in the People's Republic of China during the 2010-2030 period. Since the majority of 6 year olds in China now have no siblings (due to population control measures) they should develop to be idiocentric, but in an allocentric culture. This should result in large tensions among the generations, tensions which have already emerged in Japan but may be more severe in China.

Migration

Hypothesis 4: Those who migrate to another country are more likely to be idio-centric than allocentric.

Migration implies leaving behind the ingroup to find fortune in some other society. Such persons must be less allocentric. Evidence supplied by Forgas, Morris and Furnham (1982) is consistent with this prediction. They studied migrants to Australia as well as middle class Australians, and asked their subjects to make attributions concerning the causes of wealth. The migrants made more individualistic attributions such as being born with a good business sense, hard work, great effort, intelligence, taking risks; the middle class Australians made more collectivist attributions, such as "know the right people."

Modernity

Hypothesis 5: Those higher in modernity (Inkeles & Smith, 1974) will be more idiocentric than those low in modernity.

Inkeles and Smith found that education, urban residence and factory experience were associated with modernity. Modernity was defined as consisting of openness to new experience (e.g., willingness to move to another country), readiness for social change (less rooted in tradition), ready to have individual opinions, awareness of diversity of attitudes and opinions (i.e., person sees self as less similar to others), positive evaluation of variations of opinion, knows more, present or future orientation, perceived control over the environment, planning, calculability (confidence that the world is calculable, that one can predict what will happen), valuing technical skills, places high value on formal education, protective of the dignity of subordinate others, understands the logic of decision making in industry, believes in universalistic rules applied equally to all rather than feels that it is appropriate to favor friends in distributing rewards, and optimism about fate and the inevitability of things. It is clear that many of these themes are consistent

with the idiocentric perspective. Obviously, not all of them are, but the overlap seems sufficient to support the hypothesis.

The Fit between Existing Data and the above Variables

The largest pool of data on the individualism-collectivism dimension is Hofstede's (1980). We note that the most individualistic countries are those of North West Europe and the U.S., as well as the countries heavily influenced by the British (Australia, New Zealand). The most collectivist countries are in Latin America, South and East Asia and the Pacific. The influence of the Iberian culture in seven of the top twelve collectivist countries suggests the importance of collectivism in Hispanic culture, discussed earlier in this report. In short, one could use the British/U.S. versus the Iberian axis as one way to test the above hypotheses.

If we use the protestant-catholic contrast as a measure of the extent to which idiocentric behaviors may be functional there appears to be some evidence in support of the first hypothesis. The second hypothesis may also be supported in part considering the relative densities in South and East Asia vs. Europe. The third is consistent with known population trends (average number of children is lower in Europe than in South America). The fourth hypothesis is consistent with the observation that a very large number of distinguished scientists are first born or only children (Roe, 1956). One must assume that distinction in science requires a good deal of solitary work. Hypotheses 4 is consistent with the data of Forgas et al. (1982). Hypothesis 5 requires within country data, since the argument in Inkeles and Smith is that there are highly modern individuals in every country.

Acculturation

To the extent that Hispanics are allocentric and Mainstream Americans are idiocentric we should expect the degree of acculturation among Hispanics to be related to the idiocentricity of these subjects. In short,

Hypothesis 6: Among Hispanic populations in the U.S., the more acculturated the subjects the more idiocentric they will be.

There is already some evidence consistent with this hypothesis. Triandis, Marin, Betancourt and Chang (1982) found this relationship.

On the Consequents of Idiocentrism

Hofstede found relationships between individualism and high levels of economic development, the number of Nobel prizes received, occupational mobility, freedom of the press, the presence of unions that emphasize specific goals (e.g., more money) rather than attempt to control society, preference for small over large companies (presumably in a small company the individual's needs can be satisfied more readily), preference for occupations where the person is autonomous, preference for jobs within the company where autonomy is high; and greater numbers of individuals who are competitive, rootless, alienated. In individualist cultures organizations are democratic, with group goal setting (so individual needs can be reflected in group goals) more common, pleasure is an important value.

These findings, and the other results reported in our previous review of the literature, suggest the following hypotheses:

7. The more idiocentric a culture the greater the economic development.
 - 7a. larger the number of Nobel prizes.
 - 7b. greater the occupational mobility.
 - 7c. more unions emphasize specific goals rather than broad societal change.
 - 7d. greater the attraction of autonomous activities.
 - 7e. greater the competitiveness of individuals.
8. more interpersonal relations are means to an end.

- 8a. The more idiocentric a culture the more people emphasize equity over equality in the distribution of rewards.
9. more group goal setting will take individual viewpoints into account.
- 9a. more democratic the organization of industry.
- 9b. more freedom of the press.
10. more religious ideas are individual rather than group ideas.
- 10a. more internal locus of control among individuals.
- 10b. more guilt is used as a form of social control.
11. more a person's behavior is more important than the person's demographic attributes.
12. less acquiescence in responses to attitude items.
13. more experimentation with new life styles.
14. more autonomy and pleasure are emphasized.
15. less social support is experienced (the Sarason, Levine, Bashman & Sarason, 1983, scale may be used to test this).
- 15a. more insecurity, rootlessness, alienation.
- 15b. higher the frequency of suicides.

4. Measurement

The conceptualization just advanced lends itself rather readily to measurement. One should start with interviews with individuals in each culture, to discover (a) the sources of influence and (b) the areas of influence that are important in each culture. Figure 2 might be used as a guide in asking questions. Once a dozen sources of influence and areas of influence are established, and the typical rank-order in each culture is made clear, one could print a

Collectivism Matrix, such as Figure 2, and ask people to enter numbers between 0 and 3 to indicate how much influence, concern, willingness to cooperate with, and interdependence they experience within each area from each source.

Another method, that would probably give even more reliable results, but requires more experimenter time, is to develop 100 or so statements of the form "when I want to have a person as my friend and my parents object to it, I drop that person as my friend." The matrix can be used as a guide to construct the statements. A Q-sort could then be done forcing the subject to indicate how true each statement is. By sorting into four piles (Never True; Sometimes True; Frequently True; Always True) the subject would give data of a very similar kind as those described above.

The Swap and Rubin (1983) scale seems directly related to individualism-collectivism. Its relationship to the other measures of individualism would clarify the meaning of both constructs.

In addition, a number of other methods of measurements suggest themselves. Knight (1981) presented to children three outcomes and asked them to choose one.

Each outcome consisted of a number of chips, some of which would be obtained by the subject and the other chips by a friend or schoolmate. One outcome included five chips for self and five for the friend; another five for self and three for the friend; and a third outcome five chips for the self and one chip for the friend. The child was told that the chips could be exchanged for toys, after the experiment. Since each of the three outcomes gave the child the same number of chips (5) the choice of outcomes allowed the child to show equality, altruism and/or a win/win orientation (in the first outcome) a superiority orientation (in the third outcome) or an individualistic orientation (in the middle outcome). The children were presented with ten trials having such combinations of chips, and the location of each

of the types of outcome was in each of the three positions an equal number of times. In addition, children predicted how their schoolmates would play this game and the actual and predicted behavior was found to be significantly related. Thus, there is some construct validity to this game. Also TAT measures of cooperativeness vs. competitiveness showed some convergence with the scores obtained in this game.

The Human Relations Area Files might be content analyzed to obtain indices of collectivism. One might even use the Collectivism Matrix to enter the results of the content analysis. Other cultural products such as songs, movies, newspapers, etc. may also be content analyzed, and entered in the matrix.

Observations of social behavior may identify situations where a person changes course, as a result of influence from others. For example, a student who wants to take a particular course and after discussion with a parent takes another course would be influenced by the parent in the area of education, and that information can be entered in the Collectivism Matrix.

Surveys may be conducted to measure attitudes and values that reveal collectivism. For example, in the Rokeach (1973) method of measurement of values one can examine the relative importance of collectivist values such as being helpful, loving, obedient, polite and responsible and the relative importance of individualist values, such as being ambitious, capable, courageous, imaginative, and independent. Goals such as equality, family security, mature love, national security, social recognition and true friendship are more collectivist, while goals such as a comfortable life, exciting life, accomplishment, freedom, pleasure and salvation are more individualist. Rokeach reported (p. 49) correlations between need for achievement and emphasis on independence (.35), and being an intellectual (.25); correlations between the need for affiliation and emphasis on true friendship (.32), and between the need for power and emphasis on freedom (.25) and de-emphasis on obedience

($r = -.30$). Rokeach's data show American emphases on individualism (ambitious, courageous, capable) though there are also some collectivist themes (responsible, helpful). Goals like freedom, comfortable life, and accomplishment are very high for Americans, though family security and equality are also important. In Rokeach's data the upper class had more individualistic values (accomplishment, being imaginative, intellectual, logical) though there were also some collectivist themes (family security, mature love, responsible). The lower class tended to have more collectivist values (obedient, polite) and fewer individualist values (salvation). Republicans emphasized individualist values (being exciting, logical), and Democrats some collectivist values (recognition).

One can think of items to use in surveys that will pick emphases on the two themes. For example: "Should a major corporation promote to a top job a manager that is extremely competent but difficult to get along with?" The response continuum could be from Yes, for Sure to No, for Sure, with Yes and No as intermediate points. "Should a major research organization fire an engineer who has many inventions to his name, but who fights a lot with colleagues and subordinates?"

"A young man wants to marry a girl that his family does not approve of. Should he go ahead and marry her anyway?" Yes, for Sure...No for Sure."

"A 20 year old girl wants to change her religion to a religion her parents strongly object to. Should she go ahead anyway?" "A company executive would like to buy a painting for his office that most of his co-workers dislike. Should he go ahead anyway?"

It is obvious that the cells of Figure 2 can inspire a number of questions of this type. In each case the person's desires can be pitted against the desires, views, influences of some collectivity. Since in some cultures some of these combinations would be absurd, to avoid antagonizing the subjects one should not include all combinations. Probably rows 2 to 8 and 12 columns or

a total of 84 questions, would be sufficient for a sampling of the matrix.

The Appendix includes items designed to provide separate measurement of (a) the perceived similarity between the person and others, (b) the perceived degree of attention paid to others, (c) the extent to which the individual is influenced by others, (d) the extent individual over other goals are chosen. Such measures of allocentrism may prove sufficient, but if our theoretical analysis above is correct, it is important to develop an approach that measures tendencies toward idiocentrism independently of tendencies toward allocentrism. Such an approach is possible by using the model for the prediction of behavioral intentions from norms or affect developed by either Fishbein (1980) or Triandis (1980). Both these models utilize normative as well as affective inputs.

Triandis (1980) conceptualized behavioral intentions (self-instructions on how to act) as a function of social factors (norms, roles, interpersonal agreements), the affect toward the behavior, and the perceived consequences of the behavior. Clearly, the first of these factors is allocentric, and the other two idiocentric, though the last factor can have societal relevance, when the perceived consequences have relevance for others. In population studies done in Mexico and the U.S. Davidson et al. (1976), employing this model, found the lower class Mexican women more influenced by the social factor, while the upper class Mexican women were like American women--mostly influenced by the perceived consequences factor.

The Triandis (1980) model can be used in different cultures (see Davidson et al. for example) to find the relative weights given to the Social (allocentric) and to the Affect toward the behavior ("pure idiocentric") components of social behavior.

Suppose we were to sample behaviors from Figure 2. For example, the intention to marry a particular person, to become a close friend with a particular person, to take a particular job, to live in a particular town, to vote

for a particular candidate, to buy a particular painting, to buy a particular appliance. For each class of behavior we could ask a person for a specific instance of this behavior. Then, we could ask how much others may play a role in his/her decision to behave in this way. From such preliminary interviews we could select behaviors where the influence from others is in one direction (pressure for or against the behavior occurring) and the person's affect is in the opposite direction (person does not enjoy or does enjoy doing the behavior). For example, the ratings of the social component could be of the form:

"My Mother wants me very much to marry this person"

and could be answered on a Strongly Agree-Disagree 5-point scale. Summing the various scales across significant others one would have a measure of this social component.

One could independently obtain ratings of "marrying this person" on evaluative semantic differential scales--e.g., pleasant-unpleasant; nauseating-enjoyable.

A regression analysis of this data, predicting the behavioral intention to "marry this person" from the above mentioned two components would provide independent measures of the two components. The size of the regression weights could be used as an estimate of idiocentric vs. allocentric tendencies. Presumably, the average size of the allocentrism scores across several behaviors would be sufficiently stable to permit valid measurement of the dimension.

The best strategy may be to use the several measures just described with a widely available (e.g., psychology undergraduates) population of subjects, and select the best (most reliable, more internally consistent, best correlations with total score) methods. Then, a known group validity study could employ samples from Puerto Rico, or Hispanics in Texas and California and compare them with samples of the Mainstream. Once reliable and valid measurement

has been achieved it may be possible to select highly allocentric and idiocentric individuals in any population, thus facilitating data collection, in future studies.

5. Hypotheses Concerning Hispanics in the Navy

If the analyses presented earlier are sound we anticipate the following contrast between Hispanics and Mainstream:

1. Hispanics will be less concerned with job autonomy than the Mainstream.
2. Hispanics will prefer cooperative to competitive job assignments.
3. Hispanics will prefer group incentives to individual incentive schemes.
4. Hispanics will find the Navy bureaucracy more objectionable than will the Mainstream.
5. Hispanics will object to supervisors low in consideration to a greater degree than will Mainstream individuals.
6. Hispanics will emphasize equality and need rather than equity in the distribution of rewards.
7. Hispanics will emphasize individual participation in group goal setting less than the Mainstream.
8. Hispanics will be more responsive to shame than to guilt methods of social control.
9. Hispanics will be more conservative in their choice of life styles than the Mainstream.
10. Hispanics will need more social supports for satisfaction in the Navy than do Mainstream subjects.
11. Hispanics will feel a greater need for life within a social network than will Mainstream subjects.

If Hypothesis 1 is supported it has implications for job assignment and job satisfaction. Testing could be done through correlation of these two variables in field settings, in which both Hispanics and Mainstream individuals

rate the perceived autonomy of their jobs and their job satisfaction.

Same testing can be done for Hypothesis 2, where job satisfaction may be correlated with perceived cooperativeness.

Same for Hypothesis 3, where job satisfaction may be correlated with the perception of the incentive schemes. In addition, it may be possible to change the incentive scheme and observe the effects of the change.

Hypothesis 4 may best be tested in a study with high school samples, where the image of the Navy, including the perceived degree it is bureaucratic, can be measured.

Measurement of supervisory style by the Ohio State measures, would allow testing of the 5th hypothesis.

Questions about the distribution of rewards could be used to test the 6th hypothesis. If Hypothesis 6 is supported, Navy personnel dealing with Hispanics should be aware of this cultural difference.

Testing may use job satisfaction measures (for Hypothesis 7) for a group where there is much or no individual participation in group goal setting.

Hypothesis 8 would require a survey of reactions to different supervisory control behaviors, and further verification by manipulation of methods of feedback and personnel evaluation.

Hypothesis 9 would suggest that Hispanics will prefer jobs which are more typically found in their communities.

Hypothesis 10 would require the development of ombudsmen and the measurement of the effects of use of such social support systems on the retention and re-enlistment rates of Hispanics in the Navy.

Hypothesis 11 would suggest that Hispanics will seek job situations where they can maintain higher levels of intimacy than would be typical of the mainstream.

It is obvious that adequate tests of these hypotheses will require a great

deal of time. However, they would provide a substantial basis for Navy personnel decisions concerning allocentric populations. The research on the relationship between the allocentric-idiocentric dimension and various kinds of social behavior is likely to become a major contribution to both social and organizational psychology.

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Footnotes

1. I thank Michael Bond, C. Harry Hui, Yoshi Kashima, Kwok Leung, Emiko Shimada, and Marcello Villareal for comments on an earlier draft.
2. In some collectivist cultures the idea of the self does not exist, as it exists in the West. A person is conceptualized as a bundle of roles, such as person-father; person-young people, etc. and the idea that a person has a "trait" is not found in such cultures. The person may have behavior tendencies with respect to specific others, but no tendencies to be, say, aggressive, helpful, etc. Thus, in such societies we should drop the self-row, and only consider the kinds of influences that various others exert on the person's behavior.
3. Hsu makes the point that in China children are accepted by their families unconditionally, while in the U.S. acceptance is conditional, i.e., children have to show that they are independent, self-reliant, and able to achieve. The Chinese child remains interdependent with the parents to a greater extent than the U.S. child. Such interdependence is a source of security, Hsu theorizes, and results in a culture where people are not that concerned with individual achievement. Achievement is good because it is good for the family, not for oneself. By contrast, in the U.S. the child is pushed into the outside world, and has to "construct" his ingroups. Such ingroups might be co-workers, or social clubs, or what not. However, the person does not commit nearly as much energy to any of these ingroups, since the ingroups are means to an end--to develop the self. If the individual is successful he moves to another ingroup. The price paid by the individualist is insecurity. The individual is not sure of acceptance by any ingroup. He must accumulate resources to be accepted. So, the emphasis on material possessions is a means to reduce insecurity. Similarly, achievement is a

means of gaining greater acceptance by the various ingroups.

An important difference between collectivist and individualist cultures is that the importance of the individual-ingroup relationship is greater in the former than in the latter. For examples, parents commit more time, and are more intensively involved in relation to their children in the collectivist, and in exchange they expect the children to commit more resources to them during their old age than is expected in the individualist cultures. Thus, in the collectivist the level of expectation is higher; children are trained to "do their duty". Duties are emphasized, not rights. The lesser involvement of the parents in the individualist cultures corresponds to the lesser involvement of the children, who can develop their independent way of life more readily than in the collectivist cultures, but who also do not commit much energy to any of their ingroups.

The appendix shows two methods that may be used for the study of Individualism-Collectivism.

QUESTIONNAIRE

A person (an individualist or collectivist) is about to make an important decision (e.g., marriage, major trip, job selection). How often is the person likely to spend time considering the implications of the decision (e.g., economic, emotional or physical costs) to others?

- | | | | Please use 1 to indicate <u>all</u> the time |
|-----|--|---|--|
| 1. | Implications for mother | | |
| 2. | spouse | 2 | <u>quite often</u> |
| 3. | siblings | 3 | <u>occasionally</u> |
| 4. | relatives
(e.g., uncles) | 4 | <u>rarely</u> |
| 5. | neighbors | 5 | <u>never</u> |
| 6. | fellow workers | | |
| 7. | good friends | | |
| 8. | acquaintances | | |
| 9. | strangers who live in the same place as person | | |
| 10. | strangers from another country | | |

Consider the person's belongings--e.g., clothes, fishing rod, radio, bicycle. How often would the other use or ask to borrow such belongings?

- | | | | Please use 1 to indicate <u>always</u> borrow |
|-----|----------------------------------|---|---|
| 11. | The person's mother | | |
| 12. | spouse | 2 | <u>often</u> |
| 13. | siblings | 3 | <u>occasionally</u> |
| 14. | relatives
(e.g., uncles) | 4 | <u>rarely</u> |
| 15. | neighbors | 5 | <u>never</u> |
| 16. | fellow workers | | |
| 17. | good friends | | |
| 18. | acquaintances | | |
| 19. | Strangers who live in same place | | |
| 20. | Strangers from another country | | |

Consider behaviors (e.g., fishing, singing) that the person enjoys doing very much. Would the person be likely to give up such activities to save time or money for the other, when the other has indicated that they need such sacrifices?

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|--|
| 21. | If the other is the person's mother | Please use 1 for <u>definitely yes</u> |
| 22. | spouse | 2 <u>probably</u> |
| 23. | sibling | 3 <u>don't know</u> |
| 24. | relative | 4 <u>probably not</u> |
| 25. | neighbor | 5 <u>definitely not</u> |
| 26. | fellow worker | |
| 27. | good friend | |
| 28. | an acquaintance | |
| 29. | a stranger who lives in same town | |
| 30. | a stranger from another country | |

Consider a religious, philosophical or political issue on which the person and the other disagree. What is the position that the person would in the end hold?

- | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|----------|----------|----------|----------|-------------------------|
| The Person's
original position | <u>1</u> | <u>2</u> | <u>3</u> | <u>4</u> | <u>5</u> | The Other's
position |
| 31. | The other is the person's mother | | | | | |
| 32. | spouse | | | | | |
| 33. | sibling | | | | | |
| 34. | relative (e.g., uncle) | | | | | |
| 35. | neighbor | | | | | |
| 36. | friend | | | | | |
| 37. | co-worker | | | | | |
| 38. | an acquaintance | | | | | |
| 39. | a stranger from same place of residence | | | | | |
| 40. | a stranger from another country | | | | | |

Suppose the person did something immoral (e.g., steal from someone). Would s/he worry what the other would think if found out?

Please use 1 to indicate definitely would worry
 2 probably
 3 unsure
 4 probably not worry
 5 definitely would not worry

- | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|
| 41. | If the other is his or her mother |
| 42. | spouse |
| 43. | sibling |
| 44. | relative (e.g., uncle) |
| 45. | neighbor |

- 46. If the other is his or her co-worker
- 47. good friend
- 48. an acquaintance
- 49. a stranger from same place of residence
- 50. a stranger from another country

How much will the person be affected if the other person committed a criminal offense (e.g., intentionally injured someone)?

Please use 1 for to indicate would not be affected

- 2 be somewhat affected,
 perhaps indirectly
- 3 be indirectly affected
- 4 be affected directly
- 5 be seriously affected

- 51. If the other is the person's mother
- 52. spouse
- 53. sibling
- 54. relative (e.g., uncle)
- 55. neighbor
- 56. co-worker
- 57. good friend
- 58. an acquaintance
- 59. a stranger who lives in same place
- 60. a stranger who lives in another country

Suppose the other person succeeded to get a lot of money or win an award. How sure would the person feel that s/he has contributed at least something to the success of the other person?

- 1 - Person would be very sure s/he did not contribute, however little or indirectly.
- 2 - Person would think that s/he probably did not contribute.
- 3 - Person would be unsure as to whether s/he has contributed something.
- 4 - Person would think that s/he has probably contributed at least something.
- 5 - Person would be very sure that s/he has contributed at least something.

- 61. The other is the person's mother
- 62. spouse
- 63. sibling
- 64. relative (e.g., uncle)
- 65. neighbor
- 66. co-worker
- 67. friend
- 68. an acquaintance
- 69. The other is just a stranger who lives in the same geographical location.
- 70. The other is just a stranger who lives in another country.

ANSWER SHEET

What answer will be given by an "individualist" (I) and by a "collectivist" (C) to each question? (Enter the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5, as appropriate.)

	<u>I</u>	<u>C</u>		<u>I</u>	<u>C</u>		<u>I</u>	<u>C</u>		<u>I</u>	<u>C</u>
Question 1	—	—	Question 21	—	—	Question 41	—	—	Question 61	—	—
2	—	—	22	—	—	42	—	—	62	—	—
3	—	—	23	—	—	43	—	—	63	—	—
4	—	—	24	—	—	44	—	—	64	—	—
5	—	—	25	—	—	45	—	—	65	—	—
6	—	—	26	—	—	46	—	—	66	—	—
7	—	—	27	—	—	47	—	—	67	—	—
8	—	—	28	—	—	48	—	—	68	—	—
9	—	—	29	—	—	49	—	—	69	—	—
10	—	—	30	—	—	50	—	—	70	—	—
11	—	—	31	—	—	51	—	—			
12	—	—	32	—	—	52	—	—			
13	—	—	33	—	—	53	—	—			
14	—	—	34	—	—	54	—	—			
15	—	—	35	—	—	55	—	—			
16	—	—	36	—	—	56	—	—			
17	—	—	37	—	—	57	—	—			
18	—	—	38	—	—	58	—	—			
19	—	—	39	—	—	59	—	—			
20	—	—	40	—	—	60	—	—			

In this part of the questionnaire we would like to know how similar you think you are to a variety of persons. If you think that you are extremely similar mark the answer sheet E; if you think that you are extremely different mark the answer sheet A. Use the letters B, C, D to indicate increasing amounts of similarity.

How similar are your religious views to those of

1. your parents
2. most of your relatives
3. your close friends
4. your neighbors or those who live in your dorm
5. your co-workers
6. an average person of your own nationality

A	B	C	D	E
Extremely Different				Extremely Similar

How similar are your preferences for a spouse or intimate friend to the preferences of a spouse for you of

7. your parents
8. most of your relatives
9. your close friends
10. your neighbors or those who live in your dorm
11. your co-workers
12. an average person of your own nationality

A	B	C	D	E
Extremely Different				Extremely Similar

How similar are your tastes for music to those of

13. your parents
14. most of your relatives
15. your close friends
16. your neighbors or those who live in your dorm
17. your co-workers
18. an average person of your own nationality

A	B	C	D	E
Extremely Different				Extremely Similar

How similar are your opinions about the kind of education that you should have to those of

19. your parents
20. most of your relatives
21. your close friends
22. your neighbors or those who live in your dorm
23. your co-workers
24. an average person of your own nationality

A	B	C	D	E
Extremely Different				Extremely Similar

How similar are your views about where you should live (what neighborhood, city, country) to those of

25. your parents
26. most of your relatives
27. your close friends
28. your neighbors or those who live in your dorm
29. your co-workers
30. an average person of your own nationality

A	B	C	D	E
Extremely Different				Extremely Similar

How similar are your political views to those of

31. your parents
32. most of your relatives
33. your close friends
34. your neighbors or those who live in your dorm
35. your co-workers
36. an average person of your own nationality

A	B	C	D	E
Extremely Different				Extremely Similar

How similar are your views about where to shop, and what to buy to those of

- 37. your parents
- 38. most of your relatives
- 39. your close friends
- 40. your neighbors or those who live in your dorm
- 41. your co-workers
- 42. an average person of your own nationality

A	B	C	D	E
Extremely Different				Extremely Similar

How similar are your views about what kind of work (job, career) you should do to those of

- 43. your parents
- 44. most of your relatives
- 45. your close friends
- 46. your neighbors or those who live in your dorm
- 47. your co-workers
- 48. an average person of your own nationality

A	B	C	D	E
Extremely Different				Extremely Similar

Now we would like to know how much influence you think other people exert on your own actions, feelings or thoughts. By influence is meant that you do pay attention to the needs, views and desires of others and you adjust your behavior to take them into account. Mark E on the answer sheet if you pay a great deal of attention and A if you pay no attention; mark B, C and D to indicate increased attention.

In deciding how to vote, how much attention do you pay to the views of your

- 49. parents
- 50. close relatives of your own generation
- 51. close friends
- 52. acquaintances
- 53. neighbors
- 54. co-workers

A	B	C	D	E
Pay no attention				Pay a great deal of attention

In shaping your religious views, how much attention did you pay to the views of your

- 55. parents
- 56. close relatives of your own generation
- 57. close friends
- 58. acquaintances
- 59. neighbors
- 60. co-workers

A	B	C	D	E
Pay no attention				Pay a great deal of attention

When deciding where to shop, and what to buy, how much attention do you pay to the views of your

- 61. parents
- 62. close relatives of your own generation
- 63. close friends
- 64. acquaintances
- 65. neighbors
- 66. co-workers

A	B	C	D	E
Pay no attention				Pay a great deal of attention

When you choose an intimate friend (including a spouse) how much attention would you (or did you) pay to the views of your

- 67. parents
- 68. close relatives of your own generation
- 69. close friends
- 70. acquaintances
- 71. neighbors
- 72. co-workers

A	B	C	D	E
Pay no attention				Pay a great deal of attention

When deciding what kind of work to do, how much attention would you (or did you) pay to the views of your

- 73. parents
- 74. close relatives of your own generation
- 75. close friends
- 76. acquaintances
- 77. neighbors
- 78. co-workers

A	B	C	D	E
Pay no attention				Pay a great deal of attention

When deciding what music to listen to, how much attention do you pay to the views of your

- 79. parents
- 80. close relatives of your own generation
- 81. close friends
- 82. acquaintances
- 83. neighbors
- 84. co-workers

A	B	C	D	E
Pay no attention				Pay a great deal of attention

When deciding what kind of education to have, how much attention do you pay to the views of your

- 85. parents
- 86. close relatives of your own generation
- 87. close friends
- 88. acquaintances
- 89. neighbors
- 90. co-workers

A	B	C	D	E
Pay no attention				Pay a great deal of attention

Suppose you are very eager to take a long trip (for example to study in another country for 2 years) and your absence will inconvenience the people listed below. How much weight will you give to your desires as opposed to the desires of the people listed below. If you will give all the weight to your own desires mark the answer sheet A; if you will give all the weight to the desires of the person listed below mark it E. If you will give some weight to the other's views mark it B; much weight to the other's views mark it C; a great deal of weight to the other's views, but a bit of weight to your own, mark it D.

91. Your father
92. Your mother
93. Your spouse or close friend
94. Your relatives
95. Your casual friends

A	B	C	D	E
All to your own desires	Some to other's views	Much to other's	A great deal to other's	All to other's desires

Suppose you are planning to make an investment that is guaranteed to benefit the people listed below and may or may not benefit you. You would miss the money and could use it to have fun now. Would you do it? Mark A if you are sure you would do it; and mark E if you are sure you would not do it. If you think that you might do it mark B; that you might not do it, mark D; if you are uncertain mark C.

96. Your parents
97. Your spouse
98. Your children
99. Your grandchildren
100. Your great-grandchildren
101. Future generations of people in your country.

A	B	C	D	E
Would	Might	Uncertain	Might not	Would not

Suppose you won a large sum of money at a lottery. Would you give nothing (mark A), give a little of it (mark B), much (mark C), a lot of it (mark D), or all of it (mark E) to the persons listed below?

- 102. Your parents
- 103. Your spouse or close friend
- 104. Your children
- 105. Your grandchildren

A	B	C	D	E
Nothing	Little	Much	A Lot	All

Suppose that one of the persons listed below asked you to help with a job that takes about a week, during a time when you are very busy with your own work. How much help would you give this person? Mark A if the answer is none; B if the answer is 2 days; mark C if the answer is 4 days; mark D if the answer is 6 days; mark E if the answer is the full week.

- 106. Your parents
- 107. Your spouse
- 108. Your children
- 109. Your closest friend
- 110. An acquaintance
- 111. A neighbor
- 112. A co-worker
- 113. A person who is a member of a religious group you dislike.
- 114. A person who lives in the city where you live.

A	B	C	D	E
None	2 days	4 days	6 days	Full week

Suppose one of the persons listed below needs the money you have been saving to buy a new car. Your present car is still running, but it is unsure how long it will continue to run. Would you lend the money to the person listed below?

If the answer is Yes, for sure, mark A; if it is Yes, mark B; if it is No, mark D; and if it is No, for sure, mark E. If you are unsure mark C.

- 115. Your parents
- 116. Your spouse or close friend
- 117. A relative
- 118. A friend
- 119. An acquaintance

A	B	C	D	E
Yes, for sure	Yes	Unsure	No	No, for sure

Suppose you want to marry a person who has done something that is seriously disapproved (e.g., had a divorce, changed religion, or stole money) by the persons listed below. Would you do it anyway?

Mark A if Yes; mark B if No.

- 120. Your mother
- 121. Your father
- 122. Your child
- 123. Your closest friend
- 124. A friend
- 125. An acquaintance

Suppose one of the people listed below won the Nobel Prize. Would you feel somewhat honored that this has happened? Mark A if you would feel most honored and E if you would not feel honored in any way, and the other letters to indicate the degree of honor you would feel.

126. One of your parents

127. Your spouse

128. Your child

129. Your friend

130. An acquaintance

131. A fellow countryman

A	B	C	D	E
Most honored				Not feel honored

Suppose that one of the persons listed below won the Nobel Prize. Would you feel that you have contributed, even though in a small way, to this person's success? Mark A if you are sure; mark B if you think that you have contributed; mark C if you are not sure; mark D if you are convinced that you have not contributed.

132. One of your parents

133. Your spouse or close friend

134. Your child

135. A friend

136. An acquaintance

137. A fellow countryman

138. A fellow worker at your place of work

139. Please recall an instance when you and your parents disagreed about one of your intended actions: you wanted to do one thing and they wanted you to do another. What was the outcome?

I did what they wanted me to do Mark A

I did what I wanted to do " B

Does not apply; did not happen or I did something else. " C

140. Please recall a time when you and one of your closest friends disagreed about something. You wanted to do one thing and your friend wanted you to do something else. What was the outcome?

I did what my friend wanted me to do Mark A

I did what I wanted to do " B

Does not apply, or did not happen " C

141. Please recall an instance when you and one of your close relatives of your own generation disagreed about something. You wanted to do one thing and your relative wanted you to do something else. What was the outcome?

I did what my relative wanted me to do Mark A

I did what I wanted to do " B

Does not apply, or did not happen " C

142. Please recall a time when you and one of your co-workers disagreed about something. You wanted to do one thing and your co-worker wanted you to do something else. What was the outcome?

I did what my co-worker wanted me to do Mark A

I did what I wanted to do " B

Does not apply, or did not happen " C

143. Please recall a time when you and one of your neighbors disagreed about something. You wanted to do one thing and your neighbor wanted you to do something else. What was the outcome?

I did what my neighbor wanted me to do Mark A

I did what I wanted to do " B

Does not apply, or did not happen " C

144. Please recall a time when you and a person you hardly knew before the incident, disagreed about something. You wanted to do one thing and the other person wanted you to do something else. What was the outcome?

I did what the other person wanted me to do. Mark A

I did what I wanted to do " B

Does not apply, or did not happen " C

145. Please recall a time when you and a person from another country disagreed about something. You wanted to do one thing and the other person wanted you to do something else. What was the outcome?

I did what the other person wanted me to do. Mark A

I did what I wanted to do " B

Does not apply, or did not happen " C

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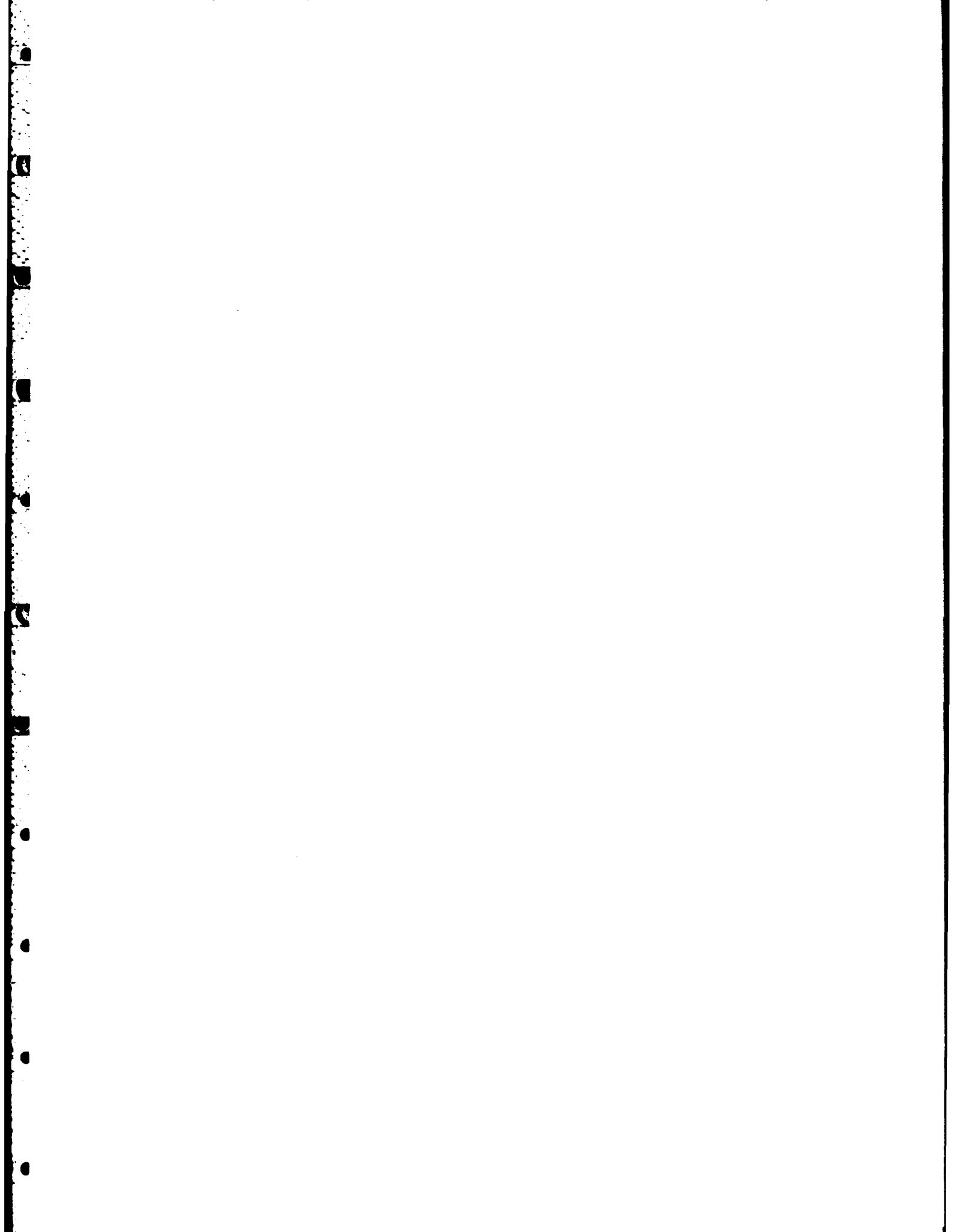
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