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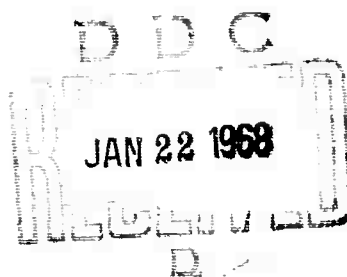
A Comparative Analysis of Subjective Culture

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ABSTRACT

A review of the results obtained when a variety of new techniques for the analysis of the way a person perceives his social environment is applied to the comparison of two cultural groups, reveals some basic similarities in the obtained results. The various methods give complementary information. The data were obtained from studies of "the subjective culture" of Americans and Greeks. Comparable instruments were administered to the two cultural groups and the results are presented in terms of the differences between American and Greek perceptions of social reality. The analysis of subjective culture is likely to help in the understanding of transcultural conflict, as well as in the development of theory concerning interpersonal attitudes, interpersonal behavior, and conflict resolution.

A Comparative Analysis of Subjective Culture¹

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There is ample evidence that a person's knowledge of his environment is strongly influenced by the culture in which he has been brought up. By culture we mean the man-made part of the human environment. This includes the artifacts (e.g., the machines), the means of communication, the buildings, the laws, the myths, the attitudes, the values, and the rules of social behavior as well as many other elements.

In the past several years Triandis and Vassiliou have been analyzing "subjective culture," i.e., the way subjects in different cultures perceive and conceive significant aspects of their environment. A subject's "subjective culture" is conceived to be his "theory" of how his environment is structured. It includes his perception of others, his prejudices, attitudes, values, and disvalues. A number of new techniques have been developed to analyze subjective culture. These include the antecedent-consequent meaning method (Triandis, Davis, Kilty, Shanmugam, Tanaka, and Vassiliou),² the behavioral differential (Triandis, 1964b), the role differential (Triandis, Vassiliou, and Nassiakou, 1967a), and a new approach to studies of stereotypes (Triandis, 1967a; Triandis and Vassiliou, 1967). A number of theoretical developments concerned with cultural influences on cognition (Triandis, 1964a),

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²Triandis, H. C., Davis, E. E., Kilty, K., Shanmugam, A. V., Tanaka, Y., and Vassiliou, Vasso. A cross-cultural study of values: The use of the antecedent-consequent meaning of words (in preparation).

on interpersonal attitudes (Triandis, 1967b), and on the perception of social behavior (Triandis, Vassiliou, and Nassiakou, 1967b; Triandis, Vassiliou, and Nassiakou, 1968) have also been presented.

In addition, well established techniques, such as survey research with representative samples of the Greek population, intensive interviewing, Osgood's semantic differential (Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum, 1957), and Likert-type attitude items have been employed by Vassiliou and her collaborators in analyses of the "subjective culture" of Greeks.

The present paper reviews the above studies. It is an attempt to illustrate how intensive analyses of the responses of subjects from different cultures can be used to develop an image of the similarities and differences in "subjective culture" in different populations of subjects. The system of cognitions of subjects constitutes a "map" of the way they conceive their environment. Such "maps" probably constitute the bases for different kinds of behavior, by subjects from different cultures.

The majority of the readers of the present paper will be familiar with American culture and will have a "subjective culture" similar to that found in our studies to be typical of Americans. Our findings are therefore presented as explanations of Greek subjective culture from an American point of view.

The paper will illustrate consistencies in the responses of subjects to different kinds of instruments. The instruments themselves will not be described in detail, since such a presentation can be found in the previously mentioned papers. Thus, the present paper will be concerned with substantive findings rather than the methodology which led to the findings and will attempt

to summarize these substantive findings rather than to give the details discovered with each instrument.

Stereotypes as Hypotheses of National Character

When members of Culture A perceive members of Culture B, they make judgments about the probable characteristics of members of Culture B. Such judgments are related to the difference in the mean values of the corresponding traits of the two groups. Specifically, on trait X, the mean value of this trait in Culture A is designated by $\bar{X}_A$, in Culture B by $\bar{X}_B$. The probability that members of Culture A will mention trait X when they give their stereotypes of members of Culture B is proportional to $\bar{X}_A - \bar{X}_B$ (Campbell, 1967). For example, if members of Culture A wash their hands three times per hour and those of Culture B wash only once per hour, there is a high probability that members of Culture A will call members of Culture B "filthy." In fact, in terms of the total distribution around the world of the characteristic "filthy" both cultures are excessively clean.

Our view is that we can employ the stereotypes of different culture groups as estimates of the probable differences in the mean values of their traits.

We can then ask if the trait differences are consistent with historical and ecological analyses of the experiences of subjects in different cultures. Following this line of thought we will first discuss the stereotypes of Americans and Greeks of each other and will then present a historical ecological analysis. The point here is that when a person is stereotyping a group he is not only responding to characteristics of the group being stereotyped, but is also revealing the way he perceives himself. It is the

contrast between his perceptions of $\bar{X}_A (P_{\bar{X}_A})$ and $\bar{X}_B (P_{\bar{X}_B})$ that is reflected in the stereotype.

Since much of the present essay will discuss differences between Americans and Greeks in their perception of subjective culture, it is appropriate to begin with a discussion of how these groups see each other and themselves.

Stereotypes of Americans and Greeks

Triandis and Vassiliou (1967) have shown that each of the two cultural groups has a much more positive opinion of itself than it has of the other group, while each group also recognizes that the other group has some "good" traits. By and large, the Americans see the Greeks as inefficient, competitive and suspicious, but at the same time charming and witty. The Greeks see the Americans in exactly the opposite fashion, that is, they see them as efficient but rather dull and not particularly charming.

The method employed to obtain these results involved the presentation of semantic differential scales defined by characteristics obtained from openended interviews of Americans and Greeks (Triandis, 1967a). The concepts "Americans tend to be" and "Greeks tend to be" were utilized. Characteristics such as dull-witty defined the scales. The study found, specifically, that Americans see Greeks as emotional, competitive, egotistic, suspicious, rigid, and with poor working habits. At the same time they see them as witty and sociable.

Furthermore, Triandis and Vassiliou* asked four hundred Americans how they perceive Greeks. These subjects were also asked how much contact they had with Greeks. Four groups of Americans were formed. Group # 1 had

* In preparation.

very little contact; Group # 2 had some contact; Group # 3 had considerable contact and Group # 4 had daily contact. The perceptions of Greeks by these four groups of Americans were analyzed. It was found that the greater the reported contact the more the Americans considered the Greeks as emotionally uncontrolled, competitive, suspicious, egotistic, unsystematic, inexact in following procedures, undecisive, sly, and rigid. However, the greater the contact the more they also saw them as more witty, honest, and obliging. Americans see themselves as less sly and more rational, trusting, modest, flexible, emotionally controlled, decisive, systematic, exact in following procedures, honest, and unselfish than the Greeks.

As a contrast, in a study of eight hundred Greeks, from a representative sample of the population of Athens and Salonica, the Greeks were found to see the Americans quite differently from the way the Americans saw themselves. They saw the Americans as arrogant, suspicious, sly, and competitive although also systematic, emotionally controlled, and flexible. The Greeks in this sample perceived themselves as modest, honest, witty, flexible, obliging and emotionally controlled but they also saw themselves as suspicious, competitive, and go-getting.

When such discrepancies in the perception of social groups are observed it is likely that (a) there is a kernel of truth in what is being seen and (b) the differences between the two groups are exaggerated. Americans may find Greeks "exasperating" because of their inefficiency, competitiveness, and suspiciousness. On the other hand Americans may like the Greek warmth and charm. Greeks may find Americans "exasperating," because of their arrogance, coldness, and overwhelming stress on efficiency, while at the same time they admire American efficiency.

Our evidence suggests that there is a kernel of truth in the stereotypes under discussion. However, it is well to remember that there are "inefficient," "competitive," and "suspicious" Americans. Furthermore, the Greeks are aware that they themselves have such traits.

In any event the Greek traits under discussion are consistent with analyses of the ecology and history of that country, as the following argument will indicate. Furthermore, after describing the ecology we will discuss some characteristic patterns of thought concerning interpersonal relations which constitute the bases for understanding Greek subjective culture.

Geography and History

Greece is a predominantly mountainous country (80%), cut up by the sea, consisting of a large peninsula and hundreds of scattered islands. Two basic geographic characteristics, the mountains and the sea, have brought about a considerable isolation of many segments of the population. As a result, the social environment of the average Greek is limited and he is most powerfully identified with his island, his valley, or his small town. Greece is also low on natural resources. Four-fifths of the country is so mountainous that cultivation is extremely difficult. In addition the ancient Greeks undertook a program of deforestation which depleted and eroded the surface of a large part of the country. They were very proud of their destruction of the forests, and Plato boasted that a large area around Athens was "civilized" because it no longer was wooded. Today, it is hard to raise crops except in two or three fertile valleys, such as Thessaly. While the country lacks resources it has simultaneously experienced considerable pressures from an expanding population. The extensive use of

the sea (fishing, merchant marine) plus the emigration of a large number of Greeks, however, has prevented the standard of living from falling. Major influences on modern Greek culture have come from Byzantium and the three-hundred-and-fifty-year-long Turkish occupation. The Byzantines had several Christian and nationalistic concepts which are still found in Modern Greece. At the same time there are unmistakable remnants of Turkish influence in the popular music, the food, and in certain social customs.

With regard to culture modern Greece therefore belongs to the Middle East as well as to Europe. Among the most significant historical events which have probably been influential in molding the Greek national character is the fall of Constantinople in 1453, which placed the Balkans under the domination of the Turkish Empire. The Turks used the Greek intellectuals as their clerks. This had the effect of preserving some of the values of Byzantine culture. In addition, the Greek Orthodox Church facilitated the continued study of the Greek language, and local priests ran clandestine schools where some of the Greek values and traditions were taught.

During the three hundred and fifty years following the fall of Constantinople, the relationship between Greeks and Turks was hostile. The mountainous environment allowed autonomous Greek fighting units to operate; these never submitted to the Turkish occupation. The Turks retaliated against their attacks by executing the village leaders. The threat of such executions constantly kept the best of the Greeks in the mountains and away from the villages, so that the modern Greek view of the ideal man is strongly influenced by the image of the guerrilla.

The above incomplete and sketchy analysis of early modern Greek ecology leads to the speculation that this period is characterized by child-rearing

practices which reflect the fact that women were the only significant adults physically present in the home. The father was psychologically present, but the mother was the chief agent who perpetuated the values of the culture. The mother's task was extremely difficult. On the one hand she had to prevent assimilation of her children into Turkish culture, and on the other, she had to build up the child after the image of a hero. Such a difficult task demanded strong maternal control which in turn fostered great dependency of the child.

Moreover, the Turkish practice of kidnapping male children further contributed to the development of the overprotectiveness by Greek mothers. As early as 1330 the Turks undertook a program of recruiting an independent military force by abducting seven- to eleven-year-old male Christian children and placing them in specially formed schools for soldiers, the so-called Janissaries. Between 1330 and 1826, when the Janissaries were disbanded, the threat of Turkish abduction of the male child was real and relevant. This threat probably had a significant impact on Greek child-rearing practices, which have in turn determined certain aspects of modern Greek national character.

An organized Revolution began against the Turks in 1821. It led to a series of wars which continued intermittently for the next one hundred years. During this period the modern Greek state was formed by importing political institutions (e.g., government ministries, parliaments) from Western Europe. The first Greek king was Bavarian and the second, a Danish prince, was the founder of the current dynasty.

Modern Greece (1821-present) has been characterized by political instability. Several revolutions occurred during this period. The Second

World War was especially damaging and was followed by several years of conflict.

The significance of these events, from a psychological point of view, is that in the last one hundred and fifty years the Greeks have had very little control over their personal life. Much of their behavior has been directed towards meeting crises created by war or revolution, and survival has often been the major concern. As a result they have developed exceedingly effective procedures for meeting crises, but neglected skills for long-term planning. Clearly one cannot plan when one does not know the outcome of next month's events.

In summary, this introduction to Greek geography and history suggests that modern Greek culture was influenced by six important factors: (1) scarce resources and keen competition for them, (2) reaction to the domination by an autocratic government, (3) dependence on the "male hero" for survival of the cultural values, (4) fear of loss of boys by abduction with the resulting overprotectiveness of mothers, (5) the unadapted importation of foreign institutions, and (6) low control over the environment. These characteristics provide an explanatory base for our empirical exploration of Greek "subjective culture."

Greek National Character

The Importance of the Ingroup

These six factors have probably had important influences on the molding of Greek national character. The competition for scarce resources and the struggle for survival created an extremely tightly knit family and an "ingroup" which provides protection, social insurance, and a warm and

relaxing environment; in short, a haven from the larger world. The domination of the Turks for three hundred and fifty years led to a division between established authority (the Turks) and informally accepted authority. Thus, the behavior towards a person in authority depends on whether he is perceived as being a member of the ingroup or of the outgroup. If the authority figure is accepted, then the response is one of submission and self-sacrifice; if it is rejected (i.e., belongs to an outgroup) the response is one of defiance, resentment, and undermining. Thus, a regulation imposed by a policeman (member of the outgroup) may be violated "just for fun," if the probability of punishment for breaking the law is not too great.³

The definition of the "ingroup" is somewhat different for Greeks than it is for Western Europeans or Americans. The ingroup may be defined as "my family, relatives, friends, and friends of friends." In addition, guests and people who are perceived as "showing concern for me" are seen as members of the ingroup. Within the ingroup the appropriate behaviors are characterized by cooperation, protection, and help. Not only are these "warm" behaviors appropriate but the concept of the philotimo (which will be discussed later) requires that a person sacrifice himself in order to help members of his ingroup.

³One aspect of the ingroup concept which is of particular interest is the fact that different ingroups have different leaders. A threat from the external environment (as in war with neighboring countries) often makes these leaders cooperate. On the other hand, when there is no outside danger the leaders are likely to pursue individualistic goals, and to behave competitively towards each other.

The size of the ingroup depends on the type of the threat. If a member's life is threatened by illness the immediate ingroup will be mobilized. If the threat is relevant to a widely shared characteristic such as nationality or religion, then the ingroup expands to include all members having this characteristic. Thus, effective cooperation characterizes Greek behavior during wars, while internal competitiveness is typical during peace time.

The functional significance of such ties, among members of the ingroup, is clear. It is easier to survive in a highly competitive world as a member of a group of people who cooperate and help each other. In contrast to the ingroup the "outgroup" consists of anyone who is not perceived at least as an acquaintance or a person who is concerned with one's welfare. Acquaintances are somewhat ambiguously classified, more frequently in the ingroup than in the outgroup.

The relationship with members of the outgroup is essentially competitive. The Greek language has at least three synonyms equivalent to the word competition. Amilla is "benevolent competition" appropriate for the ingroup. Synagonismos is equivalent to the American word. Antagonismos means "hostile competition" appropriate for members of the outgroup, in which success requires the other's failure.

The existence of such clear distinctions between ingroup and outgroup makes Greeks appear extremely suspicious when they first meet a stranger. The newcomer has to be classified and until this happens he remains in limbo. If he is classified in the outgroup all kinds of competition and unfair play are "par for the course." If he is classified in the ingroup all kinds of help are likely to come his way. For example, when one calls another Greek on the phone the response is likely to be very suspicious and uncooperative, until some kind of a bond can be established. The bond may be a mutual friend, or the same village or island origin. Once the bond is established it is possible to have a cooperative relationship, but if the bond is not established the relationship remains extremely formal, to the point of hostility.

Differences between the American and Greek relationship within the ingroup are substantial. One way of describing these differences is to discuss the perceptions of appropriate behavior of Greeks and Americans concerning certain roles. Triandis, Vassiliou, and Nassiakou (1968) have shown that such perceptions can be described in terms of the two dimensions: (1) the degree of affect and kind of emotion that is perceived to be appropriate (for example, the intensity of love), and (2) the degree of intimacy that is appropriate. The basic instrument used in these studies is the "role differential." It utilizes a format exemplified by the following items:

father-son

would not ----- would
hit

would not ----- would
obey

The subjects are asked to indicate whether in their culture it is appropriate for a father to hit, obey, etc. his son. In a typical study one hundred roles such as father-son, son-father, etc., are judged against a set of fifty behavior descriptive scales selected through facet and factor analysis. The factors "associative vs dissociative" and "intimate vs formal" behaviors are both culture common and completely independent of each other.

These studies have shown some rather interesting results when we compared the way Americans and Greeks perceive relationships between people. For example, Americans and Greeks see the relationship between parents and children and wives and husbands as involving about the same amount of positive emotion; but, they are quite different in the degree of intimacy

that they consider appropriate. Americans consider the appropriate intimacy between husbands and wives to be greater than the appropriate intimacy between parents and children. The Greeks reverse this perception so that they see less intimacy between husbands and wives than Americans see between parents and children. Thus, the central role in the American family is husband-wife; the central roles in the Greek family are parents-children (Vassiliou, 1967). Of special importance is the mother-son role. In Greece, a strong bond between mother and son is considered highly commendable.⁴

Turning now to relationships with relatives, friends, and acquaintances we find that the Greeks consider it appropriate to show more love and more intimacy with relatives or friends than do Americans. In the case of acquaintances they do not differ from Americans on the amount of love appropriate but they differ on the amount of intimacy: Here again the Greeks see more intimacy as appropriate between acquaintances.

These results do not suggest that Greeks compared to Americans see more intimacy as appropriate in all human relationships. There are a number of roles in which the reverse is the case. Broadly speaking, roles in which Greeks perceive conflict are seen by them as involving less intimacy than is the case in America. For example, they see less intimacy in the roles landlord-to-tenant and boss-to-subordinate.

⁴For example, in an opening speech to the Greek parliament, a new M.P. began his remarks while looking at the spectator's gallery, where his proud mother was seated, with the words: "Mother, Your Majesty, Distinguished Members of this House, Ladies and Gentlemen." This was most favorably reported in the Greek press.

To restate an important point that must always be kept in mind: there is a big difference in the way the Greeks behave towards their ingroup as opposed to the way they behave towards their outgroup. Within the ingroup they cooperate and show great intimacy. Within the outgroup they compete and behave very formally. Bosses belong to the outgroup, unless they are extremely fatherly, warm, and helpful, in which case they are classified as members of the ingroup. Guests and tourists are also likely to be classified as members of the ingroup, providing they have behaved in a warm and accepting manner.

The Greek Self-Concept

At an earlier point we referred to the importance of the guerrilla in the formation of the image of the Greek male, to the lesser importance of the community as a social milieu for the development of child-rearing standards, and we also mentioned that the fear of having the boys abducted required Greek mothers to become unusually controlling and often overprotective. This also led to tremendous overevaluation of boys. Greek parents often report how many children they have simply by referring to the number of their boys! If a Greek says "I have three children and three girls" he means that he has three of each.

The need for high control of the child results in mothers who tend to (a) be too helpful to their sons, taking every conceivable opportunity to assist and protect them,⁵ (b) confine them in an area in which they can always see them, and (c) make most of the decisions for both boys and girls.

⁵Example, mothers study with their boys while they do their homework (help) and check the boy's memorization of the lesson (protect them from criticism of teacher).

Even eighteen-year olds are often treated like small children. The result is that twelve-year old Greek children see achievement related to the help they receive from others.

The above point was confirmed by a study of the motivational patterns of Greek adolescents. Vassiliou and Katakis⁶ have asked normal adolescents to make up stories in response to ambiguous pictures. When these stories were analyzed the investigators found a considerable emphasis on the idea that achievement requires both one's personal effort and the help of authority figures. They perceive ingroup authority figures as monitoring their efforts, as giving good advice and assistance, as restricting them in order to protect them from others as well as from themselves, and as restricting them because they love them. These adolescents are also apprehensive about deviating from the advice that they receive. They are especially apprehensive about the future and their efficiency when it comes to self-initiated action. By age eighteen these young people feel grateful for the help they have received, express appreciation for the sacrifices of authority figures, and feel the need to pay them back through their own achievement. At the same time this study revealed a good deal of conflict: on the one hand these young people recognized that in order to achieve they must break away from their dependency from their family, on the other hand this breaking away was seen as painful to the authority figures as well as to themselves. The achievers among them considered breaking away. They felt that if they did break away they would find someone to help them to

⁶Vassiliou, Vasso and Katakis, Harikilia, Motivational patterns of Greek adolescents. In preparation.

achieve, or if they failed, they could return to their family, where they would always be warmly consoled.

Thus, the self-concept of even the most effective, achieving Greek adolescents is characterized by dependency on others and by insecurity about their own effectiveness. We can say that they have a low self-esteem. At the same time the ideal of the hero, as molded by the image of the guerrilla, requires achievement, fame, and immortality. Furthermore, the social status of the Greek woman is very low, unless and until she is the mother of an achiever. Thus, there are great pressures on mothers to train their sons to be "great men." As a result most Greek mothers provide "unrealistic propaganda" to their sons--a propaganda line that says "you are going to be great, you are going to succeed, no one is as good as you are." Greek mothers tell their children that they expect them to become important, and that they are unique. This leads to a facade of self-confidence which is further exaggerated by insecurity and low self-esteem.

This suggested formulation allows us to understand certain characteristics of Greek national character which Americans find difficult to work with. The low self-esteem means that the ego of the Greek is very easily hurt. (1) Greeks are oversensitive to criticism; i.e., the slightest critical remark is likely to be reacted to as a major threat, (2) they tend to blame their own mistakes on others; this is because a person who is not secure cannot blame himself. On the other hand the facade of high self-confidence can be seen in characteristics that an American will interpret as arrogance, dogmatism, and attempts to appear all-knowing and all-powerful.

In a study by Vassiliou and Osgood (in preparation), a number of concepts including MYSELF, were rated on a number of semantic differential

(Osgood et al., 1957) scales. The ratings of Americans and Greeks were compared. The concept "myself" was rated as stronger by the Americans than by the Greeks. On the other hand, the concept "my relatives" was seen as stronger by the Greeks than by the Americans.

In other words the Greeks attribute less strength to themselves and more strength to their relatives than is the case for Americans.

The most important element of the Greek self-concept is the philotimo. When a representative sample of Greeks was asked to describe themselves seventy-four per cent used this word to describe themselves. The only other characteristic which they used as frequently was the word diligent. The meaning of philotimo is not easy to define. A person who has this characteristic is polite, virtuous, reliable, proud; has "a good soul," behaves correctly, meets his obligations, does his duty; is truthful, generous, self-sacrificing, tactful, respectful, and grateful (Vassiliou and Vassiliou, 1966). The best way to summarize what is meant by this concept is to say that a person who is "philotimos" behaves towards members of his ingroup the way they expect him to behave.

As an example, some Americans complained, in interviews with Triandis, that they get little cooperation from their Greek maids and other servants. On the other hand some other Americans were enthusiastic about the cooperation, honesty, and devotion of their servants. What seemed to be the difference between these two kinds of Americans was whether they included the servants in their "extended family" or simply treated them as belonging to "another group." When the servant was made part of the family then the philotimo principle required sacrifice to help the family. Under such

conditions stealing never occurred, although when the family was in the servant's "cutgroup" stealing was quite likely.

A true story from the experiences of an American archaeologist will further illustrate this point. He had accepted his servant and she felt accepted. During a trip his boat ran aground on a rock. When several American crews with the help of heavy equipment failed to dislodge it, the servant on her own initiative mobilized her ingroup, consisting of brothers-in-law, cousins, etc., and these men, abandoned their normal pursuits to help in the rescue of the boat, accomplishing the task at considerable risk.

Another way to explain the philotimo is to think of the concept of fairness, as used by Americans. Americans consider it important to behave fairly towards other people. But, note that, at least in the case of prejudiced Americans, "other people" does not include Negroes, Jews, etc. In fact, for many Americans the ingroup is "other people like me" (White, protestant, Anglo-Saxon, Middle Class, etc.). The concept of fairness operates very intensively within this ingroup and rather weakly with members of the outgroup. The more a person deviates from the White, Anglo-Saxon Protestant characteristics the more unlikely it is that the principle of fairness will operate.

With the Greeks the principle of the philotimo applies to members of the ingroup. One must sacrifice himself to help ingroup members. But, the less the concern shown by a person the less likely it is that the Greek will use the philotimo principle in relating to him. The principle of fairness and the principle of the philotimo are equivalent, although different in the two cultures. Fairness does not require self-sacrifice.

Furthermore, the two ingroups are not the same: the American ingroup is large and less salient while the Greek ingroup is small (my family, friends, and guests) and more important. Thus, both the way Greeks classify other people and the principles that guide their actions are different from the way Americans classify and behave, but the equivalence of the principles of fairness and philotimo may lead to an understanding of Greek behavior.

Relations With Others

Kinship

The relationships of Greeks with members of their extended family are much closer than is typical among Americans. To provide an intuitive feeling for this difference it may be stated that roughly speaking the relationship among first cousins in Greece is approximately as close as the relationships among brothers in America. With this "translation" it is possible to look at the total pattern of family relationships in Greece with some increased understanding. The word BROTHER is seen by the Greeks as more "good" and "powerful" than it is seen by Americans (Vassiliou and O'Neil).^{*} There is also much more conflict about brothers in America than in Greece showing that Americans disagree in their perception of this concept to a larger extent than do the Greeks.

The general trend in the results of the Triandis, Vassiliou, and Nassiakou (1967) studies is that Greeks show more positive affect (to love, to help, to stand up for) and more intimacy (to pet, to caress, to kiss) within family roles than do Americans. The one exception can be found in the bride-groom and husband-wife relationships. This is the only family relationship where the Americans are closer than the Greeks, not so much because Americans are exceptionally close but because Greeks are more distant. Vassiliou (1967)

^{*} In preparation.

has found that a successful and happy marriage is seen by Greeks as dependent on mutual understanding, agreement of character, and mutual concessions rather than on love. Within this type of marriage the channeling of emotions is found most strongly in the parent-child relationship--especially in the mother-son relationship. The mother-son relationship is characterized by extreme interdependence. Furthermore, the whole family, exists in an environment which is difficult, and makes success in the present very difficult; thus, the future is the only bright spot for the family, and this future can be brightened through the achievement of the son. But achievement demands independence, thus there is a conflict between dependence and achievement. The conflict can be resolved by underemphasizing one or the other. For the healthy majority who eventually achieves there is usually some evidence of a rational break in dependence that has originated with the parent, the child, or both (Vassiliou and Katski). (See Footnote 6.)

Authority Figures

The relationship of Greeks with authority figures depends on whether the authority figure is seen as belonging to the ingroup or the outgroup. In the ingroup it is seen as concerned and as benevolent. In the outgroup it is seen as competitive. If it is seen as benevolent the responses of subordinates are characterized by submissive acceptance and warmth. If it is seen as competitive the responses of subordinates are avoidance and hostility. The typical response of Greeks to authority figures can be characterized as authoritarian submission (and warm acceptance) within the ingroup and non-acceptance and defiance of authority in the outgroup. If an outgroup member has little power, the typical Greek response will be one of indifference. The greater the power of the outgroup authority, the greater is the perceived threat.

That means if somebody has power this automatically makes him a competitor. For this reason groups of Greeks find it difficult to cooperate among themselves and group leaders would rather have stagnation or even deterioration of the existing situation than see their competitors acquire more power. It further means that the sympathies of the Greeks are with the underdog in any kind of intergroup struggle. Thus, as long as a particular group is out of power it tends to become more popular but as soon as it gets into power it tends to lose popularity. Such fluctuations of popular support affect struggles between all kinds of power groups.

The same pattern has been observed by Banfield (1958) in Southern Italy. Banfield argues that Southern Italian culture is characterized by "amoral familism." The basic principle of behavior is:

"Maximize the material, short-run advantage of the nuclear family; assume that all others will do likewise" (Banfield, p. 85).

From this principle he derived seventeen "logical implications" which he found consistent with his field observations in Southern Italy. Among the implications are the following:

1. In a society of amoral familists, no one will further the interest of the group or community except as it is to his private advantage.
7. The amoral familist who is an office-holder will take bribes when he can get away with it. But whether he takes bribes or not, it will be assumed by the society of amoral familists that he does.
9. In a society of amoral familists, the claim of any person or institution to be inspired by zeal for public rather than private advantage will be regarded as fraud.

10. In a society of amoral familists there will be no connection between abstract principle (i.e., ideology) and concrete behavior in the ordinary relationships of every day life.

13. The amoral familist will value gains accruing to the community only insofar as he and his are likely to share them. In fact, he will vote against measures which will help the community without helping him, because even though his position is unchanged in absolute terms, he considers himself worse off if his neighbors' position changes for the better. Thus, it may happen that measures which are of decided general benefit will provoke a protest vote from those who feel that they have not shared in them or have not shared in them sufficiently.

15. In a society of amoral familists it will be assumed that whatever group is in power is self-serving and corrupt. Hardly will an election be over before the voters will conclude that the new officials are enriching themselves at their expense and that they have no intention of keeping the promises they have made. Consequently, the self-serving voter will use his ballot to pay the incumbents not for benefits but for injuries, i.e., he will use it to administer punishment."

We note that there are some differences between Banfield's analysis and our own. We defined the ingroup after looking at some kinds of empirical data, and concluded that it is larger than the nuclear family. Banfield argues that the extended family has little importance in Southern Italy, because the size of landholdings is too small to support many people, and his principle of maximization applies only to the nuclear family. It could be that the two cultures differ in the size of their ingroups, or it could be that Banfield was unduly restrictive in his definition.

On the other hand we note the considerable similarity between his formulation and our own.⁷ The similarity of our formulation and his "implications 13 and 15" is striking. The other four implications which are reproduced above would also apply to Greece, although with less certainty than they do in Southern Italy.

The worst thing anyone can do in Greece is to boast or to show that he has power before he proves that he has concern; i.e., is a member of the ingroup. This immediately produces a reaction of hostility which is likely to undermine his power at the earliest opportunity. This is somewhat different from the American "bandwagon" effect, which causes people to join and support those most "successful" in politics. Greek defiance of authority can also be seen in the complete distrust of Greeks who are "experts."

In order to understand this phenomenon it is important to consider the ease with which Greek self-esteem can be threatened. If a consultant is an expert who is trying to help in ingroup situations his power is welcomed. However, if the situation is such that the expert is not helpful to the person involved, he is perceived as a member of the outgroup, and therefore a competitor. An American expert is more likely to be perceived as a guest; i.e., an ingroup member, than a Greek expert.

Another matter of relevance to the Greek relationship with authority figures concerns the ease with which Greeks work in organizations managed

⁷ We thank Len Berkowitz for bringing Banfield's book to our attention. Our formulations were completed much before reading Banfield, so that the similarities between our formulations are due to the similarities between Greek and Southern Italian cultures rather than to any other factor.

mostly by ingroup members. By contrast, they find it very difficult to adjust to large impersonal organizations. These phenomena may contribute to the success of small Greek businesses as contrasted to the underdevelopment of large scale industry.⁸

Prejudices

All groups have some targets of prejudice. Just as the Americans show prejudice towards Negroes, Jews, Catholics, etc., so some Greeks are prejudice towards gypsies, Jews, and Turks. Religious prejudice is manifested at the point of entrance into the ingroup (Triandis and Triandis, 1962). Naturalistic observations show that non-christians are called "non-believers" and are not accepted as intimate friends and as kin by marriage. On the other hand, they are accepted as acquaintances, business partners, etc. These observations agree with the questionnaire responses. The reaction towards Turks is more negative than towards other groups. The Greek stereotype of the Turk is similar but more extreme than the American stereotype of Turks on the characteristics unsystematic, dull, and dishonest (Triandis and Vassiliou, in preparation).

⁸ Certain kinds of relations with others are likely to be of particular interest as illustrative of the difference between Americans and Greeks.

Boss-Secretary. Both cultures see much positive affect in this relationship but Americans see somewhat more than Greeks. There is no difference between the two cultures on the intimacy dimension. Greeks see more superordination as being appropriate in this relationship than do Americans.

Secretary-Boss. The relationship between secretary and boss is seen as affectively neutral in Greece while it is positive in America. Greeks tend to see the relationship as somewhat formal while Americans tend to see it as somewhat intimate. Finally both groups see subordination in this relationship but the Greeks see more subordination than do the Americans.

Foreman-Laborer. There is no difference in the amount of affect seen by the two cultures. Both see some positive affect. There is a substantial difference in the amount of intimacy. Greeks expect more intimacy in this

(Footnote continued on next page.)

relationship than do Americans. They also expect considerably more superordination than do Americans.

Laborer-Foreman. Between laborer and foreman the Greeks see affective neutrality while Americans see positive affect; the Greeks see formality while Americans see slight intimacy; and the Greeks see more subordination than do the Americans.

Sales Person-Customer. There is no difference in the amount of affect perceived between sales persons and customers in the two cultures. On the other hand Greeks perceive considerably greater intimacy in that relationship than do Americans. They also see more superordination in the customer-sales person relationship than do Americans. The same pattern of greater intimacy, in Greece, is seen in other relationships with customers; for example, beautician-customer involves greater intimacy in Greece. In the relationship between clients and professionals, Americans perceive more affect than do Greeks. On the other hand Greeks perceive considerably more intimacy than do Americans. Finally, Greeks perceive considerably more superordination on the part of the professional (lawyer, physician, etc.) and more subordination on the part of the client, than do Americans.

Tenant-Landlord. There is no difference between the two cultures in the amount of affect seen in this role. However, the Greeks see more intimacy in the tenant-landlord relationship and more formality in the landlord-tenant relationship than do Americans. Greeks see more superordination in both the tenant-landlord and the landlord-tenant relationships than do Americans.

Business Partner-Business Partner. There is a large difference in the amount of affect perceived as appropriate by Americans and Greeks in this relationship. Americans consider it appropriate to show a great deal of positive affect in this relationship while Greeks are almost affectively neutral. Furthermore, Americans see more intimacy in this relationship than is the case with Greeks. Since Greeks in general tend to see most relationships as being more intimate, the reversal on the intimacy dimension for this particular role is especially significant. There is no difference in the amount of superordination-subordination perceived in the two cultures.

We will now turn to a number of general roles and their perception in the two cultures.

Old People versus Young People. There is a slight tendency for Greeks to perceive greater affect on the part of old people towards younger people than is the case for Americans and for the reverse to be true for younger people towards older people. On the other hand, there is more intimacy seen in these relationships by Greeks than by Americans. On the superordination-subordination dimension older people are perceived as showing more superordination in Greece than in America and younger people are seen as showing more subordination in Greece than in America.

Both Americans and Greeks see a CHILD as weak but Americans see him as weaker. ADOLESCENCE and MATURITY are seen as being more good, powerful, and active in Greece than in America. This is because Greeks do not have the horror of old age that characterizes Americans. OLD PEOPLE are seen much

(Footnote continued on next page.)

Differences of the Perception of Social Behavior

In the previous section we have shown differences in the way Greeks and Americans perceive relationships between different kinds of people. In the present section we will describe differences in the way they perceive social behaviors. It is a frequent observation among persons who have engaged in social relations with persons from other cultures that their behaviors are sometimes "misinterpreted" and their intentions "misunderstood." For

more negatively in America than in Greece. This is particularly so on the dimension of power.

Guest-Host. There is no difference in the amount of affect in either culture; however, the Greeks see more intimacy in that relationship than do Americans. The Greeks also see more subordination of the guest to the host than do Americans.

Tourist-Native. Both cultures see positive affect in this relationship but the Greeks see more positive affect in the native to tourist role than do Americans. The Greeks also see more intimacy as appropriate in this relationship than do Americans. There is no difference between the two cultures on the amount of perceived subordination.

President-Club Member. Both cultures see about the same amount of affect in this relationship but Greeks see more intimacy in the president to club member role than is the case with Americans. There is no difference between the cultures on the subordination dimension.

Member of the Audience-Musician. Greeks see greater positive affect as well as greater intimacy in this relationship than do Americans.

Singing Star-Fan. There are no significant differences on the amount of affect seen by the two cultures; but again, the Greeks see more intimacy as appropriate in these relationships than do Americans. They also see more superordination in both the singing star to fan and fan to singing star relationship than do Americans. In other words, the singing star can make demands on the fans and the fans can make demands on the singing star that would seem inappropriate to Americans.

Conflict Roles. Greeks see more negative affect in conflict roles than do Americans. This is true for roles such as Protestant Minister-Catholic Priest, Administrator-University Student, University Student-Administrator, diplomat-diplomat, player of game-opponent, and politician-fellow politician. In some cases, as in the diplomat-opposing diplomat, the Greeks perceive that it is appropriate to show a great deal of negative affect, while in other cases they are closer to a neutral point on affect. On the other hand in all of these conflict roles, Greeks tend to be higher in intimacy than is true of Americans. Finally, Greeks see more superordination than do Americans.

example, a person from one culture may provide what he considers to be "friendly criticism" to a person from another culture only to discover that the other person interprets it as "hatred." Or, a person from Culture A behaves in a manner which he considers extremely "positive" toward a person from Culture B. However, the individual from Culture B perceives the behavior as "neutral" and in turn the individual from Culture A feels that he is "given the cold shoulder." His negative reaction is in turn perceived as negative and a vicious circle of mutual punishment takes place. One possible explanation of such misinterpretation is that the meaning of the social behavior is not the same across cultures.

We have investigated such differences in the perception of social behavior through rather rigorous procedures involving Thurstone scaling of the social behavior descriptions (Triandis, Vassiliou, and Nassiakou, 1967b). We found differences which correspond rather closely to the differences which we have already discussed concerning behaviors in the ingroup and the outgroup.

The behaviors to help, to advise, and to feel sorry for, which are most appropriate in the ingroup as well as the behaviors to thank, to praise, and to appreciate are seen by the Greeks as being related to the "giving of love" to a much greater extent than is true for Americans. This may be due to the context of these behaviors which is typically the ingroup and therefore these behaviors are more frequently associated with positive emotional states such as love in Greece than they are in America. On the other hand, the behavior to compete with is associated with negative emotions in Greece while it is emotionally neutral for Americans. Again, it must be remembered that competition occurs with members of the outgroup in Greece and for this reason

this behavior has a different meaning for Greeks than it has for Americans.

Greeks see more positive emotion in the behavior to enjoy working for than do Americans. This behavior in Greece has the connotation that the employee is feeling loyal to the employer and this requires that he does "extra things" to please him. Thus, to enjoy working for a boss is likely to imply "going out of your way to help him" even when you are not asked to do so, if a difficult moment requires additional effort. On the other hand employees are likely to enjoy working for an employer only if he is responsive to their idiosyncratic needs and special requests for exemption from general rules.

Greeks see more negative emotion associated with the behaviors to be indifferent to and to punish than is true for Americans. Indifference is a real insult and this is somewhat related to the notion, which we have already discussed, that most Greek social relations are characterized by greater intimacy. To be indifferent is not neutral, it is essentially hostile. One of the reasons Americans are seen as arrogant and cold by Greeks is exactly this; Americans consider it perfectly proper to be indifferent to somebody; indifference does not have negative implications. But exactly the same behavior would be interpreted by a Greek as involving coldness, arrogance, and hostility.

Another instance where differences in the interpretation of the meaning of behavior could lead to a misunderstanding involves certain behaviors which are perceived by Greeks as involving "denying of status" to a greater extent than is true for Americans. It is appropriate for a high status person to behave in ways which "deny status" to his subordinate; but, Greeks are quite sensitive to such implications of a status difference and react

quite negatively when a person denies status to them. The following behaviors are seen by the Greeks as denying status to a larger extent than is the case for Americans: to be impatient with, to be indifferent to, to inspect work of, to accuse, and to protect. Clearly to be impatient with involves denying status but the Greeks exaggerate the significance of this behavior and react much more negatively than do Americans. We have already mentioned that to be indifferent to involves hostility, it also involves denying status. To accuse and to inspect work of are obviously related to denying status, but again for the Greeks the meaning is more exaggerated than is the case for Americans.

We have already discussed the differences between the two cultures in the perception of intimacy. Greeks perceive many social behaviors as much more intimate than do Americans and therefore much more appropriate for roles which are more intimate. Table 1 shows the behaviors which are perceived as more intimate. The implication of these facts can be stated as follows: if an American engages in such behaviors before he has established sufficient intimacy with the Greek, the Greek will be offended.

We now turn to certain behaviors which the Greeks see as more formal than do Americans and therefore much more appropriate in roles involving formal relations. Table 1 also shows these behaviors. One can state that Americans will find Greek social relations much more informal than they are used to within the ingroup and much more formal between ingroup and outgroup members. This means in effect that Americans will find all Greek social relations either too informal or too formal.

Greek Work Habits

In our earlier discussion we hypothesized that Greeks have had little opportunity to control their environment. They have

Table 1

Behaviors Which Greeks Perceive as More Intimate

to annoy	to be a friend of
to quarrel with	to learn with help of
to scold	to laugh at jokes of
to complain to	to enjoy company of
to hit	to kiss
to correct	to go to movies with
to protect	to wish good luck to
to ask for advice of	to share responsibility with
to study with	to be loyal to
to advise	to date
to be grateful to	

Behaviors Which Greeks Perceive as More Formal

to despise	to mourn for
to ask for forgiveness	to follow instructions of
to invite for dinner	to be commanded by
to congratulate	

not been able to plan successfully for hundreds of years because their plans have typically been foiled by wars and revolutions. The responses that helped survival, for hundreds of years, were global and fast, which left little time for analysis, integration, and precisions. The result is that much of Greek work behavior appears unsystematic. Little attention to detail, rather careless execution of work, and little evidence of careful planning are characteristics of Greek behavior. Estimates of time to complete a job are likely to be inaccurate and there is little concern with the actual time it takes to finish a job.

Attitudes Toward Significant Aspects of the Environment

In the present section we will discuss the way Greeks think and feel about a large number of issues and objects in their environment. Consistently with the work of Osgood, et al. (1957) we will use three dimensions for the description of these attitudes: (1) the evaluation of an attitude object, in other words judgments of whether it is "good" or "bad," (2) the power of the attitude object, and (3) the amount of activity in the attitude object. There is a great deal of research, done in more than twenty cultures around the world, showing that these are the basic dimensions of connotation of attitude objects. They are common to all humans and therefore they can be used in comparing cultures (Osgood, 1965). For example, a person may look at his father as being either good or bad, either powerful or weak, and either active or passive. Any attitude object can be seen as being high or low on these three dimensions.

The results that we will discuss come from extensive studies of the way Greeks and Americans perceive and react to various stimuli in their

environment. We will organize our discussion under four headings: (1) the human body, (2) religious and supernatural concepts, (3) institutions and social processes, and (4) relationships with the environment.

The Human Body

Body Parts. Americans and Greeks perceive body parts, such as FEET, HAIR, HEAD, HANDS, STOMACH, and LIPS in extremely similar ways. The only major difference is that the LEFT HAND is considered much more weak by the Greeks than by Americans. The Greeks feel that lefthandedness in a person implies that he has been neglected by his parents and teachers. They therefore feel pity for the person who is lefthanded.

There is a value in righthandedness which is somewhat exaggerated in Greece as compared to America. For example, good luck is associated with the right hand. Thus, giving with the right hand and entering a house with the right foot are associated with correctness of behavior and fortunate events.

Body Characteristics. In general, the meaning attributed to these characteristics are rather similar in these two cultures. However, Greeks have a horror of dismembered bodies. They react much more negatively, than do Americans, to CRIPPLES and to people who are "physically different."

Life and Health

Greeks are very realistic and down to earth about concepts such as PAIN, PUNISHMENT, and DUTY. They have a rather Spartan view of the world. They see them as less bad and more potent than do Americans on semantic differential scales. They consider these concepts as part of life and therefore not unacceptable. Americans tend to romanticize life and hence reject such concepts as completely unacceptable.

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DRUNKENNESS is seen as more potent by Americans than by Greeks. Greeks drink more frequently than Americans. On the other hand they almost never drink to knock themselves out. They also drink wine rather than hard liquor, and eat while drinking. Hence, they seldom get drunk, and when they do get drunk (as in a tavern) they are likely to sing and dance rather than vomit or pass out. Thus, drunkenness is "less controlling" for them. A person who drinks and passes out loses status in Greece (Vassiliou, Seferi, and Koukouridou).*

Emotions

Greeks differentiate among emotions more finely than do Americans focusing among specific rather than general feelings. They think of emotions more in terms of how they are expressed rather than how they are felt. Greeks have a more explicit set of norms for expressing emotions and they focus on these norms more than on the specific stimuli that produce the emotions. For example, Vassiliou (1967) argues that an insult to a Greek's mother produces much more of a stereotyped reaction, as determined by social norms, than a real affective response. Similarly, on other occasions a Greek may appear to be angrier than he really is.

As a result, Greeks may seem emotionally more active. There is less of a cultural norm to "hold your temper," and in fact there are specific cultural norms directing a person to express his emotions. Greeks also perceive a bigger difference between pleasant and unpleasant emotions.

In one of our studies (Triandis, Davis, Kilty, Shanmugam, Tanaka, and Vassiliou; see Footnote 2) we obtained the causal links perceived by Americans, Greeks, Indians and Japanese, between certain concepts. We obtained the major causes of ANGER, as well as the major consequences of

* In preparation.

this concept, as seen by subjects in these various cultures.

The method here was to present incomplete sentences of the form "If you have _____, then you have ANGER" or "If you have ANGER, then you have _____." In Phase I subjects from four cultural groups filled such sentences with appropriate responses. In Phase II a new set of subjects from the four cultures was tested with a structured instrument in which five alternatives [one culture common, the other having high frequency of occurrence in Phase I, in only one of the four cultures (America, Greece, India, Japan)] were presented. The subjects were asked to choose the one alternative that "fitted" best into the sentence. Thus, "highly appropriate" causes and effects of key concepts were obtained.

The Greeks consider that the major causes of ANGER are insults, bad manners, the use of the nickname, lying, and jealousy. Americans consider contempt, bad temper, and jealousy as the major causes of ANGER. Note that there is a suggestion of a direct "injury to self-esteem" in the basic theme of the causes of Greek ANGER, and an indirect "injury to self-esteem" in the American ANGER theme.

The consequences of ANGER are seen by the Greeks as being crime, murder, and "no friends." While for Americans the major consequence is displeasure, violence, and pain. Thus, the Greek reaction to ANGER is specific while the American reaction is general.

FEAR is seen by the Greeks as being caused by lack of manliness, past life, and by fantasies; while Americans frequently mention pain and the unknown.

The lack of manliness is reminiscent of the image of the hero which is important to the Greeks. The connection between past life and fear is due to

the painful experiences of the past which enhances the hopefulness of the future. Fantasies are seen as leading to fear because they are likely to be worries rather than pleasant anticipations. The consequences of FEAR for the Greeks are failure, an inferiority complex and defeat; for Americans mental worry, and trouble. Thus for Greeks FEAR is a threat to their self-esteem while for Americans it is a specific unpleasant emotional state.

SYMPATHY is an ingroup behavior for Greeks. It is a powerful emotion exchanged frequently among ingroup members. This is perhaps the reason Vassiliou and Osgood⁹ found that in Greece it is more related to potency and activity than it is in America. In Greece you show SYMPATHY towards those you are concerned with. Therefore it is seen as being determined by the other person's good behavior, good character, goodness, kindness, and love. The person who feels admiration and trust will also feel SYMPATHY. In contrast to the Greeks who see little relation between SYMPATHY and pity, the Americans see a definite relationship between SYMPATHY and compassion, care, understanding, and pity. For the Greek showing SYMPATHY to members of the ingroup is one of his obligations, under the philotimo rules. It occurs in the context of trust. For the American it is a means of enhancing his self-esteem; it is a way to prove to himself that he is a "good person."

The consequences of SYMPATHY determined in our study are consistent with this interpretation. The Greek consequences are admiration, friendship, love, and trust. The American consequences are care, compassion, help, kindness, pity, sorrow, and charity.

⁹Vassiliou, Vasso; Osgood, C. E. Data on Greek Atlas of meaning. (in preparation).

There is also a strong cultural difference in the reaction to PASSION: Greeks see it as bad, Americans see it as good. Greeks see it as uncontrolled emotion, and hence unacceptable. Acceptable emotions are those under the control of social norms. Americans see it as an expression of one's individuality, hence good.

Consequently, as expected, in our studies we found that Greeks perceive less power in the emotions of ANGER, FEAR, and GUILT, than do Americans.

Finally, Greeks see more activity in HOPE because the unfavorable environment has forced the Greeks to underemphasize the here and now and to focus on the hopeful future.

Religion

Americans and Greeks agree in their responses to religious concepts. The only major difference is that the concept NONBELIEVER is seen as more bad and weak in Greece than in America and Americans disagree among themselves much more than do Greeks when they judge the concept ATHEIST; i.e., Greeks are quite definite in their rejection of nonbelievers and atheists while Americans show a variety of responses to these concepts. These results are understandable in view of the fact that ninety-two per cent of all Greeks are at least nominally Greek Orthodox while in America a variety of religions co-exist.

Ethical Concepts

In all cultures there are two basic ways in which behavior is controlled: internally (a person does not do something because his "conscience" does not allow him to do so) and externally (a person does not do something because others prevent him). Control by the conscience is essentially control by

guilt; control by others is essentially control by shame.¹⁰

In Greece control by guilt is primarily relevant to behavior in the ingroup. Since the principle of the ingroup involves mutual "concern for the other," anything associated with disregard for the other is likely to produce a guilt response. For example, a son leaving his mother for an acceptable cause but against her will (e.g., to go to the city to study) will feel guilty. On the other hand behavior involving interaction with outgroup members, is only externally controlled, primarily by enforcing authorities.

CHEATING is more acceptable in Greece than in America, when it is directed towards members of the outgroup. It is completely unacceptable within the ingroup. This is not dishonesty the way an American understands this concept. Rather when there is a competition, such as exists between a Greek and members of his outgroup, the social norms permit (from an American point of view) or require (from a Greek point of view) that the outgroup member be taken advantage of if he is weak. It is "up to" the outgroup member to defend himself against the CHEATING, and if he does not he is simply stupid. There is no change in the Greek's self-esteem when he cheats an outgroup member. Furthermore, when the outgroup member can be cheated his prestige drops; when he cannot be cheated his prestige rises. As a result, Greeks perceive CHEATING as relatively more powerful and more active (Vassiliou and Osgood).

¹⁰ This formulation should not be assumed to be equivalent to Riesman's. Riesman's formulation refers to the sources of norms; ours to the sources of enforcement of norms.

Furthermore, Greeks are suspicious about any communication they receive from an outgroup member; therefore LYING does not "work as well," and hence they judge it as less powerful than do Americans (Vassilicu and Osgood). (See Footnote 9.)

CRIME is seen as more powerful by Americans than by Greeks, probably because, statistically, American crimes involve more money. The causes of CRIME according to Greeks include bad company (i.e., bad ingroup), criminal instinct (inability of the ingroup to control), and psychic turmoil (related to mental illness). The causes of CRIME according to Americans are previous crimes (bad habit) such as murder, stealing, robbery as well as needs and loss of control (ineffectiveness of guilt). Thus Greeks see crime as due to factors unrelated to the person himself while Americans see it as caused by previous actions and internal weaknesses of the person.

In other words, the Greek sees less personal responsibility and more justification for CRIMES. The latter point is illustrated by the predominance of "crimes of honor" and the acquittal of the defendants by juries in such cases. While this is typical of Greece it almost never occurs in the United States.

The consequences of CRIME according to Greeks are justice, dishonor, and the spoiling of life. According to Americans they are lack of respect, guilt, wisery, uneasiness, social disorder, and dishonor. It is notable that the Greek consequences of crime emphasize the theme of punishment and interference with one's life, while the American consequences emphasize the theme of guilt and social disorganization.

The perceived causes of PUNISHMENT in Greece were found to be injustice and illegal acts as well as "no God." In other words when somebody does

"something wrong" he is punished. The consequences of PUNISHMENT are compliance, exemplification, justice, repentance, and no resentment or resistance (to the punishing authority). Thus, for the Greeks, PUNISHMENT is fully accepted, a result consistent with the positive evaluation of this concept, as found by Vassiliou and Osgood (see Footnote 9). In all other cultures PUNISHMENT is rated bad, but in Greece it is rated good. Americans see the consequences of PUNISHMENT as dishonor, guilt, resentment, resistance (presumably to authorities), and correction. Thus, though the Americans see some correction (presumably forced compliance) as a result of punishment, they see this concept associated with resentment and resistance as well as guilt.

Supernaturals

There is more fatalism and a greater belief in magic in Greece than in America. The concept of the evil eye is particularly important. To raise a "good" child, or a "happy" occurrence, one might through envy "put the evil eye on it." To avoid this you must spit on the child. Spitting is, of course, an insult, but in the context of praising it "makes for a balance."

Similarly the "touch on wood" concept exists in both cultures, but is more widely used in Greece than in America. Thus we find that LUCK is seen as more good, powerful, and active by Greeks than by Americans while MAGIC is seen as more bad, powerful, and active by Greeks than by Americans.

Institutions and Social Processes

Institutions. The ARMY is seen as more "good" by Greeks than by Americans. Army life is seen as an exceptionally good influence on young people by Greeks. These results may reflect "authoritarian submission," but they may also be explained by considering the fact that many Greeks do realize

that the exceptionally strong bond between mother and son, that is established in the typical Greek family, needs to be weakened in order for the son to mature. There are special designations for those who have not served in the armed forces that can be translated into: "he is his mama's son." Army life forces a separation of the son from the mother which weakens this bond and allows for new experiences and greater independence. Furthermore, for most Greeks, experience in the army involves an increase in their standard of living, including education and travel which they could otherwise not afford. Even those aspects of army life to which some Americans object, such as the rigid control of the individual by an institution, are perfectly consistent with the Greek value pattern, as can be seen on page 41 of this essay. The Greek high evaluation of social control is also seen in the more extreme positive evaluation of the word LAW by Greeks than by Americans.

The Greeks love to discuss, to argue, and to match their intelligence with other debaters. This can be seen in the more extreme agreement of the Greeks with the statements "I enjoy a good rousing argument" and "I like arguing with an instructor or supervisor." It can also be seen in their positive evaluation of the concept POLITICS.

Both Americans and Greeks see education as a very positive value. An educated person has more prestige than a rich person, in Greece, even though education does not necessarily lead to material advantages. The association of the concept SCHOOL with education explains why Greeks see SCHOOLS as more good, while Americans see them as more powerful than the other culture. The very concept of EDUCATION is seen as more powerful by Americans than by Greeks.

Vassiliou and Osgood found that the concept REVOLUTION is seen by Greeks as good and by Americans as bad. This can be understood in the context of our previous discussion. First, it should be recalled that the Greeks reject useless and unjustified authority. Second, morality is a focal concern and Greeks are willing to adopt extreme measures to enforce it. Third, we found that the Greeks would use any available means to achieve highly desirable ends. Thus, a revolution is seen as part of life and under many conditions perfectly justifiable from the Greek point of view. On the other hand, Americans with their tradition of political stability naturally find the idea of a revolution highly distasteful.

LABOR UNIONS are seen as more powerful by Americans than by Greeks. This simply reflects the actual relative power of labor unions in the two countries.

MARRIAGE is seen as more powerful by Americans than by Greeks. This is consistent with the central position of the husband-wife relationship in America and the focus on the parent-child relationship in Greece.

In connection with the present discussion of the way Greeks and Americans view institutions, it should also be remembered that there are differences between the way Greeks and Americans are rewarded by the large scale institutions for which they work. In Greece they are generally rewarded (promoted) if they have reached a certain age, have been loyal to the organization, and have made no mistakes during their career. Americans are rewarded not only because they made no mistakes but also because they have accomplished something in their jobs. This means, in effect, that a Greek is not likely to take a chance on a decision if the possibility of success is less than ninety-nine in a hundred. An American has to take more risks.

Furthermore, as we will see on page 47 Greeks tend to "play it safe" to a larger extent than is true with Americans and as a result they appear more inflexible, rigid, and unwilling to adapt to change than Americans.

Occupations. Greeks in general tend to see more activity in most occupations than do Americans, which probably reflects differential unemployment rates. In addition, they value ARTISTS, AUTHORS, and PROFESSORS more than do Americans. This is consistent with the great emphasis on education and a very old cultural tradition.

Political Concepts. CAPITALISM, DEMOCRACY, NATIONALISM, and SOCIALISM are seen as more powerful by Americans than by Greeks. NATIONALISM on the other hand is seen as more good by Greeks than by Americans. Finally, NEUTRALITY is seen as more good by Greeks than by Americans.

Such differences can readily be related to the histories of the two countries.

Social Attitudes

A sample of about six hundred American male students was compared with a sample of about four hundred male Athenians. They were asked to indicate their agreement with a number of statements relevant to a variety of social attitudes (Triandis, Davis, and Vassiliou).¹¹

The Greeks emphasized the need for social control to a much larger extent than did the Americans. They also approved of corrective punishment, no matter how severe. However, they disapproved of capital punishment and hostility in exercising control within the ingroup. They are also opposed

¹¹ Triandis, H. C ; Davis, F. E., and Vassiliou, Vasso Social attitudes in cross-cultural perspective (in preparation).

to the use of violence in settling international disputes to a larger extent than Americans.

Specifically, the agreement on the need for social control is evident at three levels: the personal, the interpersonal, and the governmental. At the personal level it was manifested by agreement on ten items such as "I try to keep a tight rein on myself at all times" with which the Greeks strongly agreed, while Americans were uncertain.

At the interpersonal level it can be seen in the Greek responses to statements such as the following: "As long as so many of our teachers are afraid to administer physical punishment our schools will probably continue to decline." The Greeks agreed with this statement; the Americans disagreed with it. On the matter of the societal (state) control we see the Greeks agreeing with and the Americans disagreeing with the following statement: "We will probably be a lot better off if some of the bigots in favor of racial and religious discrimination were expelled from the country." In twenty-two statements, such as the above, which referred to social control, Greeks approved of control to a larger extent than did Americans. Particularly characteristic was approval of control on moral issues. For example, "sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped or worse." Greeks strongly agreed with that statement, while Americans disagreed.

As a specific illustration of the Greek agreement with items involving corrective punishment, we can mention that Greeks strongly agreed with the statement "it would probably provide a good example for this entire nation if people who refused to salute our flag were imprisoned." Americans strongly disagreed.

Such results strongly suggest that the Greeks are high on the F-Scale. Empirically this is so. However, it is not certain that the theory of the authoritarian personality, as developed in America, applies to them without modification. In particular, the importance of the ingroup-outgroup distinction, and the definition of the ingroup, which implies a face-to-face group, modifies the character of Greek authoritarianism. It should be recalled that authoritarian submission is typical within the ingroup, but not in response to outgroup authority figures.

The Greek situation is in many ways similar to the Italian, where the Fascist influence penetrated less in every day life than the Nazi influence did in Germany. It may be that the distinction between ingroup and outgroup (which we are guessing is critical from South of the Alps to India) makes the operation of a full fledged fascist state quite difficult. Since most people give their devotion primarily to their families, it is difficult for national leaders to control much of their behavior.

A further example may clarify what is argued above. During the 1944 Communist revolution, many Greek Communists warned their relatives, who had collaborated with the Germans, that they were going to be liquidated. This allowed their relatives to hide and their lives were saved. Here is an example where the family bond is more important than bonds of ideology, party discipline, and concepts of obedience to party leaders. Even in the case of fanatic members of the Communist party, the family is more important than the party.

A final point concerning those Greeks who agreed with the statement about imprisoning those who refuse to salute the flag. It is most probable that they have in mind members of their outgroup. It is most likely that they

consider that members of their ingroup "would behave correctly," and therefore would not be affected by the situation described in the statement. If a member of the ingroup behaved "incorrectly" he would be pressured to change his behavior, but if he were imprisoned the members of the ingroup would be upset and would consider the imprisonment unfair. In other words, in responding to such items, the Greeks probably are thinking of outgroup members and in view of the competitiveness between ingroup and outgroup their threshold for imprisoning people who do not behave correctly may well be much lower than it is in America, hence the difference in the Greek and American responses.

Finally, in order to illustrate Greek disapproval of the use of violence for the settlement of international disputes we may examine their responses to the item: "Politicians who actively support the arms race should be thrown out of office." Greeks agreed and Americans disagreed.

In this study our data also suggests that Greeks have a much clearer system of values. They agree among themselves to a much greater extent than do Americans. Furthermore, on moral issues, Greeks tended to strongly agree or disagree with our statements, while Americans used more moderate responses, such as "slightly agree." For example, in responses to the statement "We cannot know for sure whether or not there is a God" Americans either slightly agreed or slightly disagreed! Greeks only slightly disagreed. The majority of the Greeks strongly agreed while Americans slightly disagreed with the statement "No person who would ever think of hurting his parents should be permitted in a society of normal decent people."

Greeks values are not only clearer, but are openly proclaimed and expressed in unhesitating action. Thus Greeks agreed with the statements "I am generally spontaneous in my speech or actions," "I do not mind having

others judge me by the organizations to which I belong," Americans show uncertainty. The above trends were observed in seven other statements in which Americans and Greeks have different responses.

Greeks show a clear hierarchy of values. The success of the ingroup (both survival and growth) is more important than the success of the individual. The size of the ingroup depends on the situation. In moments of national crises the whole country is the ingroup, and national survival becomes the predominant value. At other times the ingroup is the family friends and people with mutual concerns. The collective achievement of this group is central. In the United States the individual is at the center of the value system; his own survival and self-actualization are central values. The individual's success even at the expense of his family is sometimes acceptable in America, while it is inconceivable in Greece.

Within the ingroup, of whatever size, depending on the situation, authority figures are blindly accepted in Greece. For example, Greeks disagreed and Americans agreed with the statement "Almost everyone has at some time hated his parents." On five other statements of this type the results obtained from the two countries support this generalization.

Furthermore, in response to eight statements referring to acceptance of the ingroup, the Greeks are much more extreme. For example, they strongly disagreed with the statement "I have sometimes wanted to run away from home," while they strongly agreed with the statement "I often find it difficult to break with familiar and pleasant surroundings."

Not only do the Greeks show exceptional acceptance of the ingroup but they also reject influence and pressure from the outgroup. For example, they agreed with the statement "I usually do not care very much about what people

think about me;" Americans disagreed with this statement. On the other hand, when authorities are seen as useless, or ineffective they are strongly rejected. For example, Greeks strongly agreed with the statements "It is the duty of the citizen to criticize or censure his country whenever he considers it to be wrong" and "Disobedience to the government is sometimes justified."

Other values of great importance to Greeks are the inviolability of personal honor (e.g., they agreed with the statement "An insult to our honor should always be punished"), the belief in the effectiveness of will power (e.g., they strongly agreed with the statement "Few difficulties can hold us back if we have enough will power"), and rejection of human passions (e.g., "Human passions cause most of the evil in the world" was strongly agreed with by almost all our Greek respondents).

Strong emphasis is also given to concern for others and to kindness as giving significance to one's life. On thirteen items which referred to kindness and concern for others the Greeks indicated more concern than did our American respondents. For example, to the statement "It upsets me very much to see another person suffer" the Greeks overwhelmingly responded with "strongly agree," while the Americans only agreed. Even practical jokes are perceived by Greeks as unkind to other people. Most Greeks strongly agreed and most Americans slightly disagreed with the statement "I don't enjoy playing practical jokes on people."

The Greeks also value personal dependability, as seen in their strong agreement with items such as "I would rather be a steady and dependable worker than a brilliant but unstable one," "Once I have my mind made up I seldom change it," "I take great pride in being an orderly person." On five

such items the Greeks agreed and the Americans were uncertain. Finally, the Greeks were more extreme than the Americans in their belief in God and in man's ability to control the environment.

The latter point can be seen in the strong agreement of Greeks with fundamentalist statements such as "If the world continues on its present wicked course God will probably have to destroy it." The majority of Greeks agreed and the majority of Americans disagreed with this statement. We observed the same kind of response from the two cultural groups on four similar statements.

The American value of fairness is incompatible with the Greek value system which changes when one moves from the ingroup to the outgroup. Thus, the Greeks agreed and the Americans disagreed with the items "I do not blame a person for taking advantage of someone who leaves himself open to it" and "I treat people according to their just deserves."

Greeks are reality-oriented, non-romantic and by adequate testing of reality avoid becoming too rigid and inflexible. Since the Greeks live in a difficult and crises-laden environment it is reality-oriented for them to agree strongly with the statement "It is better never to expect too much; in that way you are rarely disappointed." Their flexibility can be seen in their agreement with the statement "The findings of science may some day show that many of our most cherished beliefs are wrong." On twenty items on which it was possible for the Greeks to show either rigidity or reality orientation they tended to respond in the direction of reality orientation showing a good deal of reality testing.

Interpretation of these results is difficult. On the one hand there is in our new data, just as there was in older data (Triandis and Triandis, 1962)

an extremely reliable tendency for the Greeks to display an extreme checking style and an acquiescence response set. Such response tendencies normally indicate rigidity. On the other hand, it is not certain that the relationship between checking style and rigidity holds cross-culturally. If the checking style is statistically controlled, the highly reliable differences between Americans and Greeks on the Gough-Sanford Rigidity Scale are eliminated (Triandis and Triandis, 1962, p. 10). Perhaps a distinction must be made between rigidity in style and rigidity in content. The Greeks are certainly rigid in style, but they appear to be no different from Americans in their responses to the content of rigidity items.

Consistent with our interpretation that they are reality-oriented is their unwillingness to take risks in their uncertain environment. Greeks disagreed with the item "I enjoy taking risks in games and in life" and with the item "I like walking along a dark street in the rain" while Americans slightly agreed.

Values and Disvalues

In the Triandis, Davis, Kilty, Shanmugam, Tanaka, and Vassiliou (see Footnote 2) study we examined the perceived "antecedents" and "consequences" of certain concepts by Americans, Greeks, and others.

FREEDOM

The Greek perception of the causes of FREEDOM emphasizes the relevance of this concept to national freedom. The American perception emphasizes individual freedom. Thus, the Greeks see democracy, peace, patriotism, and the Constitution as the determinants of FREEDOM, while the Americans emphasize respect for human beings and the individual, strength, equality, and faith.

Consistent with this interpretation, the consequences of FREEDOM given to us by Greeks include civilization, growth of civilization, progress, and well being. On the other hand, for Americans FREEDOM connotes happiness, joy, life, well being, and responsibilities as well as rights. Thus, the consequences of FREEDOM, according to the Greeks, can be seen in the well being of the collectivity, while for the Americans they are seen in the well being of the individual. Furthermore, the American recognizes the responsibilities associated with FREEDOM while the Greek does not.

PEACE

Consistent with the cultural differences in the meaning of FREEDOM, the Greeks emphasize societal causes and the Americans individual causes for PEACE. The major causes of PEACE perceived by Greeks are freedom, brotherhood, democracy, and equality. Our Americans gave, as the major causes, cooperation, understanding, contentment, good will, and kindness.

The same trend is seen in the consequences of PEACE where again the emphasis in Greece is societal not individualistic. PEACE leads to concordance, freedom, an increased standard of living, progress, and well being according to the Greeks and to security, tranquility, tolerance, unity, friendship, and happiness according to the Americans.

Since the focus of Greek life is the ingroup, little value is placed on personal freedom or individualized peace. In fact, a member of the ingroup would feel left out and unhappy if he were given much personal freedom and if ingroup members left him in peace by not allowing him to be concerned with their problems. Thus, the central meaning of these words for the Greek is societal, often at the level of the total body politic, while Americans focus more on the individual meanings of these concepts and less on the political meanings. Furthermore, it is likely that Americans take freedom at the

political level for granted, while for the Greeks it is a big issue for which they are constantly struggling.

TRUTH

The responses of both Americans and Greeks to this concept suggest that they do not see it in its philosophical context, but primarily as a contrast to lying. The major difference between the two cultures is that while both see TRUTH determined by the "good quality of the individual," the Greeks also assign much responsibility to others in the individual's environment. Thus, while both mention honesty, respect, and sincerity as causes of truth, the Greeks also mention good upbringing, devotion to God, and good companionship. Furthermore, the Greek perception of the causes of TRUTH is more global (e.g., a good man) while the American is more specific (e.g., justice, trust).

While both Americans and Greeks feel better about telling the truth, because they experience themselves as better human beings, the Greeks in addition feel satisfaction for telling the truth because this implies acceptance by ingroup authority figures.

Specifically, the Greeks see the progress of the society and the individual, joy, and success, as consequences of TRUTH. In addition they feel that TRUTH results in "appreciation of God," presumably because TRUTH involves following the directions of ingroup authorities, which in turn implies acceptance of these authority figures, including God. The Americans see the gains of TRUTH at the individual level, as trust, respect, self-confidence, morality, love, and courage.

COURAGE AND DEFEAT

The causes of COURAGE are seen quite similarly in both cultures, however, Greeks associate COURAGE with everyday experiences while Americans

see it as enhancing self-confidence and leading to greater respect, honor, and strength.

DEFEAT is seen by both cultural groups as resulting from personal weaknesses. The Greeks emphasize ineptitude, superficiality, lack of planning, and lack of perseverance. The Americans emphasize apathy, no desire, giving up, as well as lack of confidence and lack of perseverance. The Greeks, in addition, focus on factors that are beyond their control. Thus, they mention illness, treason, lack of unity.

The consequences of DEFEAT are seen very similarly by the two cultures. They include disappointment, discouragement, depression, and sorrow. However, the Greeks also mention destruction, servitude, and shock which the Americans almost never mention. The Americans also emphasize "trying again." The Greeks see greater finality in defeat (e.g., destruction) and associate it with the fate of the collectivity (e.g., servitude).

ACHIEVEMENT CONCEPTS

We will now focus on a number of concepts associated with achievement. First, we will discuss a cause of achievement, namely KNOWLEDGE. Then, we will discuss a process, namely PROGRESS. Finally, we will focus on the consequences of achievement, namely POWER, SUCCESS, and WEALTH.

The essential difference between Americans and Greeks in the perception of KNOWLEDGE is that Greeks react to this concept in a global way. As a prerequisite they see the will to learn, coupled with an inquiring mind. As a process, in order to learn, they only see studying. As a consequence of learning they see general positive values such as progress, success, peace, and self-confidence.

By contrast, Americans have a more differentiated response to this concept. As prerequisites they mention motivation and an inquiring mind, as

do the Greeks. They also mention curiosity, intelligence, and wisdom. As process they mention understanding and experience; and, as consequence, they mention easy adjustment, understanding, ability, wisdom, advancement, progress, and self-confidence. Thus, there appears more differentiation in the American responses particularly at the point of the "pay-off" of KNOWLEDGE.

The major cause of PROGRESS, seen by the Greeks, relates to the individual having characteristics which make him acceptable to his ingroup, in an environment which allows progress. Thus, diligence, honesty, willingness to learn, will power, cooperation, education, as well as peace result in PROGRESS. Americans mention cooperation, initiative, ambition, foresight, drive, and hard work. In other words, the Greeks describe the person who progresses in terms of his traits, while the Americans in addition to the traits, emphasize the behaviors that lead to PROGRESS.

PROGRESS is seen by the Greeks as resulting in gain to the collectivity (e.g., civilization, scientific development, and well being). The American emphasis is spectacularly high on individual achievement (e.g., achievement, development, expansion, knowledge, and success) although the improvement in the status of the collectivity is also mentioned. The Greek sees his personal progress as a consequence of the improvement of the collectivity, while the American sees his personal progress leading to the improvement of the collectivity.

POWER, SUCCESS, and WEALTH. The Greeks see power as being acquired through struggle with their outgroups with the help of their friends. The Americans see it acquired through cooperative processes, such as an increase in knowledge and the organization of activities through good leadership. Specifically, competition, endeavor, exercise, self-confidence, and friends

are the causes of POWER mentioned by Greeks; knowledge, respect, strength, and leadership are emphasized by Americans.

As a consequence of POWER the Greeks see self-confidence, courage, freedom, glory, and victory; the Americans, control, influence, and respect. Thus, the Greeks see it in terms of struggle with others and the Americans in terms of influence on others.

As causes of SUCCESS the Greeks mention cooperation, courage, and will-power. The Americans mention devotion, planning, preparation, and hard work. Thus, the Greeks see it again in terms of a struggle, while the Americans see it in terms of careful planning and hard work.

As a consequence of SUCCESS the Greeks report happiness and love, i.e., more intensive acceptance by the ingroup. The Americans mention achievement, pride, satisfaction, self-confidence, joy, and progress, which appear to be qualities or attributes of the individual.

As a cause of WEALTH Greeks mention courage, hard work, intelligence, and patience; the American respondents mention drive, knowledge and education, good fortune, money, happiness, and health. In contrast to the way the Greeks see the causes of SUCCESS, which do not involve hard work and are conceived as enhancing the values of the ingroup, they see of WEALTH in more specific terms involving inborn skills, hard work and patience. The Americans emphasize the health of the individual (drive, happiness), his acquired skills (knowledge, education), and luck (good fortune, money).

The consequences of WEALTH are perceived by both Americans and Greeks to be enjoyment, comfort, and luxury. The Greeks also see selfishness and philanthropy while the Americans see abundance, affluence, and further satisfaction.

When the Greek has money he shares it with his ingroup. If he has more than the amount needed by his immediate ingroup he shares it with the community (i.e., he expands his ingroup). There is a considerable record of philanthropy by wealthy Greeks in their own towns. Some of the major national monuments were donated to the Greek state by wealthy Greeks. This is somewhat similar to philanthropy in America, however, our evidence suggests that the Greek experiences more gratification by giving, because he satisfies more basic needs. While Americans satisfy mostly prestige and superiority (reflected in feelings of pity) needs, the Greeks satisfy their needs for acceptance by the ingroup. The Greek pattern of giving produces no resentment, because the giver receives as much basic gratification as the receiver. On the other hand, the American pattern of giving emphasizes the giver's superiority and the receiver's subordinate position. The receiver experiences gratitude for what is given and resentment for the feelings that are associated with the way it is given.

DEATH

We can conceive of death as the opposite of actualization implied in the achievement themes discussed in the preceding section. The major causes of DEATH perceived by the Greeks are natural--old age and illness. By contrast, the major causes of DEATH perceived by Americans are unnatural--murder, suicide, and war. This is consistent with the more matter-of-fact attitude towards life and death; characteristic of the Greeks, and the more romantic attitude which characterizes Americans (Triandis and Osgood, 1958). It may also reflect the violence that is frequent in both real life and American television.

The consequences of DEATH according to the Greeks are very matter of fact, but also suggest the struggle with the outgroup--they include

family breakdown and the joy of enemies. Americans mention oblivion and extinction, which are individual states, and loss of loved ones and loneliness at the social level.

In summary, the contrast between Americans and Greeks on achievement and death themes suggest that for the Greeks achievement leads to the strengthening of the ingroup and the weakening of the power of the outgroup, while death involves the weakening of the ingroup and the satisfaction of the outgroup. By contrast the American view of both achievement and death focuses more on the individual.

Relations With Others

Three concepts will be considered in connection with relationships among people--LOVE, TRUST, and RESPECT. The major difference between Americans and Greeks in the way they perceive these three concepts is that the Greeks see good behavior appropriately guided by ingroup norms, as leading to all three. The Americans relate these concepts to general feelings, such as loyalty, admiration, and honor.

LOVE. The major cause of LOVE perceived by Greeks is appropriate behavior within the ingroup. The emphasis is on good conduct. In our studies Greeks mention good conduct as a cause significantly more frequently than Americans. In addition, they specify what it means to behave correctly by mentioning niceness, politeness, devotion to God, faith, and morality. The Americans see the cause of LOVE in terms of some emotional states--affection, trust, kindness, happiness, and respect. Thus, love is seen as dependent on a person's adherence to ingroup norms in Greece.

The consequences of LOVE seen in Greece include marriage and children, i.e., they are more matter of fact. They also include progress suggesting that the person is improving because of his greater acceptance by the ingroup.

Otherwise, the American consequences of LOVE are very similar to the Greek ones and emphasize only slightly more social relationships such as friends, companionship, concern for others. Intense social behavior is perceived by Americans as a consequence of love; in Greece it is not necessarily related to love.

The causes of TRUST are essentially the same in the two cultures. However, the Greek sees TRUST in the context of personal relationships as a consequence of the other person's good behavior and character. The American sees it as a personal feeling towards someone, hence related to faith, love, and loyalty.

For the Greeks TRUST is a prerequisite of effective cooperation within the ingroup. They emphasize admiration, reciprocal trust, cooperation, and progress as consequences of TRUST. For the Greek, then, TRUST leads to a better working group. By contrast, the American sees TRUST as leading to a better face-to-face interpersonal relationship. The American emphasizes loyalty, confidence, and respect as consequences of TRUST.

RESPECT. Appropriate behavior is the most frequently mentioned theme as a cause of RESPECT by Greeks. Americans mention the achievement of specific values--loyalty, self-respect, trust, admiration, and honor--as leading to RESPECT. The contrast here is between the relatively limited connotation of this word for Greeks and the relatively rich connotation for Americans.

Consistent with this analysis of the way the two cultures perceive the causes of respect, is the way they perceive its consequences. The Greeks mention good character, good name, and success, while the Americans mention

honor, trust, admiration, and friendship. Thus, the Greek sees RESPECT as acquired through ordinary good behavior and leading to nothing particularly extraordinary; the American sees it as a result of extraordinary behavior and leading to extraordinary states such as honor.

SUMMARY

In the present paper we summarized the responses of Americans and Greeks to a variety of instruments. We discovered that these may be described in terms of certain basic themes that are important regardless of the nature of the instrument. Thus, in the work on stereotypes, semantic differential perception of key concepts, antecedent-consequent meaning of key concepts, and role perceptions, the basic contrast between Greek and American subjective cultures seems to repeat itself. Specifically, the Greek ingroup/outgroup distinction and the greater salience of the social self that characterizes Greek subjective culture, may be seen in the Greek responses to all these instruments.

Reality, in Greece, is impregnated with social considerations, while in America it is focused on the individual. The Greek seems to define his universe in terms of the triumphs of the ingroup over the outgroup and his social behavior is strongly dependent on whether "the other person" is a member of his ingroup or not. Key concepts are judged according to their relevance to social reality. Relations with authority figures, with persons with whom one is in conflict with, etc., are also conditioned by the ingroup-outgroup contrast.

Thus, the present paper has shown that subjective culture may be analyzed through the use of several instruments that give consistent results and "social reality" as seen by . . . from different cultures may be determined. Future research must focus on effect of differences in subjective culture on interpersonal behavior. Work currently in progress is aimed at a clarification of the relationships between subjective culture and interpersonal behavior.

DISCUSSION

In this paper we presented an intensive comparative analysis of the subjective cultures of Americans and Greeks. We summarized results obtained with several instruments and noted an emphasis on achievement and efficiency in the American data, and interpersonal relations and social control in the Greek data.

In the first part of the paper we presented the stereotypes Americans and Greeks hold about each other. Basically, the Americans perceive the Greeks as inefficient, competitive, suspicious, emotional, and rigid, but also as charming, witty, obliging, and honest. The Greeks perceive the Americans as efficient, but cold, arrogant, suspicious, dull, competitive, and sly. These stereotypes are veridical, from the perspective of each culture, as well as from our own analysis of the way each culture looks at its social environment.

Specifically, the Greeks have lived in an environment where planning, efficiency, and smooth working habits had little opportunity to be rewarded. In an environment of constant political unrest, limited resources that were unavailable because of wars, etc., long term planning and smooth working habits were less likely to lead to survival; spontaneous activity and crisis behavior were more likely to be rewarding. Thus, the contrast between Greek inefficiency and American efficiency is real; the perceptions of the two groups reflect reality.

Greek behavior is very different in the Greek ingroup than it is in the Greek outgroup. In the ingroup it is cooperative and is characterized by self-sacrifice; in the outgroup it is competitive and hostile. When an American comes to Greece he is likely to be perceived as a guest, hence, a

member of the ingroup. However, the Greek's commitment to an "ingroup relationship" with the American requires much intimacy, concern by the American for the Greek's welfare, and self-sacrifice. The American is unprepared for such a relationship. He cannot accept either the degree of intimacy or the self-sacrifice required by the Greeks. Hence, he recoils from the relationship. His behavior is then seen by the Greek as indifference, which is interpreted as hostility. A vicious circle of mutual recrimination then takes place.

The Americans see the Greeks as emotional, because the Greeks consider the expression of emotion as perfectly healthy and desirable, while Americans feel guilty when they are unable to control their feelings, and exteriorize them. Greeks follow social convention, are influenced by the ingroup authority figures, and behave in traditional ways to a larger extent than do Americans. For this reason Americans see them as rigid. If the Greek perceives the American as belonging in his outgroup he behaves competitively and suspiciously. This is the way he behaves toward outgroup Greeks and is therefore perfectly "normal" behavior. On the other hand, if the Greek perceives the American as belonging to his ingroup he behaves cooperatively and with self-sacrifice. Then, he is seen by the Americans as charming, witty, obliging, and honest.

Turning now to the way the Greeks perceive the Americans, the American rejection of the Greek's concept of proper ingroup interpersonal behavior--great intimacy, self-sacrifice--leads to his perception of the American as cold, dull, arrogant, suspicious, and competitive. The Greek is simply saying that the American is an outgroup member. The fact that the American claims that he is friendly, yet behaves in such a non-intimate fashion implies to the Greek that the American is sly. Of course, the Greek admits

the American's efficiency, but he sees the American as a cold and arrogant human being with few traces of charm.

The above analysis has the merit of illustrating the relationship between the subjective culture of two cultural groups and the stereotypes they hold about each other. Our empirical studies have shown that the views about social life that govern the interpersonal behaviors of Americans and Greeks are quite different. For the Americans, in the American-Greek confrontation, the primary purpose of life is to achieve and secondarily to have good interpersonal relationships with his spouse, to bring to the world useful citizens who will in their turn achieve, etc. For the Greeks the basic unit of concern is the ingroup. The survival of the ingroup is enhanced by the achievement of its members, but achievement is not the primary focus of concern. Rather, the important issue is the creation of a happy ingroup.

Since these two cultures have subjective cultures that are different in these important characteristics, it is not surprising that when they come in contact they achieve limited interpersonal success and insufficient admiration. The implications of the present analysis is that the two subjective cultures are indeed so different that it is unlikely that "unmodified" Americans and Greeks could have a successful relationship.

The present paper presents a comparative analysis of American and Greek subjective cultures which is consistent across instruments and fits naturalistic observations of the two cultures, the stereotypes that each group has of the other, and anthropological and sociological analyses of Greek culture (see Triandis, Vassiliou, and Nassiakou, 1968, for a review of the correspondence between our own analysis and the work of Friedl,

Gouldner, and others). Our data suggest that our procedures are reliable, valid, internally coherent, and useful. Further work is required to discover whether exposure of each cultural group to the information presented in the present essay helps in improving its interpersonal relationships and in making transcultural interaction more successful.

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A review of the results obtained when a variety of new techniques for the analysis of the way a person perceives his social environment is applied to the comparison of two cultural

13. ABSTRACT (continued)

groups, reveals some basic similarities in the obtained results. The various methods give complementary information. The data were obtained from studies of "the subjective culture" of Americans and Greeks. Comparable instruments were administered to the two cultural groups and the results are presented in terms of the differences between American and Greek perceptions of social reality. The analysis of subjective culture is likely to help in the understanding of transcultural conflict, as well as in the development of theory concerning interpersonal attitudes, interpersonal behavior, and conflict resolution.

14. KEY WORDS

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