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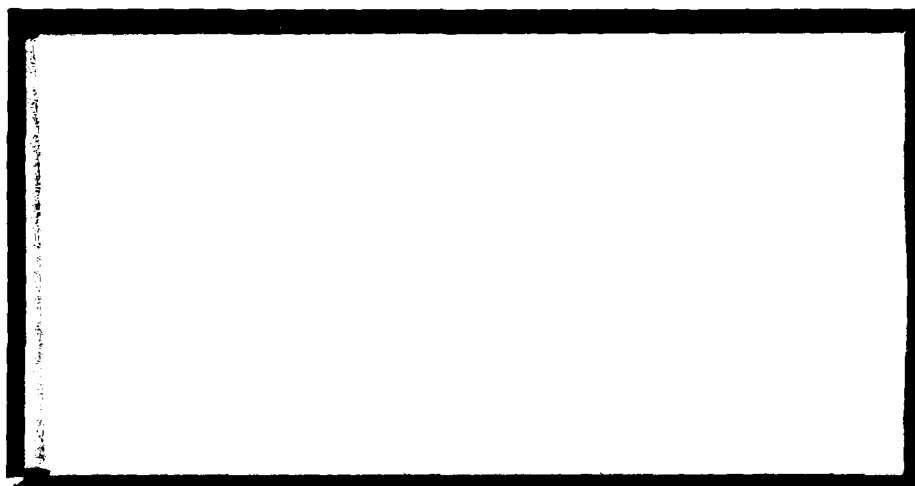
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PERSONNEL TECHNOLOGY

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

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**DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY
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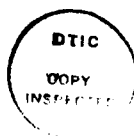
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SIMPATIA AS A CULTURAL SCRIPT OF HISPANICS
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complimenting somebody who has done a good job) and the de-emphasis of negative behaviors in negative situations (e.g., criticizing) may be a Hispanic cultural script. Lower status individuals are not supposed to show aggression even when their rights are taken away. The data indicate that Hispanic recruits expect more positive behaviors in positive social situations and de-emphasize the appropriateness of negative behaviors in situations of conflict, particularly when the actor is of lower status. The implications of these findings for the Navy is that Hispanics are likely to have higher levels of expectations concerning the appropriateness of positive behaviors (e.g., receiving a compliment if they do a good job) than Mainstream recruits. Thus, they will feel underrewarded in situations where they do a good job. Conversely, they will expect less expression of criticism from lower status individuals, and therefore even mild criticism from such individuals might be seen as extreme criticism.

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Simpatia as a Cultural Script of Hispanics

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A cultural script is a pattern of social interaction which is characteristic of a particular cultural group. For example, when Greeks ask an ingroup member for help they are likely to get it, but this is less likely when they ask an outgroup member for help (Feldman, 1968; Triandis & Vassiliou, 1972). This behavioral pattern is associated with the concept of *philotimo* which is one of the strongest norms of traditional Greek society: Doing what ingroup members expect. Another example comes from Japan where Doi (1973) identified the cultural script of *amae*, which occurs when a person wants to be dependent on another; to be passively loved. High status persons cultivate such dependence on the part of lower status persons, who feel grateful for the opportunity to be dependent and work hard to satisfy the higher status person. Among South African blacks the concept of *ubuntu* prescribes giving of sympathy and help to those who need it and showing respect for the dignity of others. People must not be manipulated; old people must be treated with respect; a caring, sharing relationship is emphasized; "you must not live for yourself, but for others" (Godsell, 1982, Note 1).

Among Hispanics and Latin Americans a cultural script that seems to be equally important to the Greek's *philotimo*, the African *ubuntu*, Japanese's *amae* is that of *simpatía*. This word has no equivalent in English but refers to a permanent personal quality where an individual is perceived as likeable, attractive, fun-to-be-with, and easy-going. An individual who is *simpatioso* shows certain levels of conformity and an ability to share in other's feelings

(Real Academia Española, 1980), behaves with dignity and respect toward others and seems to strive for harmony in interpersonal relations. This latter characteristic implies a general avoidance of interpersonal conflict and the fact that positive behaviors are emphasized in positive situations and negative behaviors are de-emphasized in negative situations.

While there are few studies that empirically test the role of *simpatía* as a social script in social relations among Hispanics and Latin Americans, a number of authors have written about it from a sociological and anthropological perspective. Burma (1970) for example, observes that there is a stress among Mexican Americans on politeness, pleasantness, agreeableness, keeping one's temper, and enduring stress passively. Madsen (1972) proposes that Mexican Americans value the person's guarding against offending others; i.e. directly questioning another's beliefs or actions or attempting direct criticism that may be offensive. Murillo (1976) again writing about Mexican Americans states that there is great value placed on manners and courtesy in interpersonal relations. The manner of expression is likely to be elaborate and indirect and there is much concern to make social relations appear at least harmonious. Murillo notes that since direct argument or contradiction is considered rude, a person will tend not to disagree unless this can be done tactfully.

Wagenheim (1972), writing about Puerto Rican culture, states that disrespectful behavior, such as arguments, fights and direct confrontation, tend to be interpreted as assaults on the essential dignity of others. He notes that a common method of resistance to someone else's views is by means of *pelea monga* or the relaxed fight. Rather than disagree or confront, the preferred reaction is a form of passive noncooperation. Wagenheim also observes that Puerto Ricans rarely give a directly negative answer if they can avoid it.

Landy (1959), writing earlier about a sugar cane community in Puerto Rico, notes that the cultural traits considered desirable for individuals and interpersonal relations are "respectfulness, obedience, liking people, pleasantness, being nice to people," all important aspects of being *simpatico*.

The importance of being *simpatico* is further exemplified by Alum and Manteiga's (1977) assertion that the awkwardness in interpersonal relations that results from not being *simpatico* (i.e., being unlikeable, unwitty, disagreeable, etc.) is one of the worst "cultural sins" among Cubans.

The value Hispanics and Latin Americans place on the avoidance of negative behaviors (e.g., criticizing, insulting, fighting, etc.) has also been widely documented (e.g., Diaz-Royo, 1974; Fitzpatrick, 1971; Heller, 1966; Madsen, 1972; Rubel, 1970). This concern for the avoidance of negative behaviors in interpersonal relations has been explained as being based on Hispanic's cultural values of *respeto* (respect) and *dignidad* (worthiness). Behaviors which are interpreted culturally as criticisms or insults for example, are perceived by Hispanics as assaults on the other person's dignity and self-respect (Diaz-Royo, 1974; Tumin & Feldman, 1971). A direct derivation of this cultural value is the preference for avoiding conflict, a fact that has been documented in the past for Hispanics and Latin Americans (e.g., Kagan & Madsen, 1971, 1972; Kagan, Knight & Martinez-Romero, 1982). As a matter of fact, in a recent study (Kagan et al., 1982) with Anglo American, Mexican American and Mexican children, the authors found that when questioned about how they would react to situations that often result in aggression, Anglo American and Mexican American children indicated that they would confront the aggressor while Mexican children indicated that they would avoid the confrontation.

From the above considerations we expected our Hispanic respondents to be more likely than our non-Hispanic subjects to stress harmony and behaviors

implying good relations (important components of *simpatía*) in social situations where Hispanics or Anglos are the actors or the targets of various actions. As a matter of fact, in a previous study (Triandis et al., Note 2) we found that a factor encompassing the above behaviors and labeled "Friendliness" emerged as an important central characteristic in the models of social behavior held by a group of Latin American social scientists.

Method

Subjects

Ninety Navy recruits (41 Hispanics and 49 Mainstream) responded to a questionnaire as part of a larger study of their perceptions of the social environment. In each of three Navy recruit stations (Florida, California, and Illinois), when a Spanish-surnamed recruit was to be classified, the classification officer checked the recruit's self-identification on an application form on which "Hispanic" was one of the ways in which the applicant could describe himself. If the Spanish-surnamed recruit had selected the "Hispanic" label, he was asked to complete the questionnaire. At the same time another recruit (with a non-Spanish surname) was randomly selected and given the same questionnaire. These other recruits are here referred to as "Mainstream" and will include both whites and the few blacks as well as Hispanics who did not identify themselves as "Hispanic."

In addition, a subset of the questions was administered to two other samples: A group of 60 bilingual (English-Spanish) college students from a large state university in the Los Angeles area; and, 50 monolingual juniors and seniors at a high school in San Juan, Puerto Rico who answered the questions only in Spanish.

Instrument

The questionnaire consisted of various intergroup situations described by identifying the Actor (Hispanic or Mainstream), the Target of the Action (Hispanic or Mainstream) and the Setting (tries to show dignity toward, tries to show loyalty toward, criticizes, admires, shows respect, tries to show affection, obeys, gives orders to). The combination of these characteristics provided 32 different intergroup situations. After each situation the subjects found a set of emically-derived (see Triandis, 1972, for discussion of procedures) behaviors (ranging from 5 to 11) where the respondent had to estimate the likelihood of each behavior occurring in the situation. The estimates were made on a 10-point scale (1=Never, 2=Seldom,....9=Almost Always, 10=Always). The Navy recruits made a total of 260 judgments and the bilinguals and Puerto Rican subjects made 78 judgments.

Results

Chi-Square Analyses

A quick overview of the data can be obtained by examining whether there are differences between the Mainstream and Hispanic samples in the frequencies of behaviors considered likely to occur. In order to do this we summed the frequencies in the 6 to 10 behavior-categories (from "may occur" to "will always occur") and computed chi-squares with only one degree of freedom.

In looking at the data, we have classified the situations into those where the actor is intending to do something associative (e.g. admire) or dissociative (e.g. criticize) by doing something positive (e.g. is polite) or negative (e.g. argues with). Below we will only report the frequencies of the chi-squares that reached significance ($p < .05$). Although out of the 260 chi-squares computed 13 can be expected to reach significance by chance, our results showed 43 significant chi-squares.

For associative situations, and positive behaviors there were 35 significant

chi-squares, indicating that the Hispanic frequencies were higher than the Mainstream frequencies. For associative situations and negative behaviors there were five significant chi-squares, indicating the same pattern. Thus overall, the Hispanics are more certain that behaviors will occur in associative situations.

For dissociative situations and positive behaviors there were no significant chi-squares. For dissociative situations and negative behaviors the pattern was strikingly different from that found for associative situations: the Hispanic frequencies were lower than the Mainstream frequencies, and there were three significant chi-squares.

There were no important patterns associated with the Actor or Target being Hispanic or Mainstream, except that the Hispanics perceived more positive acts than the Mainstream subjects in situations containing Hispanic target persons (12 significant chi-squares) and the Mainstream subjects saw more super-ordinate behaviors than the Hispanics when responding to situations containing Hispanic target persons (8 significant chi-squares).

MANOVAs

For each situation we examined the effect of the subjects (Hispanics vs Mainstream) in a between-subjects design and the effect of the Actors (Hispanic vs Mainstream) and Targets (Hispanic vs Mainstream) and their interactions, in a within-subjects design.

Setting 1: Tries to show loyalty toward. The Hispanics were higher than the Mainstream respondents in reporting that it is likely that a person would be honest ($p < .03$), friendly ($p < .05$), and would do what the target person wants done ($p < .01$). Furthermore, the actor would defend ($p < .01$), respect ($p < .01$), respect the culture of ($p < .01$) and value the language of ($p < .01$) the target person in attempting to show loyalty. The mean Hispanic responses to these items were around 7 (i.e. corresponded to "more often than not"), while the mean

Mainstream responses were around 5.5 ("may occur"). The fact that the Mainstream respondents use the middle of the 10 point scale so much suggests that this situation (showing loyalty) does not have definite meaning for this sample.

There were no significant differences associated with the Actor, but there were two significant ($p < .01$) differences associated with the Target: Mainstream targets were seen as more likely to elicit a selfish behavior when an actor is trying to show loyalty than was the case for Hispanic targets and more likely to elicit respect of the target's culture than was the case for Hispanic targets.

There were no significant Subject X Actor or Subject X Target interactions, but there were significant ($p < .01$) Actor-Target interactions. The general pattern was that the Mainstream Actor-Hispanic Target interactions were seen as characterized by less positive behaviors than the other combinations.

Setting 2: Tries to show dignity toward. Hispanic subjects were significantly ($p < .001$) different from Mainstream subjects in viewing "treats others as equal" as a more likely behavior (Mean 7.5 vs 6.3) when the actor is trying to show dignity. A similar pattern ($p < .02$) occurred for "respects the other."

In this situation the actors were seen as more likely ($p < .005$) to "believe in self (in who he is)" if they were Hispanic (7.8) than Mainstream (7.3). Again, several significant interactions of Actor X Target were observed. The culturally heterogeneous pairs (Mainstream-Hispanic or Hispanic-Mainstream) were seen as less likely to "treat others as equal" ($p < .02$), "respect the other" ($p < .01$), "do a difficult task for the other" ($p < .02$) and were more likely to "act selfishly" ($p < .002$) than the ethnically homogeneous pairs.

Setting 3: Criticizes. The Hispanics ($M=4.3$) were significantly less likely ($p < .01$) to see "rejects opinions of" associated with this situation than were the Mainstream ($M=5.4$). There was also less likelihood ($p < .05$) of the behavior "argues with" in the case of the Hispanics when compared with the Mainstream respondents.

Hispanic actors were perceived as less likely to "put down the culture of" ($p < .01$), "tell him what he did wrong" ($p < .01$), "raise their voice" ($p < .05$) and "point his bad qualities" ($p < .05$) than Mainstream actors. There were no significant effects for Target person.

In this case there were two Subject X Actor significant ($p < .01$) interactions: for "puts down culture of" this was seen by Hispanic subjects as extremely unlikely (3.3) in the case of Hispanic actors and as possible (5.1) in the case of Mainstream actors, as perceived by Mainstream subjects. Also, Hispanic actors were seen by Hispanic subjects as unlikely to "point out bad qualities," but Mainstream actors were seen as more likely to do this by both Mainstream and Hispanic subjects ($p < .05$).

There was one Subject X Target significant ($p < .05$) interaction, in which Hispanic subjects saw that when the target was Hispanic the actor would "start by complimenting" the Target (5.6), while Mainstream subjects did not see this as likely (4.9).

There were some Actor X Target interactions. Specifically, in culturally homogeneous pairs actors were seen as unlikely to "put down the culture of" and "reject the opinions of" the target to a greater extent than was the case for the culturally heterogeneous pairs ($p < .01$). Conversely, the heterogeneous pairs were less likely to "start by complimenting" than the homogeneous ($p < .05$).

Setting 4: Admirers. Subject effects indicated that the Hispanics were more likely than the Mainstream ($p < .01$) to "say, I recognize your abilities," "say, I recognize your success," "imitate" and "show respect for." Hispanic actors were seen as more likely to "show respect" ($p < .05$) and Mainstream targets were seen as more likely to elicit "I recognize your abilities" statements ($p < .05$).

Subject X Target interactions were generally non-significant, but one did reach significance at $p < .05$: Hispanics saw that it was more likely for the

actor to say "I recognize your abilities" to a Mainstream Target, and Mainstream subjects saw this as unlikely in the case of Hispanic Targets.

All Actor X Target interactions were significant. Again, the culturally heterogeneous pairs differed from the homogeneous. In the heterogeneous the Actors were less likely to say "I recognize your abilities" ($p < .01$) and "I recognize your success" ($p < .01$) and to "show respect" ($p < .01$); they were more likely to "criticize" ($p < .05$) and less likely to "imitate" ($p < .05$) the Target.

Setting 5: Show respect. All scales showed significant ($p < .01$) differences between the Hispanic and Mainstream subjects. In all cases the Hispanics were more likely (7.5) than the Mainstream (6.2) to see "is polite," "treats as equal," "helps," "is understanding," "listens to what he has to say," "treats him well" and "values his culture" as likely to occur.

There was one Actor effect. The Hispanic actors were seen as more likely than the Mainstream actors to "treat as equal" ($p < .05$). There were no significant target effects, and no Subject X Actor effects. But there were three Subject X Target effects: The highest likelihood that the behaviors "treats as equal" ($p < .05$), "is understanding" ($p < .01$) and "listens to what he has to say" ($p < .01$) are perceived as likely to occur was found in the case of Hispanic subjects with Hispanic Targets; the lowest in the case of Mainstream subjects with Hispanic Targets.

Finally, all Actor X Target interactions were significant ($p < .01$), with the general trend for Hispanic Actors to be more positive toward Hispanic Targets and Mainstream Actors less positive toward Hispanic Targets. For example, "listens to what he has to say" was seen as more likely (6.9) for Mainstream/Mainstream and Hispanic/Hispanic dyads, but less likely for Hispanic/Mainstream (6.4) and Mainstream/Hispanic (6.2) dyads.

Setting 6: Shows affection. The Hispanics were significantly higher than the Mainstream in "hugs" ($p < .05$), "embraces" ($p < .01$), "praises" ($p < .05$),

"respects" ($p < .01$), and "cares for" ($p < .05$). There were no other effects and interactions, except for the Actor X Target interactions. Again, the culturally homogeneous dyads were seen as more likely to experience "does favor for," "shares experiences with," "hugs," (all at $p < .01$), "embraces" ($p < .05$), "respects" and "cares for" (both at $p < .01$) and "does things for" ($p < .05$) than the culturally heterogeneous dyads. For example, the likelihood for "cares for" was judged at 7.0 for the Hispanic/Hispanic and 6.4 for the Hispanic/Anglo dyads.

Setting 7: Obeys. The Hispanics were again more positive (does what is reasonable, is submissive, trust judgment of, does exactly what he is asked to do, and is respectful). All but the last effects were significant at $p < .01$, where the last one was significant at $p < .05$. The mean Hispanic response was close to 7 and the Mainstream mean was about 6.

There was a difference for Actor. Hispanic actors were seen as more likely to do "what is reasonable," and less likely "to trust judgment of." There was one significant Subject X Target interaction: Hispanic subjects saw "is submissive" as more likely (6.2) when the Target was a Mainstream, while Mainstream subjects saw this response as much less likely (5.2) when the Target is a Mainstream. But the difference was significant at only $p < .05$.

There were two Actor X Target interactions that reached significance. "Does what is reasonable" was more likely ($p < .01$) in the case of Hispanic/Hispanic dyads (7.2) and least likely in the case of Mainstream/Hispanic dyads (6.5). "Does exactly what he is asked to do," reached a maximum (6.7) for Mainstream/Mainstream and a minimum (6.2) for Hispanic/Mainstream dyads ($p < .05$).

Setting 8: Gives orders to. The Hispanics were higher (7.0) than the Mainstream respondents (6.1) in seeing "asks him to do something in a nice way" as likely to occur in that situation ($p < .01$). Actors were seen as more likely to "tell what needs to be done," "be bossy," "speak in a demanding way," "be authoritarian" and "domineering" if they were Mainstream than if they were

Hispanic, but there were no significant effects associated with the ethnicity of the target. There were no significant Subject X Actor or Subject X Target effects, and only one weak ($p < .05$) Actor by Target effect. The latter was that Mainstream Actors are more likely to threaten a Hispanic Target than were Hispanic Actors likely to threaten a Hispanic Target.

The more analytic MANOVA results corresponded well with the chi-square analyses. Of course, they were based on the same data, but utilized all 10 categories of the response scale, rather than just the frequencies in the categories 6 to 10. The positive situations (show dignity, loyalty, admires, respect, affection, obeys) contrasted sharply with the negative (criticizes, gives orders). In the positive interpersonal situations the Hispanics were significantly more likely to see high probabilities of a positive behavior in 34 cases, and of negative behavior in only one case. In the negative situations the Hispanics were less likely to see high probabilities of negative behaviors in four cases and more likely to see high probabilities of positive behaviors in two cases. Thus, there is an unmistakable pattern: Hispanics see less negative and more positive behaviors as likely to occur in situations that have a potential for conflict. The emphasis on interpersonal harmony is then clearly present in the Hispanic data, as expected from the literature review.

In addition, the MANOVAs showed a number of expectations of "subtle prejudice," for example, the Hispanic subjects seeing more harmony in Hispanic-Hispanic dyads, more bossiness among Mainstreams; and suggestions of Mainstreams as having more status than Hispanics.

The Reactions of the Hispanic Bilinguals and the Monolinguals

To what extent are the data obtained with Hispanic recruits representative of data obtained with other samples of Hispanics? In order to answer this question we examined the Navy Hispanic recruit means in relation to the means we obtained from the Hispanic bilinguals and the monolingual Puerto Ricans.

Since the bilinguals and monolinguals responded to only a subset of the questions, we did not have all the information in this case that we had in the case of the Navy recruits. Nevertheless, there was enough information to make comparisons. Appendix 1 shows the means of the Mainstream, Hispanic recruits, bilinguals responding in Spanish or in English (to the same questionnaire in counterbalanced order) and the monolinguals.

Again one can examine positive intentions situations and see whether positive or negative behaviors show any pattern. We note only those cases where all the Hispanic means are higher (or lower) than the Mainstream means. For positive behaviors we find 40 instances when all the Hispanic means are higher than the Mainstream mean. Furthermore, we find two instances where the Hispanic means are lower than the Mainstream means when a negative behavior is being judged. Thus, 42 instances support the idea of Hispanics emphasizing harmony more than the Mainstream respondents.

In the case of negative intentions/situations (e.g., to criticize) the pattern is somewhat complex. If we compare only the recruits, we find that for 16 out of 16 instances the Hispanic means are consistent with a harmony explanation, relative to the Mainstream means. But, if we look at the monolinguals only 5 of the 16 are consistent with the notion of harmony, and in the case of the bilinguals only one of the 16 shows the harmonious pattern which is a part of the *simpatía* social script.

Corroboration with Additional Items

On another part of the questionnaire answered by the same subjects, 18 situations were presented where an employee or a supervisor makes a mistake, and various reactions to the mistake are described. Subjects were asked to rate, on two 7-point scales whether the reaction was acceptable and expected.

Factor analyses of the Mainstream and Hispanic data were done to determine whether the two groups structure the answers to the questions similarly. If

the same factors emerge in the two samples this is one clue that the meaning of the items is similar for the two kinds of subjects. In addition, both chi-squares and t-tests were performed to check on the differences in the frequencies and means of the responses of the two samples.

Looking only at those items that probably had the same meaning (based on the results of the factor analysis) and were significantly different, we found two of the 18 items where the response frequencies and means were significantly different. The t-tests were computed after the data of each sample were converted to standard form (mean of the responses to the 18 items was zero, and standard deviation was 1.00) in order to control for differences in the checking style between the two samples.

One of the two items asked the respondents to rate how acceptable was it for a supervisor to call attention to a mistake made by an employee by directly pointing it out. The standardized mean for the Mainstream respondents was .667 while the mean for the Hispanic respondents was .311 [$t(111) = 2.1, p < .038$] on the acceptable dimension. This type of supervisory behavior was then seen as more appropriate by the Mainstream than by the Hispanic sample.

The second item asked respondents to rate the acceptability of a supervisor calling attention to a mistake made by an employee by shouting at him. This item was overall perceived as unacceptable by both samples of respondents where the Mainstream perceived the behavior as less acceptable (standardized mean of -.528) than the Hispanic ($M = -.151$) respondents [$t(111) = -.229, p < .024$]. While the expression of anger is perceived as an unacceptable behavior by both samples the relative tolerance of Hispanics for it can be interpreted as allowing the person (the supervisor) to blow off steam and permitting the restoration of harmony that would be so important in maintaining good interpersonal relations. As a matter of fact, in many Mediterranean cultures it is said that Northern Europeans "bottle up" their anger and that by not expressing it undermine the quality of interpersonal relations in the long run.

Discussion

It is clear from the above data that Hispanics expect much more positive behaviors in positive (associative) social situations than Mainstream respondents. The emphasis on harmony and on the externalization of positive feelings is quite clear as could be expected from the assumption of a *simpatia* social script among Hispanics and Latin Americans. The expected de-emphasis of negative behaviors in negative situations was found for all samples except for our bilingual respondents. This could be due to differences in status (the bilinguals were university college students), acculturation, social class or to other factors that deserve further exploration.

The confirmation of the preference for harmonious social relations among Hispanics and the overall agreement of our data with the implications of *simpatia* as a social script and being *simpatico* as a valued personal trait constitute an important step in defining preferred patterns for interpersonal relations for Hispanics. The ignorance of these expectancies by other cultural groups brings about discomfort and stress in intergroup relations as showed in our data by the differences in results when the interacting dyads (actor and target) were homogeneous or heterogeneous in ethnicity.

The implications of these findings for the Navy should be considered. A Hispanic Navy recruit is likely to expect more positive behavior in positive situations than he will receive; and may express less negative behavior in negative situations than is normally observed in the Navy. Such a pattern is likely to result in misunderstandings. The expectation of more positive behaviors in positive situations suggests that the "level of adaptation" for social behavior will be different, so that behaviors that are mildly positive may be perceived as negative. So, in a situation where the Hispanic did a good job, and an officer says: "That was well done" it may be perceived as a sarcastic remark. Conversely, criticism by another recruit may be expected to be less extreme than normal, so that even mild criticism may be seen as extreme criticism.

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Appendix

Item Means of Samples Responding to Items Shown Below on a 10-point Scale
(1=Never, 2=Seldom,...to...9=Almost Always, 10=Always).

<u>Behavior</u>	<u>Subjects</u>				
	<u>Mainstream Recruits (N=49)</u>	<u>Hispanic Recruits (N=41)</u>	<u>Bilinguals in Spanish English (N=60)</u>		<u>Monolinguals (N=53)</u>
<u>Actor: Hispanic. Setting: Tries to show dignity toward. Target: Hispanic</u>					
Feels proud of own heritage	7.3	8.7	8.2	8.6	7.6
Refuses to be ordered around	5.6	5.1	5.9	6.6	5.6
Believes in self (in who he is)	7.3	8.3	7.7	8.0	8.2
Acts responsibly	6.2	7.6	8.0	7.6	7.8
Treats others as equals	6.1	7.0	7.6	7.6	7.5
Respects others	6.4	7.5	8.4	8.0	7.7
Does difficult task for the other	5.4	7.0	5.9	6.7	4.6
Acts as he should act	6.2	6.6	7.1	7.4	7.2
Acts selfishly	4.5	4.3	4.2	4.4	4.0
<u>Actor: Hispanic. Setting: Tries to show dignity toward. Target: Anglo</u>					
Feels proud of own heritage	7.4	8.2	7.8	8.3	7.6
Refused to be ordered around	5.5	5.7	6.4	6.6	5.5
Believes in self (in who he is)	7.2	7.8	7.5	7.7	7.9
Acts responsibly	6.3	7.4	7.7	7.6	7.5
Treats others as equals	6.2	6.7	6.8	6.7	6.8
Respects others	6.2	7.1	7.3	6.9	7.1
Does difficult task for the other	5.4	5.9	5.8	5.9	5.2
Acts as he should act	6.1	6.5	6.6	7.0	7.1
Acts selfishly	4.8	5.2	4.7	4.7	4.8

Appendix (continued)

<u>Behavior</u>	<u>Subjects</u>				
	<u>Mainstream Recruits</u>	<u>Hispanic Recruits</u>	<u>Bilinguals Spanish</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Monolingual:</u>
<u>Actor:</u> Anglo. <u>Setting:</u> Tries to show dignity toward. <u>Target:</u> Anglo.					
Feels proud of own heritage	7.6	7.7	7.8	8.4	7.3
Refuses to be ordered around	5.6	5.2	6.8	7.2	5.9
Believes in self (in who he is)	7.2	7.5	7.7	8.2	7.9
Acts responsibly	6.7	7.3	7.4	7.5	7.8
Treats others as equals	6.5	6.8	6.4	6.6	6.9
Respects others	6.5	6.9	6.8	7.0	7.2
Does difficult task for the other	5.4	5.9	5.4	5.7	5.2
Acts as he should act	6.2	6.4	6.8	7.2	7.1
Acts selfishly	4.3	4.4	5.8	5.4	4.8
<u>Actor:</u> Hispanic. <u>Setting:</u> Criticizes. <u>Target:</u> Hispanic					
Puts down the culture of	3.9	3.1	4.2	3.6	3.7
Rejects opinions of	5.0	4.3	5.0	5.1	4.4
Calls him names	5.1	4.5	4.9	4.8	5.6
Tells him what he did wrong	5.8	5.7	6.1	6.0	6.0
Argues with	5.8	4.8	6.0	5.8	5.8
Raises his voice	5.5	5.0	6.1	6.4	5.7
Points out his bad qualities	6.0	4.8	5.4	5.6	4.8
Starts by complimenting	4.8	5.7	4.4	4.6	3.8

Appendix (continued)

<u>Behavior</u>	<u>Subjects</u>				<u>Monolinguals</u>
	<u>Mainstream Recruits</u>	<u>Hispanic Recruits</u>	<u>Bilinguals Spanish</u>	<u>English</u>	
<u>Actor:</u> Anglo. <u>Setting:</u> Criticizes. <u>Target:</u> Hispanic					
Puts down the culture of	5.2	4.8	7.1	7.1	5.4
Rejects opinions of	5.7	4.7	6.7	7.0	5.3
Calls him names	5.4	4.6	6.5	6.8	5.7
Tells him what he did wrong	5.9	5.8	6.9	6.9	6.3
Argues with	5.6	5.0	6.7	6.6	5.8
Raises his voice	5.8	5.6	6.4	6.3	5.4
Points out his bad qualities	5.7	5.6	6.8	7.0	5.9
Starts by complimenting	4.3	5.4	4.7	4.0	4.0
 <u>Actor:</u> Hispanic. <u>Setting:</u> Shows respect to. <u>Target:</u> Hispanic					
Is polite	6.8	7.5	8.2	8.5	8.2
Treats as equal	6.8	7.5	8.2	8.2	8.0
Helps	6.7	7.6	8.3	8.2	7.8
Is understanding	6.3	7.6	7.9	8.0	7.6
Listens to what he has to say	6.3	7.5	8.1	8.0	7.3
Treats him well	6.7	7.4	8.4	8.3	7.8
Values his culture	6.9	7.9	8.6	8.7	8.1

Appendix (continued)

<u>Behavior</u>	<u>Subjects</u>				
	<u>Mainstream Recruits</u>	<u>Hispanic Recruits</u>	<u>Bilinguals Spanish</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Monolinguals</u>
<u>Actor:</u> Hispanic. <u>Setting:</u> Shows respect to. <u>Target:</u> Anglo.					
Is polite	6.3	7.1	7.9	7.9	7.9
Treats as equal	6.3	7.0	7.1	6.7	6.8
Helps	6.0	7.4	7.2	7.2	7.1
Is understanding	5.8	7.2	6.9	6.9	6.6
Listens to what he has to say	6.0	7.1	7.4	7.3	7.3
Treats him well	6.0	7.4	7.8	7.5	7.8
Values his culture	6.2	7.7	6.8	6.7	6.8
<u>Actor:</u> Anglo. <u>Setting:</u> Shows respect to. <u>Target:</u> Hispanic					
Is polite	6.5	7.1	6.7	6.9	6.9
Treats as equal	5.5	7.1	5.6	5.8	6.2
Helps	6.1	7.3	6.4	6.4	6.4
Is understanding	5.7	7.4	5.3	5.1	6.6
Listens to what he has to say	5.6	6.9	6.4	5.3	6.5
Treats him well	5.9	7.1	6.6	6.2	6.7
Values his culture	6.1	7.3	5.7	5.6	5.4

Appendix (continued)

<u>Behavior</u>	<u>Subjects</u>				
	<u>Mainstream Recruits</u>	<u>Hispanic Recruits</u>	<u>Bilinguals Spanish</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Monolinguals</u>
<u>Actor:</u> Hispanic. <u>Setting:</u> Obeys. <u>Target:</u> Hispanic.					
Does what is reasonable	6.6	7.8	7.7	7.8	7.7
Is submissive	5.6	6.1	6.3	5.5	6.0
Trust judgment of	5.9	7.0	7.0	6.9	7.4
Does exactly what he is asked to do	6.3	7.0	7.1	6.8	6.5
Is respectful	6.3	7.1	7.8	8.0	7.8
Acts selfishly	4.6	4.8	4.7	4.3	4.1
Conforms only because the other is the boss	5.6	5.7	6.2	6.0	5.9
<u>Actor:</u> Anglo. <u>Setting:</u> Obeys. <u>Target:</u> Hispanic.					
Does what is reasonable	6.1	7.1	6.8	6.8	7.1
Is submissive	5.7	6.1	5.2	4.7	5.6
Trust judgment of	5.8	7.1	5.5	5.4	6.7
Does exactly what he is expected to do	5.9	6.9	5.6	5.8	6.3
Is respectful	6.2	7.1	6.1	6.0	7.3
Acts selfishly	4.8	5.0	5.5	5.2	4.5
Conforms only because the other is the boss	5.8	5.9	6.6	6.4	5.4

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